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**MUSIC & MIGRATION: Aspects of Black Music in the
British Caribbean, the United States, and Britain, before the
Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago**

In two volumes

VOLUME ONE of TWO

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Dedication

For my mother, and in memory of my father.

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John H. Cowley, April 1992

PREFACE

Problems and methods

While there have been a number of publications in the last few years that describe the origins and progression of the reggae from Jamaica, much less attention has been given to other popular forms of black music from the English-speaking West Indies. A particular omission is the nineteenth-century background to such evolutions. The primary objective of this study is to address this lacuna and to explore dynamics of continuity and change in these musical developments.¹

Commercial recordings of West Indian music made in Britain between 1948 and 1962 have been used as a starting point to analyse the earlier history of these styles, and as a focal point to assess their relationship to the migration of West Indians to Britain prior to the Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago in 1962. The approach has been adopted to establish a context, in both space and time, for musical performances by black West Indians in Britain in this period, evidence for which has been found to be almost non-existent in secondary sources.

The recordings made by black performers from the West Indies in Britain during this period pose considerable problems of classification and contextual understanding. First, few of these recordings are available in accessible archives. Second, they represent musical traditions from more than one territory in the Caribbean. Third, although the majority of the recordings were made by musicians whose origins were in the Eastern Caribbean, a cross-section of music from this area was recorded at this time. Fourth, examination of secondary sources indicated that there was virtually no comparative data on which to base an analysis of these musical traditions. Fifth, by the same token, historical evidence in secondary sources was in disarray. Sixth, without such background information there was no obvious method with which to proceed with this study.

A special effort, therefore, had to be made to locate as many sources as possible covering these areas and, to catalogue and categorise the information that they contained. It then became possible to devise a way that would allow a satisfactory analysis.

With respect to the music recorded by black West Indians in Britain during the 1950s, it was evident from the material collected that this could not be explained in context without an understanding of the culture in which the music originated. Ultimately, the complexity of this culture led to the conclusion that without knowledge of musical performances in the slavery period, any judgements made would be of a superficial nature. Accordingly, starting at this point, symptoms that indicate the way in which black music developed in this region have been identified, to provide a necessary backdrop for subsequent evolutions.

One of the principal problems posed in explaining the traditional music performed by migrant black musicians in Britain in the 1950s, is the different kinds of music in each of the areas from which they migrated, and the considerable distance between many of these territories (most of which are islands).

This raised the question, as to what elements in common there might be that could demonstrate whether or not forms of music (and other performance) were linked in each of these locations. The evidence uncovered suggested that the musical practises of social institutions run by black people in these areas (their participation in particular events, etc.) would provide a means of analysis in this context. Such institutions might simply be devoted to recreational dancing. At the same time, they might participate in other functions, such as festivals; in order to parade in costume, and sing or play music in procession. In general, these are secular recreations, rather than sacred celebrations. Study of the history of these rituals, however, allows at least a point of comparison between the way in which different festivals evolved in different territories. This non-religious aspect of black culture has been selected as in general the music recorded by black migrants in Britain during the 1950s was of a secular nature.

With regard to black music in the English-speaking Caribbean, the most influential style popular at the time black people migrated to Britain after the Second World War, was

Trinidad calypso. This was associated directly with the Shrovetide Carnival in that island. In turn, the history of this particular Carnival provides a unique opportunity to study the evolution of black music associated with a specific social institution across a time span of more than a century. Reports of the festival are available in the historical record from the 1820s and, in secondary observations, from the late 1700s.

The majority of reports of Carnival in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries came from newspapers and official documents. Existing studies of this topic proved to be unreliable and, more often than not, did not take into account musical developments. In addition, they were fragmentary and did not assist directly in understanding the continuities and changes in the Carnival and its associated music over such an extended period. In order to overcome these difficulties considerable effort has been made to bring together as many descriptions as possible from primary and secondary sources. The intertwining of the Carnival with musical traditions in Trinidad has meant that this approach also consolidated historical information on the festival.

Once black Trinidadian musicians had migrated to Britain, they separated themselves from the festival. Following this, the principal contribution they made to their homeland's musical traditions was the recordings they made in the United Kingdom. A different approach, therefore, has been taken in analysing Carnival music after the advent of regular recordings by Trinidad musicians.

More often than not, from this time, recordings of Trinidad music were made in the metropolis of New York City, in the United States. Thus, usually, the very act of recording represented the same separation from the Carnival that occurred in Britain after the Second World War. The way in which recordings were made is a more complex process. This factor, however, provides a convenient method by which recordings can be discussed in relationship both to the Carnival, and the migration of musicians to the metropolises.

Another theme, that runs through the history of any form of black music in the Americas, is that of Africa. The brutal separation of Africans by transportation across the Atlantic and enslavement in the Americas. The way in which slaves preserved their

association with Africa. The way in which this changed as black people were freed and established themselves in the Americas. The way in which African identification was maintained following Emancipation. The way in which contact was maintained with Africa. Black American music played a significant role in this last category and, in West Africa during the 1950s, an important contribution was made by recordings by London-based Trinidad calypsonians. Evidence for this, and other phases of African-American association, are an underlying objective of this investigation. They also help to define what has come to be known as black *creole* culture - the culture of the displaced African in the Americas.

An effort has been made to present observations taken from newspapers and other similar sources in the context of the time that they were published. A principal aspect of this method is the use of quotations from these sources in order to give a flavour of the language of the period in which a particular event took place.

In the context of some of the aspects of black culture investigated here, reliance on periodicals, journals and books (many of which were written by white observers), presupposes literacy, or literary mediation. This, in a culture that was based on oral methods of communication. The relationship between the printed and spoken word has been explored by Walter Ong, who shows, however, that this is a two-way process.² Among black people in the West Indies, the ability to use the spoken word has been a longstanding tradition. Individual wordsmiths may not always have been literate but, one way or another, they found a means to obtain an extended vocabulary. The Trinidad calypsonian belongs to this tradition. Another facet of such exchanges of ideas was in music.

Roger Wallis and Krister Malm have identified the enigma of this attitude towards culture with respect to European-American ideas of copyright. They point out, with respect to Trinidad calypso, that:

It is not easy to merge the cultural norms of a society where music is regarded as a gift to the public with the legal norms where individual ownership is the holiest pinnacle!³

This observation was made in 1984, long after the period covered by this investigation. It points up, however, the cultural dilemma that has existed among black Americans since slavery - their relationship with the European-American ideas they encountered on their displacement from Africa.

With these criteria in mind it is necessary to summarise key factors in the development of black music in the Caribbean in general and English-speaking West Indian regions in particular, from the time of their discovery and conquest by European states.

1 For Jamaica see, for instance: Sebastian Clarke, *Jah Music*, London, Heinemann, 1980; and Stephen Davis and Peter Simon, eds., *Reggae International*, London, Thames & Hudson, 1983. These pay some attention to origins. Recent publications on Trinidad calypso are less effective in this respect. The song form is discussed as oral literature (from the 1950s) in Keith Q. Warner, *Kaiso! The Trinidad Calypso*, Washington, D.C., Three Continents Press, 1982 [published in Britain as *The Trinidad Calypso*, London, Heinemann, 1983]. Raymond Quevedo, *Atila's Kaiso*, St. Augustine, University of West Indies, 1983, reviews the evolution of calypso (to 1950) but lacks historical discipline; and the Roaring Lion uses questionable scholarship in his *Calypso: From France to Trinidad*, San Juan, Trinidad, General Printers, c. 1987. Most recently, a more reliable foundation has been provided by Gordon Rohlehr's *Calypso & Society In Pre-Independence Trinidad*, Port of Spain, Trinidad. Gordon Rohlehr, 1990.

2 Walter J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy: The Technologizing of the Word*, London, Methuen, 1982.

3 Roger Wallis and Krister Malm, *Big sounds from small peoples: The music industry in small countries*, London, Constable, 1984, p.188.

I INTRODUCTION

1. Historical Background To West Indian Music

Differing European colonisers, post-colonial conquests, and the slave trade

The development of culture in the West Indies reflects the relationship of peoples from three continents - Europe, America and Africa. Their contact was forced by the circumstances of late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century European expansion, involving American conquest, and the African trade. Europeans endeavoured to establish and augment footholds in America and the Caribbean archipelago. These were for the benefit of individual states on Europe's western seaboard, which had sponsored voyages of discovery and trade.

Variables include different geographical conditions in individual Caribbean islands, or mainland America - North and South - and, the interaction with differing European traditions established by this colonisation. They were modified, sometimes by fortunes of war, and sometimes by other political circumstances. These and other factors produced a complicated cultural pattern across the Americas, one that becomes even more entangled when it is realised that the traditions of the area's original Native American inhabitants were also absorbed by both Europeans and black slaves.¹ The latter were coerced from Africa, to replace a hostile and, or, ailing indigenous population. Many Native Americans were decimated by diseases introduced by Europeans, to which they had no natural resistance. This, and hostility to territorial overthrow, led their conquerors to seek labour in Africa for large-scale agricultural plantations, growing staples for expanding European economies. Like the differing Native American nations, whom they inadvertently replaced, or, with whom they sometimes intermarried, black slaves did not represent a uniform African 'culture' but were drawn from many areas of that continent, adding to the evolving American cultural complexity.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the importation of Africans as slaves into the Caribbean was one of the most consistent factors in a region that otherwise reflected the instability of various European nations, as they jostled for trading supremacy. Many West Indian islands changed hands in these conflicts, some on several occasions. Both Jamaica and Trinidad were originally Spanish possessions, although their British acquisition was almost one-hundred-and-fifty years apart, the first in 1655, the second in 1797.²

Cultural 'repression' and African 'resistance' of slaves

The subject of African cultural 'retentions' or 'extensions' among slaves transported in bondage from Africa to the Americas has received a great deal of attention from scholars during this century, especially in the past three decades. There are many different opinions as to the effect of slavery and the possibility of slaves having maintained a degree of cultural integrity in the face of their oppression. One theory, in fashion during the first half of this century, argued that slaves were stripped of every vestige of their past, and wholly subsumed by the ideas of their 'European' orientated masters. While it is clear that African culture was actively discouraged by New World plantation operators, this was not absolute. Accepting there are few accounts by slaves themselves there is material evidence to show that cultural values were sustained and developed in resistance to the pressures of enslavement, especially in activities beyond the compass of the repressors. This 'African' integrity, varied according to considerations of space, time and circumstances of enslavement, manumission, escape, or eventual emancipation.

The complex evolution of African-derived culture in the Americas is best demonstrated by a contemporary example: Sally and Richard Price's pioneering study of the *Afro-American Arts Of The Suriname Rain Forest*. Direct and identifiable African links were thought to have been preserved in this region because local communities were founded by escaped African slaves (Maroons) whose primary interest was a preservation of their former homeland's lifestyle. Of special relevance, however, is the Prices'

observation that 'dance styles exhibit the same regional diversity and tendency towards evolution through time as do other kinds of Maroon performance'.³ The main thesis of their work is that an aesthetic synthesis, drawn from a variety of African cultures, was founded in the historical circumstances of the Surinam Maroon communities' origins in America. They argue that it is this positive statement of New World integrity which actively informs present Maroon creative arts, rather than an ossification of past remembrances.⁴ Elsewhere Sidney Mintz and Richard Price have advanced a similar view for the Caribbean region as a whole, emphasising the variability of black slave and subsequent experience in the Americas, and the building 'of life-ways to...meet daily needs'.⁵

Emancipation: consolidation of a new African-American culture

In the British West Indies slaves were granted freedom on 1 August 1834, but a scheme known as 'Apprenticeship' was introduced as a means of sustaining an African-American plantation labour force. This failed in 1838 and the former slaves became free citizens on 1 August, in that year.⁶ In one sense, this event parallels the effect on slaves who had escaped previously and established free (Maroon) communities away from plantation control - a radical change in their circumstances.

The result of this change varied from territory to territory but, in general, a new culture evolved that transformed and developed earlier patterns of slave resistance and replaced them with a positive response to freedom.

Indentured labour: a substitute for slavery

Planters looked for means to maintain a reliable and cheap labour force to sustain their production of staples. In the British West Indian islands several methods were adopted: for example, Africans were encouraged to migrate across the Atlantic; cargoes of African slaves, freed by the British Navy while in transit to American countries where

slavery still existed, were 'rescued' and deposited in various islands; Chinese were encouraged to migrate to the Caribbean as indentured labour; and, most successfully (for the planters), so were many people from the sub-continent of India. A steady stream of East Indians was brought to Trinidad, Guyana, and to a lesser extent Jamaica, from the mid-nineteenth century to the early-twentieth century. Indentureship tied workers to plantation life and provided the continuity for which the estate owners had been looking. Although considered only in passing here, the East Indians became part of the cultural *milieu*. They responded to dynamic circumstances that influenced their heritage in much the same way as peoples of African origin.

Economic and political change

Individual territories from North to South America, and in the Caribbean archipelago, where at one time or another slavery was a feature, were each subject to differing economic and material development. In the West Indies, trade (and therefore cultural contact) was maintained with Europe, the American mainland, Africa, between islands, and elsewhere. This enterprise fluctuated with political circumstances as they affected each of these areas.

2. Expressive Arts As A Guide To The Evolution Of African-American Music In The English-Speaking West Indies - Music And Migration

Aspects of selected black musical traditions in the Caribbean

A brief indication of these traditions will allow greater understanding of the complexity of influences that underlie the area's music and its relationship with America (North and South), Europe and Africa. This also provides a means of establishing a degree of social context in which migrant musicians, to the United States and Britain, operated

when they made commercial recordings of their indigenous music in the period from 1912 (first recordings) to 1962 (Independence).

During the era of African slavery complicated class structures developed in each Caribbean island and elsewhere in the Americas. In very simplified terms the Africans can be divided into two groups:

- (i) slaves newly arrived from Africa
- (ii) Creole slaves (born in the Americas).

There were also free(ed) Africans, and people of mixed (African/European/Native American) ancestry. Free Europeans were generally the controlling plantocracy and, therefore, in many circumstances a class hierarchy was maintained by skin-colour gradations based on European perceptions.⁷ In the English-speaking (British) Caribbean this structure operated virtually exclusively until the slave trade was abolished in 1807.⁸ The changes that ensued because 'imported' African slaves were not readily available, provide a convenient fulcrum for this summary of selected musical developments. The point is arbitrary. It has been chosen because a proportion of early nineteenth-century descriptions of black music in the British Caribbean differentiate between 'African' and 'Creole' performance. In addition the event allowed an evolution of almost wholly black Creole populations and cultures in respective islands.

As has been mentioned, the next significant legislative dates in this context are the 'abolition' of slavery itself, in 1834, with the introduction of 'Apprenticeship' for the newly 'freed slaves', and the subsequent curtailment of the latter in 1838. The dynamic significance of these events on the culture of ex-slaves has also been pointed out. From this time, and throughout the later nineteenth century, descriptions of black culture by the white elite reflect these circumstances.

Obviously, some cultural traits were a continuing feature of black manual labour. They maintained their existence because blacks were employed or employed themselves to work collectively in both the slavery- and post-slavery period. An example is the call and response singing of work songs, including shanties (or chanties).⁹ A similar apparent

stability can be demonstrated for the use of certain musical instruments known or believed to have been brought from Africa to the Americas.

The *banjo* in the Americas

John Gabriel Stedman obtained a *Creole bania* (banjo) while fighting 'the Revolted Negroes of Surinam' (1772-1777). This has recently been rediscovered in a Dutch museum by Richard and Sally Price, and represents the oldest banjo in existence.¹⁰ Its designation as a *Creole bania* indicates that this particular artefact was constructed in America. Of string instruments known to have evolved in the New World, however, the basic design of this type of lute chordophone almost certainly originated in West Africa. There is substantial evidence for this assertion. Senegambian archetypes for the banjo have been carefully investigated by Michael Coolen, and Dena J. Epstein has provided a convincing chronology of descriptions for the instrument's origin in Africa and distribution in North America and the French- and English-speaking West Indies.¹¹ Of sixty-four quotations dating from between 1621 and 1851, in which she identifies the *banjo* (or *banza*), six are from Africa (including one on board a slave ship), twenty from the area that became the United States (including four from French-speaking Louisiana) and the balance (thirty eight) from the English-speaking- and French-speaking-West Indies (respectively twenty seven and eleven).¹² In the period 1800-1851, Epstein documents sixteen references to blacks playing banjos in the West Indies:

Antigua	(1844)	1 example
(French) Antilles	(1810)	1 example
Guadeloupe	(1800)	1 example
Jamaica	(1804-1843)	10 separate examples, from 7 sources
Leeward Islands	(1826)	1 example
St. Croix	(1838)	1 example
St. Vincent	(1849)	1 example
(wrongly ascribed to Trinidad)		

For the United States (1806-1851) she gives ten examples from ten different sources.¹³

The *marimba* in the Americas

The general purpose of Epstein's banjo research does not take into account exact social context but it does give an indication of the transmission of ideas from one group of people to another. The *marimba* (a form of xylophone) provides another similar example. This instrument was probably introduced into Central America by black slaves early in the period of the Spanish conquest. It appears that the slaves were so thoroughly absorbed into the local community that the *marimba* is now regarded as a Native American instrument in Guatemala and Mexico in a tradition that has spread as far as Costa Rica.

Blacks, certainly introduced a different type of *marimba* to the Pacific littoral of northern Ecuador and southern Colombia where they have maintained its use by institutional conservation.¹⁴ Dena Epstein documents reports of slaves playing the *balafo* (a related type of xylophone) in Barbados (1656), French Antilles (1776, 1780), Jamaica (1823), St. Vincent (1791) and Virginia (1775, 1776) but this instrument is no longer known in any of these areas.¹⁵ It is also recalled in Brazil (pre. 1953) and Surinam (1796, 1806).¹⁶

The *mbira* in the Americas

The *lamellaphone*, or *mbira*, a related musical instrument, exists in certain Caribbean islands: Cuba, Curaçao, Dominican Republic, Haiti, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, and Trinidad. Usually called a *marimbula* in these locations, it is normally a large 'bass' version of this plucked idiophone.¹⁷ It is known also in the Atlantic coastal region of Colombia, in Venezuela and, from a 1943 report, in Uruguay.¹⁸ A smaller version, the split-reed *benta*, was found by Sally and Richard Price during their research with the Saramaka maroon communities in Surinam (1960s-70s).¹⁹ John Gabriel Stedman obtained an example there in the 1770s, called the *Loango-bania*, but unlike the banjo, mentioned previously, this can no longer be found.²⁰ Nineteenth-century accounts

indicate the presence of *sanzas* (another of its various names) in places as far apart as New Orleans (*marimba brett*) and Brazil.²¹

As with the other examples it must be stressed that these facts do not in themselves indicate a continuous use and development throughout the area from the slavery period. The twentieth century popularity of the *marimbula*, primarily in Spanish-speaking Latin America, may well owe its origin to Cuban musical groups who featured it in many significant and popular commercial recordings from the 1920s, and also appeared in contemporary commercial sound films shown in the region.²² Writing on the 'Musical Instruments of Haiti' in 1941, Harold Courlander describes this large plucked idiophone as one favoured 'for Haitian Méringues and Cuban type dances such as the Rhumba' played by small ensembles, implying a Cuban association (perhaps via the Dominican Republic, in the same island).²³ Its name, *rhumba box*, in Jamaica tends to confirm this, especially as Jamaican labour travelled to and from Cuba to cut sugar cane before the Second World War and almost certainly saw and heard the *marimbula* there. In the course of this research a Jamaican source for the *rhumba box* has not been located earlier than 1948.²⁴ George List, who arranged for the construction of a *marimbula* in Colombia in 1965, indicates its popularity there came almost certainly from a 1920s Cuban stimulus and, also, that it was not known on the Pacific littoral where the *marimba* (xylophone) is played.²⁵ In Trinidad, Andrew Pearse notes how the *sanza* demonstrates 'the failure of a set of imported norms to find lodgment in a social institution'. His case study is a good example of the process.

'An old Trinidadian, son of a Congo, remembers a group of old Africans who would sit in the house of the dead at wakes, playing the "banja" (*sanza*) and singing about the dead while the younger people danced the Bongo outside. Neither songs nor instrument became a part of the ceremonies connected with the dead. Bongo in the yard, and the singing of "Sankeys" in the house is the firmly established form. But the Banja re-appeared made by the boys of Belmont out of a kerosene tin with bamboo tongues attached. This they used for hide-and-seek, the hider playing the banja and singing "*Allez toujours! C'est là même l'est, cherchez pou; l'i c'est là l'est.*" They had refabbed the instrument in local material, given it a temporary standing as one of a regular set of children's games, and maintained a vestige of belief about the banja that it spoke with a "spirit voice", and that you could not tell where this voice came from. Today the instrument exists as the "*basse-en-boîte*", large enough to stand on the floor and be played with the thumbs as a cheap substitute for the plucked three stringed 'cello, used for a bass in the traditional String Band (with badol, cuatro, guitar, etc.)'.²⁶

The use of *basse-en-boîte* to provide bass in string bands parallels its Cuban use and may also reflect indirectly the influence of the 1920s-30s Cuban popular band recordings.

Black musical instruments in North America and the Caribbean

The most obvious musical instrument identified as 'African' in historical and contemporary literature on black music in the Americas is the drum. The complexity of the manufacture of different types of drums in the New World, however, is beyond the scope of this discussion.²⁷ In specific terms, certain types of drums are part of a general pattern of eighteen categories of musical instruments Harold Courlander shows to be or have been common in black music in both the West Indies and the United States.²⁸ The latter fall into the classes of *Idiophones*: concussion, percussion, shaken, scraped, plucked; *Membranophones*: tubular drums, mirlitons; *Chordophones*: bowed, harps, lutes; and *Aerophones*: lip-vibrated, flutes.²⁹ For the purpose of exploring some of the musical links between European and West Indian music, especially in the nineteenth century, two of these will be considered further: the tambourine (a type of tubular drum) and the fiddle (a bowed chordophone). Both appear to be musical instruments of European manufacture, or design, adopted by blacks in the Americas.³⁰

As a single-headed membranophone, the tambourine has a clear relationship with drums, European or African. Bowed chordophones are also known in West Africa, in the savannah interior, beyond the drum-orientated rain forest coastal region. It is possible, as Paul Oliver has suggested (in the context of North America), that African slaves from this area already familiar with string instrument traditions quickly adapted their knowledge to European string instruments such as the fiddle in the New World.³¹ In historical accounts of dances held by blacks in the English-speaking Caribbean, the fiddle is often reported in combination with the tambourine. This will be discussed in Chapter II.

Black music and social institutions in the Caribbean

Examining 'Cultural Links' between Africa and the New World, Harry Hoetink distinguishes three types of cultural influence and innovation. Simplified, they are:

- 1) blended and moulded African anthrocultures (that identify a given social system)
- 2) class-based sociocultures
- 3) ethnic group or Creole forms of thought and behaviour within a larger society.

They function in conglomeration.³²

In terms of the case study in Chapter II describing the evolution of the *kalenda* dance (with specific reference to Trinidad), they might be identified with interrelated drum-accompanied cultural forms:

Pre-Emancipation

- 1) sacred/secular ritual (anthroculture)
(the origin in sacred ritual is implied but not proven) : Dance

Post-Emancipation

- 2) secular confrontation (socioculture) : Dance/Game(stickfighting)
- 3) secular recreation (ethnic group) : Dance/Game(stickfighting)

These types of cultural influence and innovation, in turn, conform with an institutional approach to the study of Caribbean music first put forward by Andrew Pearse in his 1955 'Aspects of Change in Caribbean Folk Music'.³³ More recently Pearse has provided a more effective introduction in which he outlines social contexts that parallel Hoetink's analysis: 'Music in Caribbean Popular Culture' (1978).³⁴ This, and the earlier article, deal with the islands of Carriacou, Grenada, Tobago, and Trinidad. They form a basis for the present study. His findings are therefore summarised.

Andrew Pearse's analysis is based on a careful ethnographic study of the Eastern Caribbean, undertaken between 1953 and 1955, with particular emphasis on 'popular' or 'folk' culture and its historical development.³⁵ He indicates the ruthless consequence of imposed colonial culture, arguing this had considerable detrimental effect on the institutional structures of Africans enslaved in West Indian plantation societies. Despite

this active discouragement, however, it was not wholly successful. Pearse draws attention to evidence showing development of behavioural forms 'to defend and preserve areas of interstitial liberty and to preserve certain elements of the African cultures'. He notes that this applies particularly to the maintenance of a 'vast substratum of cultural forms and penchants', expressed in Creole (or African-American) language and music, including:

Forms

somatic styles
tales
myths
religious beliefs and
attitudes

Penchants

patterns of thought and feeling
syntax of expression
melodic and rhythmic motifs
other propensities³⁶

By about 1840, following the abolition of slavery and its after effects, Pearse argues, a new creative non-slave culture was developed in the English-speaking Caribbean. This redefinition of social divisions reflected not only selective absorption and adaptation, by black Creoles, of contemporary influences imposed by the administrative structure of the society (law, religion, education etc.) but a transformation and development of 'existing cultural elements', to which were added 'other components of the environment'. The latter included migrants from Africa, Europe, and the Orient, and movements of people between different West Indian islands, and the Spanish Main.

He notes, in turn, that this change in the position of the labour force led to: altered patterns of settlement; the emergence of peasantries; the exercise of new judicial rites; and the formation of new social organisations (institutions). Ceremonies or performances became central to some of these new institutions, in which musical activity was a primary component on occasions (using the classification of cultural forms) such as:

Somatic Styles

parades and representations
games
work by teams of co-workers

Tales & Myths

storytelling

Religious Beliefs & Attitudes

religion and magic
the critical junctures of the life cycle in the family (*rites de passage*).³⁷

Predominant characteristics of the Creole music (penchants) performed at these occasions, he indicates, were:

- (i) rhythmic metre and variation;
- (ii) patterned movement;
- (iii) melody; and
- (iv) words.

His thesis is that musical proliferation, generation, evolution, and change are encompassed by transfer from one social institution to another, using a taxonomy where kinds of music correspond to institutions, types exist within each kind, and items within each type. In applying these criteria, Pearse picks ten examples of circumstances that determine musical development and, 'excluding East Indian and purely superstructural music', goes on to identify thirty one 'kinds of music' and related 'institutions' in the four islands of Carriacou, Grenada, Tobago, and Trinidad. He denotes each kind by its local name, and also indicates geographical distribution.³⁸

Using the thirty one examples as his sample, he notes that by investigating kinds of music 'and their relation to one another in time and space', one is led 'to the conclusion that the most important type of change is that which can be summarised as the movement of items from kind to kind, that is from one social institution to another'. Such movements include people bearing musical norms from:

- (i) one culture to another;
- (ii) one island sub-culture to another;
- (iii) one social institution to another at the same level in the same society;
- (iv) one institution to another up and down the social scale;
- (v) from a rural to an urban institution in the same society.

He gives a theoretical example of a New World migrant adapting to his new environment by participating in an institution already in existence there and adjusting his musical norms accordingly. The migrant might be successful in passing on his modified musical norms to that institution, or not as the case may be.³⁹

Using the sample seven practical examples are also discussed. These demonstrate the occurrences of musical desuetude in displaced institutions, and musical persistence in both exclusive minority institutions and open cumulative institutions. In the latter case, usually by accretion from other institutions.⁴⁰

In conclusion, Pearse suggests that circumstances for musical change 'could be subjected to explanatory treatment in terms of the wider system of patterned behaviour in the setting of which they take place, with special attention to

- (a) the movement of items from one kind to another;
- (b) the participation in a particular kind by executants who have received their musical technique in another kind;
- (c) the changing social function of a particular institution, and the consequent changing of the conditions determining its kind of music; and
- (d) the influence of technological changes.⁴¹

This approach has been extended, by Kenneth Bilby, in a recent and important overview of 'The Caribbean as a Musical Region', in which he identifies African-European stylistic continuums based on each country or island in the area, in which individuals participate according to musical context. He also puts these movements, from one context to another, into an international perspective that can be seen as 'a cultural pool held in common by the larger society to which each individual has at least access'.⁴² In twentieth-century international terms, they are demonstrated by discussion (elsewhere) of the dissemination, in the Caribbean, North America and Europe, of four examples from the English-speaking West Indian musical repertoire.⁴³ As is implied, an institutional framework for the many variables apparent in Caribbean musical styles underpins the interpretations in the present analysis.

Secular and sacred rituals and social institutions

In the light of this approach it is apparent that one of the ways in which links with the African past can be explored institutionally, is by secular and sacred rituals and their associated music and dances. In this respect two recent scholarly collections provide a necessary sample of accounts of black music and dance in the English-speaking Caribbean during the slavery and immediate post-slavery period: (i) Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes And Spirituals* (Urbana, 1978) and (ii) Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed, eds., *After Africa* (New Haven, 1983). Epstein also pays some attention to the French-speaking West Indies. With quotations taken from travel and other contemporary documents, these two

books establish both a general presence of black music and dance and specific descriptions of local institutions by which they were maintained and, or, altered. Nineteenth-century contextual evidence in this study will generally rely on these two secondary sources, supplemented, on occasion, by pertinent and more complete references from elsewhere. Emphasis will be on secular events and music.⁴⁴

Epstein's book is focussed on the development of black music in the U.S.A. from the inception of slavery to the decade of the Civil War in the 1860s. In this she identifies numerous links between North America and the French- and English-speaking Caribbean that were forged in trade, including the 'odious commerce' of slaves. Her work on the banjo's African links and American development has already been identified. More pertinent to this discussion, however, because of its probable links with a nineteenth- and twentieth-century drum dance in the French- and English-speaking Caribbean, is her survey of the origins of the *calenda*; nowadays most frequently spelt *kalenda* or *kalinda*.⁴⁵

The *kalenda* commentary is extended in Chapter II. It must be noted, however, that the late nineteenth century the term has been used in Trinidad to describe stickfighting, individual or collective combats that often took place on seasonal occasions such as Shrovetide Carnival. A designation also for singing and dancing, *kalenda* verses and melodies are two of the components that were absorbed by the Trinidad calypso.⁴⁶ The latter, a 'Kind of Music', using Pearse's terminology, appears to have been consolidated at the beginning of the twentieth century. It has also been associated with the social institution of Carnival from that time. Such interrelationships point up the significance of Christian calendar festivals when discussing musical activities in the Caribbean. They also show one effect of differing doctrinal emphases that were sustained by the various European-orientated hierarchies in the West Indies.

The European nations which conquered the Caribbean were all nominally Christian in their religion and, in consequence, imposed an annual cycle of Christian festivals on the territories they conquered. These events had evolved in relation to the seasonal cycle of the northern hemisphere, adopted and adapted by the Church during the conversion of Europe to Christianity. In turn, certain of these festivals cross a divide between sacred and

secular that was subsequently developed to accommodate the sometimes delicate relationship between Church and State in differing European countries. This was complicated further by the split between the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches.

As a generalization, the most persistent musical evolutions in the Caribbean are associated with events that might be sacred or secular, sometimes - as with Carnival - reflecting a combination of both. Usually such activities show some evidence of cross-fertilization stemming from adaptation to new circumstances by people of African, European, and other cultures involved in the world diaspora to the Americas.

In Jamaica, where the predominant European Christian influence has been Protestantism, the primary black sacred/secular celebration is known as 'Jonkonnu'. It has been held at Christmas for two centuries or more and is also held on 1 August, in commemoration of the day when Apprenticeship was abolished throughout the British Caribbean. Among other 'Protestant' islands, St Kitts-Nevis have their 'Christmas Sports' including mumming, Bermuda its 'Gombey' parades, while the Bahamas also use 'Jonkonnu' as the name for their Christmas festivities.

Caribbean-French sugar planters and their slaves, from Martinique and other French-speaking territories in the region, settled in Trinidad in the 1780s. They consolidated the European influence of Roman Catholicism in the island and thereby provided the focus for its most important sacred/secular event - Carnival. Christmas is also celebrated to a lesser extent. The history of both festivals has been traced from the time the British took the island from Spain in 1797. Shrovetide Carnivals are held also in Carriacou, Dominica, Grenada, St. Lucia, St. Vincent and Tobago.⁴⁷

Music is a fundamental ingredient of these events - whether the primary activity is at Christmas, Carnival, or at another point in the calendar - and is organized to accompany street parades and other forms of communal or individual competitive activity, including recreational dances.

Festivals provide a focal point for performing different musical styles that have evolved separately in each of the islands of the Caribbean, sometimes just in the context of these types of carnivalesque, but more often than not also in relation to other social

activities. They also integrate with common elements such as language and similar cultural evolutions, including migration of people from island to island, or elsewhere, in the course of international circumstances.

Using a sample of occasions for dancing, extracted principally from accounts in *After Africa*, the importance of festivals in the pre- and immediately-post-slavery periods is evident. This sample can also be used to establish a guide to the general pattern of such activities in the English-speaking West Indies (Table I).

From this, it becomes apparent that music for festival processions and, or, music for dancing are primary components of such events and point to a fruitful line of enquiry when assessing the evolution of African-American music in the English-speaking Caribbean.⁴⁸ In addition, the repertoire (or 'kind of music') associated with each event ('institution') provides a framework for analysis.

For the purpose of this investigation, the circum Caribbean provides geographical scope and includes Guyana in South America, Belize in Central America, and the island of Bermuda, situated north of the Caribbean Sea, in the Atlantic Ocean.

3. Defining The Repertoire In The English-Speaking West Indies

Nineteenth-century musical background

In the English-speaking area as a whole, British music from that of the social 'elite' to that of the 'folk' had considerable influence, including the 'mother country's' military repertoire. The latter is represented by black membership in the bands of the armed forces and the police, after the formation of these units and the recruitment of black musicians to their ranks. Such factors must be remembered in any assessment of musical evolution in the region. Discussion of these contributions to the development of musical culture in the Caribbean is limited, however, by the range of useful and accessible descriptions of musical activities.

While *After Africa* by Abrahams and Szwed is an important collection of secondary sources for the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century background of black music in the English-speaking West Indies, it serves this purpose only generally. No co-ordinated ethnographic breakdown by musical style, nor by island, is provided. It has been necessary, therefore, to identify and extract such information from this book, Epstein, and other works of secondary or primary significance. The data has been tabulated and two principal musical instruments feature in the results - the drum, and the fiddle (violin).⁴⁹

Defining the role of the drum

In the mind of some European-orientated observers drums, drumming and related dancing seem to have been symbolically associated with Africa. This might be directly (performances, usually in the slavery period, by newly arrived Africans) or, indirectly (pre- and post-emancipation drum dances performed by Creoles). European hierarchies in the Caribbean feared the drum and always controlled it legally, as a 'nuisance', or, prior to Emancipation, because of its potency in signalling slave revolt.⁵⁰ In addition, the complex pattern of drum rhythms was outside European compass and, therefore, posed an additional threat founded in incomprehension. Proselytizing Christian missionaries saw drum dances as sacrilegious and tried to stamp them out. In all this the drum usually symbolized not only 'uncivilized' Africa, but also violent disorder and, for European churches, the work of the devil.

For Christian missionaries brought up in Europe, drumming posed a particular dilemma. In their homeland it was the fiddle rather than the drum that was sometimes cast in the role of the 'devil's instrument', especially when it provided accompaniment for 'wild' dancing. Their association of unbaptised blacks with 'non-Christian' belief, however, was enough to transpose this symbolism to drum dances, in the light of unaccustomed dance movements, sound, and the continuous rhythmic playing of the drummers.

In reality, such interpretations are usually very far from the truth, even in the eyes of European diarists and travel writers, as the tabulated abstractions exemplify in Appendix 1. A general pattern emerges for the nineteenth-century slavery and post-slavery periods, founded on occasions for dances that have been described already. Dances, however, were not exclusive to these events, neither were the accompaniment of drums. Activities might include other somatic styles, such as processions and games that could involve drum music, or different musical instruments. Drums and drumming varied also, dependent on circumstances of place, time, and historical precedent.⁵¹ In one respect, however, the potency of the drum as a signal for African integrity was sustained alongside these variations - by its use for sacred ceremony. Consciously, or subconsciously, despite changes exacted by separate evolution and cross-fertilization, links to both sacred and secular events, were thereby maintained. On this level, the drum remains a symbol of Africa in black music from the Caribbean to this day.⁵²

Defining the role of the fiddle

Whatever their cultural backgrounds, among other factors encouraging black slave musicians to adopt the fiddle was their creative adaptability, the instrument's relative availability, and a nostalgic inclination by the white plantation hierarchy for music from their European homelands. This led eventually to slave absorption of European melodies and introduced dances of European origin into slave communities, especially at festive occasions when ritual licence allowed blacks and whites to mix on terms of 'equality'. It must be emphasised, that 'African' dances were also performed.⁵³ Evidence in Epstein's *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals* and Abrahams' and Szwed's *After Africa*, shows that these observations apply to the United States and the English-speaking Caribbean.

A Caribbean sample based primarily on nineteenth-century entries in *After Africa*, and supplemented occasionally by other sources, indicates that the fiddle was used in two categories of performance: dances and processions.⁵⁴ The instrument is specified in eight territories between the 1780s and 1880s. This is best shown by tabulation of the whole

sample, where musical instrumentation is noted (Appendix 1), and a simplified table, describing the entries where the fiddle is identified (Table II). The sample is very small but it does give an indication of the fairly widespread distribution of the instrument and the events where it was used. Chapter II will provide a more detailed breakdown of this data. It is necessary, however, to draw attention to the use of the fiddle as a primary instrument for blacks performing formal European-style dances in the Caribbean.

While there was a strong tradition of playing string instruments in the West African savannah, which may well account for the easy adoption of the fiddle by black slaves in the Americas, in manufacture and design this instrument was developed in Europe. Alongside the association of the fiddle with European-style dances this gave the instrument an allegorical status representing 'civilization' (or, 'decorum') in the New World.

This is not to deny a role for the fiddle in other music-making purposes - like the drum, fiddles were also used to accompany street parades - but it does emphasise a singular factor in its New World status among black musicians and white observers of their playing.

In parallel with the drum being a most appropriate symbol for Africa in the West Indies it can be said, therefore, that the fiddle became the most representative musical symbol for the European contribution to black music in the same region. These are, of course, considerable simplifications, but they do provide focal points for discussion of the issues involved in the complex of musical evolution under consideration, especially in the nineteenth century.

Dances, processions and seasonal occasions

The types of dances that were performed when either fiddles or drums were the lead instruments will be discussed in Chapter II. A basis for gaining a fuller understanding of some of these events, when 'secular' music-making took place in the late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, can be established by further examination of the musical descriptions contained in *After Africa* and other relevant sources (Appendix 1). Of particular significance, in the light of the roles identified for drums and fiddles, is the geographical

spread of dances and processions in this period and their association with calendar festivals. These are best shown by tabulation (Table III).

The pattern of these events and any possible relationships between them will be explored more fully in Chapter III. The table demonstrates that seasonal occasions are a useful method of exploring the evolution of black music in the English-speaking Caribbean. In addition, a breakdown of musical instruments mentioned in these reports indicates a central role for the drum and the fiddle in street parades as well as dances (Table IV).

As with all the statistics that have been compiled for this survey, this is a very limited sample. The data is intended simply to provide guidelines in an area of research that has received only sporadic documentation and little co-ordination in the context of its pan-Caribbean status.⁵⁵

Problems of documentation

Evidence presented to this point shows empirically some of the problems encountered in applying disciplined discussion to the historical development of black music in the English-speaking West Indies. They include - lack of organised resources; lack of comparative material (territory by territory); piecemeal ethnographic data (usually exclusive); and great difficulty, therefore, in maintaining coherent overall observations. Efforts to sustain such a breadth of vision are, however, necessary on three counts: (i) in the light of the British administration of what were their Caribbean colonies until 1962 (when this study ends); migration of people from territory to territory within the circum Caribbean, and to the U.S.A.; (iii) migration of peoples from each territory to Britain, especially in the period 1948-1962.

While breadth of vision remains an objective, however, using an emphasis suggested by the repertoire recorded by West Indians in Britain between 1948 and 1962 a more manageable compromise can be achieved. In general, musicians involved in these performances came from the then three principal British West Indian colonies: Trinidad,

Jamaica, and British Guiana (Guyana) and, in order of recorded emphasis, featured 'Kinds of Music' developed respectively in each of these territories - calypso, mento, and shanto. Leaving aside similarities and differences between these styles, unlike mento and shanto, calypso had become an internationally recognised music by the time it was first recorded commercially in Britain (in 1950). In turn, this has directed investigations towards a principal component of this study - the development of secular black music in Trinidad and, in particular, the calypso.

Calypso and Carnival in Trinidad: an evolving musical interrelationship

Reports of topical themes in African-American songs range from the period of slavery to the present day and in all regions of the Americas where *blacks have settled*. Calypso is one of the most famous of this genre to have developed in the Caribbean. In many respects it grew from the hierarchical structure of Trinidad Carnival bands which, in masquerade, adopted the European nomenclature of Kings, Queens, Lords, Ladies and other measures of social status. For the black maskers, in a world turned upside down, these served to satirize the symbols of European power as well as to establish an African-American authority over them. A pattern of past African hierarchies in the masquerade traditions was probably maintained. Lead singers, or chantwells, sang at the head of marching bands to responses sung in chorus by their members as they paraded competitively in Carnival. In line with band hierarchy the songsters also adopted 'powerful' names as their sobriquets. Among numerous accretions their topical calypsos known originally as *cariso* or *caliso* were based on earlier improvised songs for creole drum dances such as the *belair* and *old kalenda* (common in the French-speaking Caribbean), the songs of stickfighting-kalenda bands, the *bongo* wake dance, and the *paseo* dance rhythm from Venezuela.⁵⁶

The history of Trinidad Carnival, calypso, and other 'Kinds of Music' associated with the event will be described in greater detail in later chapters. It must be mentioned, however, that although, unlike other topics covered by this research, there are studies that

discuss the evolution of Trinidad Carnival, these proved less helpful than they appeared at first sight. Unexpected (and unexplained) inconsistencies were encountered in these secondary sources, that required resolution in the context of this study. Also, none provided adequate discussion of the links between the nineteenth-century evolution and twentieth-century development of Carnival.⁵⁷ These links are crucial to any understanding of the musical traditions brought to Britain by Trinidad migrants in the 1950s.

An historical sample of repertoire and a pointer to the development of commercial recordings - the 1914 Trinidad sessions by the Victor Talking Machine Company

Unlike Jamaica, where commercial recordings were not made locally until after the Second World War, music from Trinidad was first recorded in 1912 (in New York City, U.S.A.) and on location in the island in 1914. The earlier recordings, by Lovey's Trinidad String Band, will be discussed in Chapter VI, as will further particulars of the 1914 Trinidad sessions. Repertoire represented in the latter, however, must be considered here on the grounds of its historical status.

The 1914 recordings were made by the Victor Talking Machine Company (of Camden, New Jersey, U.S.A.). Arrival of the company's representatives was announced in the *Trinidad Mirror*, and *Port of Spain Gazette*, on 28 August. Their visit was described, in the *Gazette*, as a 'special trip to Trinidad for the purpose of recording a complete repertoire of Trinidadian music including Pasillos, Spanish Waltz and Two Steps by well known Bands; also Carnival and Patois songs and East Indian selections by local talent'. Victor's recording log confirms this account.⁵⁸

The initial batch of Victor releases from these sessions arrived for sale in Trinidad in time for the 1915 Carnival and, excepting 'sacred Mohammedan chants' by S.M. Akberali, virtually all the performances reflected music played and sung by black creoles.⁵⁹

In line with contemporary trends the 'calipsos' (the initial spelling of the term) were sung in English (with occasional words in French Creole). The patois (French Creole)

songs were stickfighting 'kalendas' and represented an earlier development in the evolution of Carnival music. Both styles were performed by popular singers whose profession has sometimes been identified with that of the troubadour. At this time, the minor key was the favourite for calypso and *kalenda* compositions and they therefore parallel blues, although the latter English-speaking black-North-American music was not recorded commercially until some six years later, and then only by vaudevillians. Troubadour blues singers did not appear in the lists of U.S. record companies until 1924.⁶⁰

Comparison should not be taken too far, in general differences outweigh similarities, yet calypso as a recognised English-language song form dates from the first years of the century, as does blues. In contrast, *kalenda* is a term that has been used in the Caribbean since the 1680s and, as will be demonstrated in Chapter II, originally described a male-female drum dance. It has already been shown that in Trinidad, by the 1890s, *kalenda* had come to denote the activities of stickfighters, whose combats were accompanied by percussion and songs relating to their exploits. Excluding the East Indian repertoire, the other recordings were from the string band tradition in Trinidad which, in turn, had been influenced heavily by dance music from Venezuela, on the Spanish Main (at its nearest, five miles from Trinidad across the Gulf of Paria). There were also European and North American dances and styles, the forms of which were almost certainly consolidated in Trinidad by printed sheet music obtained from those continents. It must be remembered that in this era gramophone records were a considerable novelty.

The full extent of the 'Kinds of Music' Victor recorded in Trinidad can be shown by tabulation (Table V). The majority of these items were not released, probably because of the First World War.⁶¹

In summation, two kinds of music sung by black creoles during the Carnival season were recorded by Victor at this time: *Calypso*, and *Kalenda*. Dances of Venezuelan origin formed the principal instrumental repertoire of the string bands: *Joropo*, *Paseo*, the *Spanish Vals* and the *Venezuelan Vals*. On later evidence the last named may have been synonymous with the *Spanish Vals*, and called also the *Castilian* in Trinidad.⁶² On the basis of nomenclature the *Paseo* was a Trinidad adaptation of the Venezuelan form. The

One-Step, *Two-Step* and *Rag* were of North American origin, while the *Waltz* was the only European dance featured.

The importance of these recordings is that they establish a reference point by which the stability of specific elements in the Trinidad repertoire can be judged. This will be covered more fully in Chapter VI. In general many of these 'Kinds of Music' originated in the nineteenth century, examples of most, however, were still being recorded commercially in both Trinidad and Britain into the 1950s.

The *kalenda* songs represent the direct descendants of drum music. Described, significantly, as 'Native' by Victor, their status appears to have been perceived as 'primitive' by the record company. Rather than drums, however, these recordings were accompanied by the percussive effect of stamping tubes (in Trinidad called *tamboo bamboo*) that often replaced drums after the latter became controlled stringently in the 1880s. The performances and association of such songs with stickfighting, therefore, represent the defiant, sometimes violent extremity of black creole society, that did not conform with colonial ideals of 'decorum'. Another aspect of their defiance is the continued use of French Creole for the song lyrics. Throughout the nineteenth century, this served as a semi-secret dialect in opposition to English, the language of political control in Trinidad.

The *calipsos*, whose roots are also in the music of drum dances, represent a different approach by the black creoles. They symbolise a controlled move towards compromise by use of the English language, and also string band accompaniment. At this time, however, creoles maintained the exclusivity of their territorially- and class-based Carnival bands, for whom this music was primarily performed.

The string band styles not only reflect Europe (in the complement of most of their musical instruments), but the creative black-creole adaptation of dance forms developed in Spanish America, as well as North America and Europe. Such music was performed for Carnival dances, and at other social occasions, and for different strata in Trinidad society.⁶³

In the evolution of commercially recorded Trinidad music, between the end of the First World War and the entry of the United States into the Second World War, the majority of performances maintained this general emphasis on Carnival and string band repertoire. Such 'Kinds of Music' can be considered 'Somatic Styles' (using Andrew Pearse's categories). They are not the only Trinidad repertoire to which this classification may be applied. To obtain a greater contextual understanding it is useful to establish other social institutions of this type in the island.

An historical sample of repertoire: traditional musical forms identified in Toco, Trinidad in 1939 by Melville and Frances Herskovits

The anthropologist who did most to raise the status of black culture in the white-orientated societies of Europe and America in the first half of the twentieth century was Melville J. Herskovits. Beginning in the late 1920s Herskovits started a systematic comparative documentation of black culture in Africa and in the New World, in an endeavour to re-establish the African past of descendants of African slaves and other blacks in the Americas. More often than not, as has been indicated, this was denied by prevailing social attitudes and scholarship at that time.⁶⁴

In the course of this work Herskovits and his wife Frances undertook many field trips, his final Caribbean research being an extended study of the African-American community of Toco, in the north-east corner of Trinidad, in 1939. Part of their pattern of observation involved the collecting of data describing the musical repertoire in Toco (and the capital, Port of Spain). Compilation of a classified catalogue of the styles of music they recorded provides the earliest systematic attempt at establishing the 'Kinds of Music' performed by blacks prevalent in the island in the context of space and time.⁶⁵

A checklist has been produced of relevant secular 'Kinds of Music' described by Herskovits. Together with the breakdown of somatic styles identified by Andrew Pearse, these provide an historical focal point for contextual understanding. Accepting the different criteria employed comparison with Pearse's similar findings maintains a form of

control and a general measure of repertoire stability.⁶⁶ Only repertoire identified by Herskovits is confirmed in this comparison (Table VI).

The relationship of these 'Kinds of Music' with those commercially recorded by the Victor Talking Machine Company in 1914 is generally self explanatory. It should be remembered, however, that *kalenda* is also a game which is danced. The dances of Venezuelan origin that Victor recorded were not reported by Herskovits, excepting *Passee* which may be another form of the word *Pasillo* (otherwise *Paseo*), a promenade dance.

Most of these 'Kinds of Music' will be discussed subsequently and a fuller understanding of their status in relation to one another can be obtained from Andrew Pearse's 'Music In Caribbean Popular Culture'. One aspect not touched upon in that article is the use of the reel-quadrille cycle of dances for ceremonies associated with *rites de passage* and magic which was reported by Herskovits as a feature of the music in Toco. This is explained by the migration of people from the nearby island of Tobago to that area of Trinidad early in this century. They brought their particular evolution of reel dancing which included these applications.⁶⁷ Such considerations further exemplify the problems in documenting musical migrations and their relationship to the wider perspective of the history of the English-speaking Caribbean.

An historical sample of repertoire: traditional musical forms identified in Jamaica, 1906-1924

Migration of people from island to island, as settlers, migrant workers, or, simply as sailors, are some of the means by which music was circulated in the Caribbean. To these must be added the distribution of mass-produced musical instruments and sheet music from both America and Europe. As the twentieth century progressed, gramophone records and radio broadcasts also influenced the shape of local music.

With this in mind, it is important to indicate aspects of the musical repertoire, performed in Jamaica, during the first half of the century. This in an attempt to establish

some historical measure of musical variation and similarity with Trinidad in the same period and, in the light of the broad-based objectives that underlie this study.

While a survey of black culture in Jamaica was undertaken systematically in the early 1920s by two folklorists from the U.S.A. (Martha Warren Beckwith and Helen Hartness Roberts), their findings are un-coordinated and scattered in a series of articles, pamphlets and two books. Reliance was placed in their research on two earlier twentieth-century books that deal with similar subject matter: Walter Jekyll's *Jamaican Song And Story* (London, 1907), and H.G. De Lisser's *In Jamaica And Cuba* (Kingston, 1910). All these sources, therefore, can be treated as a unity for the purposes of compiling a list of 'Kinds of Music' divided by somatic styles representing Jamaican repertoire in the first quarter of the century. The parameters are further defined by Jekyll's 'Preface', dated January 1906, and the years in which Beckwith undertook research in the island - summer 1919, winter 1921, winter 1922, spring 1924. In 1921 she was accompanied by Roberts who made cylinder recordings of songs, as, it appears, did Beckwith, perhaps on subsequent trips. Other available references researched, or published within this time span have also been taken into account.⁶⁸

In line with the list of Trinidad repertoire (Table V) comparison with more recent research has been achieved by amalgamating the annotated discussions of Jamaican repertoire published by Olive Lewin (1970) and Cheryl Ryman (1980).⁶⁹ Accepting differences in criteria in the works from which these inventories have been compiled (Table VII) maintains a form of control and a general measure of repertoire stability. As with the Trinidad tables, only repertoire identified previously is confirmed. The publication date of the first reference is noted alongside each entry in the column listing 1906-1924 repertoire.

Some of the similarities with the classified list of 'Kinds of Music' identified by Herskovits in Trinidad are readily apparent, notably the reel-quadrille cycle of dances, to which can be added (in the light of Victor's Trinidad string band recordings) ragtime, and the two-step, both of North American origin, the former with blacks in the U.S.A.⁷⁰

Like Carnival in Trinidad, Jonkonnu, the Christmas masquerade in Jamaica, is a focal point for many different musical styles. As well as its own particular 'Kind of

Music' (song/dance) it seems to have provided an occasion for the performance of *jámal* songs (comic - or satirical - songs for secular occasions). Dances from the reel-quadrille cycle and those of local origin such as catch-me-times, mentos, and *sha-shas* (shay-shays) also took place.⁷¹ While Jonkonnu songs were exclusive, however, these other 'Kinds of Music' were performed at Tea Meetings (a form of entertainment that at one time took place in several of the English-speaking West Indian territories)⁷² and at other social events. Another observation of importance is Beckwith's comment, that 'instrumental music is also generally accompanied by song'.⁷³

Two other aspects of this repertoire require further explanation: the Buru masquerade, and the Koromante dance (of the Windward Maroons). Regarding the former, in 1925 Roberts printed three versions of a song entitled *Matilde*. These had been collected from three different informants in Lacovia, St. Elizabeth Parish, during the Beckwith-Roberts field trip in 1921. She noted that there was 'considerable change in melody, rhythm and words' between the three, but that the motif was described as a 'Burro Dance'. She was told that the song was 'Spanish' and speculated that it 'probably came from Cuba', drawing attention to the frequency of contact between blacks from the two islands.⁷⁴ If it was Cuban in origin this musical migration was occasioned, presumably, by the seasonal use of Jamaican labour to cut sugar canes in Cuba, that has been mentioned previously.

In 1980, Cheryl Ryman reported 'Buru' as a fertility masquerade dance located in several Jamaican villages and also popular at one time in the capital Kingston where 'musicians played at "Coney Island" affairs on the occasion of welcoming released prisoners back into the community'. She also notes the adoption and adaptation of this music by Rastafarians in the 1940s. Fortuitously, Ryman provides an explanation for the title of the song collected by Roberts, describing the parading of a woman effigy named 'Mata Lundy', accompanied by young girls.⁷⁵ The Cuban-Spanish association of this masque in Jamaica is in part confirmed by a similar development in the evolution of Trinidad Carnival, where a Venezuelan-Spanish masquerade of similar name - Burroquito (meaning little donkey) - was introduced from across the Spanish Main.⁷⁶

While Roberts' 'Burro Dance' provides an excellent example of the dynamics of an 'open cumulative institution', the 'Koromanti Dance' (which she discusses in the context of Koromanti songs) evolved within a group of people who were both exclusive and in a minority. These were the Maroons - founded in the assertive action of rebel escaped slaves. Based in the eastern Blue Mountains there are three settlements today that comprise the Windward Maroons. In Accompong, St. Elizabeth Parish, reside the only remaining Leeward Maroon community in Jamaica.⁷⁷

The Coromante, or Kromanti, originated in the coastal region of Ghana, West Africa. In simplified terms they formed the one most powerful tribe (or nation) of African origin in the evolution of Windward and Leeward Maroon culture and, subsumed all others in the organisation of Maroon musical rituals. In the Windward Maroon settlement of Moore Town, the dance that bears the name *Kromanti* can be held for *business* (rituals, etc) or *pleasure*.⁷⁸

In 1907, Jekyll printed a topical song concerning a stickfight between a 'Coromanti' and 'a Kingston or down-town boy', which he describes as a 'ring tune'. Surprisingly, however, the earliest twentieth-century reference to the *Koromanti Dance* located in this research is in a collection of piano pieces by Josef Holbrooke entitled *Jamaican Dances For The Young*, published in London in 1922. How a dance with this particular title came to be included in this anthology has not been pursued. Beckwith and Roberts learned of the Accompong Maroons and visited them in 1921 specifically to collect Kromanti songs. They obtained ten selections, which Roberts subsequently analysed in an article on 'Possible Survivals Of African Song In Jamaica' (1926). She concluded that some links with Africa were reflected in this music.⁷⁹ The detailed relationship between Maroon music and the ritual music of other Jamaican religious cults is beyond the scope of this study and, is the subject of recent careful analysis.⁸⁰ It must be noted, however, that drum-accompanied music usually forms part of the rituals and despite an exclusive framework their evolution follows generally the pattern of 'Kinds of Music' moving from one institution to another.

An historical sample of repertoire defined by record label descriptions for commercial releases of English-speaking West Indian music: 1912-1945

The samples provided by the investigations of anthropologists and folklorists, into the secular musical repertoire of blacks in Trinidad and Jamaica during the first half of the twentieth century, make useful points for comparison when assessing vernacular music recorded commercially in the English-speaking West Indies during the same era.

It has been noted that string band music from Trinidad was first recorded in New York in 1912 by a group of visiting musicians (Lovey's Trinidad String Band) and that commercial recordings of local music were first made in Trinidad in 1914. Also, that no commercial recordings were made in Jamaica prior to the end of the Second World War.

Following the First World War, a pattern was established in which either visiting or expatriate musicians, principally from Trinidad, made commercial recordings in New York City, U.S.A., of music from the English-speaking West Indies for export to those territories. The process commenced in 1921 and was sustained until 1941, although between 1937 and 1940 location recordings were also made annually in Trinidad. The pattern was interrupted by the entry of the U.S. into the Second World War in December 1941, but was revived in 1945, the year the war ended. A small number of recordings were also made in London, Britain in 1934 and 1935.

A discography of these commercial recordings (in the period 1912-1945) has been compiled by Richard K. Spottswood.⁸¹ This includes descriptions of repertoire, where specified in label copy for individual titles. The listing, therefore, provides necessary points of reference for comparison with the other evidence for secular repertoire in Trinidad and Jamaica in the same time span. An analysis of the repertoire in Spottswood's discography is best presented by tabulation (Table VIII).

The majority of these entries are self explanatory. Two points, however, require further explanation. The first is the Jamaican repertoire recorded in New York by Trinidadians, initially by pianist and band leader Lionel Belasco. The first Jamaican tune he is known to have selected for recording is *Sweetie Charlie*, a melody his Orchestra

performed initially for Victor in 1918, without acknowledging its Jamaican origin. In about January 1922, however, as part of a thrust for expansion by the black-American run Black Swan Records, Belasco recorded six sides, leading his South American Orchestra, for the Latin American market (including the West Indies). They comprised three waltzes (Venezuelan, Cuban, and Trinidadian), a Puerto Rican Danza, and *Sweet Charlie*, this time described as a 'Jamaican Passee' (Black Swan 2048). An advertisement for Black Swan Records in the June 1922 edition of the black-American journal *Crisis* indicates that Belasco's records were issued in May that year.⁸² Such activities give a hint of the participation by English-speaking West Indians in the era of black culture in the United States known as the 'Harlem Renaissance', in which the rise and fall of Black Swan Records is a recognised feature.⁸³

Further hint of this participation is the not-so-well-known career of Trinidad vaudevillian Sam Manning, who arrived in New York in 1924. Manning was active in many black artistic activities at this time.⁸⁴ In 1925 he began making records specifically for the Jamaican market with the Cole Mentor Orchestra - 'Mentor' is another spelling of 'Mento' the Jamaican song and dance rhythm - and continued to record 'Mentors' until 1933.⁸⁵ Manning's recordings will be discussed subsequently.

What is significant about this Jamaican repertoire (of Belasco and Manning), however, is its sparsity in relation to the commercial recordings of black Trinidadian music in the same period, a factor explained only in part by the popularity of Trinidad music on record in Jamaica.⁸⁶ A satisfactory interpretation of this phenomenon is not readily apparent.

The other point that requires mention in relation to the table of 'Kinds of Music' recorded commercially between 1912 and 1945 is the inclusion of forms of Trinidad sacred and *rites de passage* music that have not been specified otherwise. These are:

Bongo: music performed at wakes (the meaning of this word varies from island to island)

Shango: sacred music for the rites of a cult of Yoruba origin (in West Africa)

Shouters: sacred music (classified by Pearse as an 'institution' at which 'Sankeys and Trumpets' are performed).⁸⁷

In summation, what is apparent from this limited sample of record label nomenclature (remembering that most label copy did not specify genre) is the interchange of musical ideas from territory to territory in the circum Caribbean, and the influence of contemporary music from the metropolises. The latter was essentially New York City, U.S.A., where, as has been stated, most recordings were made. There were, however strands of European metropolitan musical influence in each area, reflecting political administration. It is also evident that 'Kinds of Music' which had developed locally, despite absorption or rejection of such outside influences, generally maintained their status in this environment, and in this time span.

4 Defining The Repertoire Recorded By English-Speaking West Indian Migrants To Britain

Two contrasting periods of twentieth-century migration

(i) From World War I to World War II

Proportionately, few blacks lived in Britain prior to the First World War. Their numbers increased only a little in the aftermath of the conflict and consequent demobilization of black soldiers who fought for the 'Empire' cause. In this context the word 'Empire' is used to describe the way in which the British hierarchy perceived and administered its overseas territories and conditioned those who lived there, or in Britain itself. As blacks were such a small element in the population before the war, its ending is a convenient starting point when defining the migration to Britain by black musicians from the Caribbean and, their activities in the 'mother country' (as Britain was defined, using imperial terminology). The natural threshold for this time span is the turmoil of the Second World War, commencing some twenty-one years later, when there was another influx of 'Empire' citizens who fought on the side of the British in this world-wide conflagration. This first period of migration lasted, therefore, from 1918 to 1945, the year the Second World War ended and the changes wrought by the conflict became apparent.

Some black West Indian musicians based themselves in the United Kingdom in the aftermath of the First World War, such as the Trinidad-born string-bass player Gerald 'Al' Jennings and the guitarist (later trumpet player) Cyril Blake who was also from Trinidad. A Jamaican who arrived here in the same period was trumpet player Joe Smith. Blake, his brother George, and Smith all became members of the celebrated Southern Syncopated Orchestra and were survivors of the sinking of the S.S. *Rowan*, off Corswall Point, Wigtownshire, in which the Orchestra was travelling to a Dublin engagement on 9 October 1921.⁸⁸ In general, however, documentary material on the activities of black Caribbean musicians in Britain is scanty throughout the 1920s, disasters, and brushes with the authorities excepted. What evidence there is indicates that most West Indian musicians in this period were not engaged in playing musical styles that had originated in the Caribbean.

This trend continued into the 1930s, although it became modified by a growing British interest in Cuban music during the last five years of the decade. Such developments and other aspects of the subject will be covered in Chapter VII. It must be noted, however, that despite the small proportion of blacks settled in Britain in this period, during the 1930s there was a slowly increasing pool of black musicians from the Caribbean active in London clubs and dance bands.

One series of events must be mentioned in the light of the small number of commercial recordings of West Indian music made in Britain during this decade. These recordings are listed in Spottswood's discography and their repertoire descriptions have been incorporated in Table VII. They, therefore, require specific identification.

The events revolve around the visit to Britain by Lionel Belasco and Sam Manning in June 1934. Belasco's Orchestra (comprising West Indian musicians recruited in London) recorded a series of 'Rhumbas', 'Fox Trots', 'Valses', and a 'Rhumba Paseo' and a 'Rhumba Danza' for the Decca Record Company on 9 August in that year. Manning was vocalist in four of these recordings. They were released in Decca's export series, although one coupling was later issued for the domestic market (Decca F 6739, in 1938).

Belasco returned to the United States (where he recorded again in September 1935). Manning, however, remained in Britain and in July 1935 recorded four titles with his West

Indian Rhythm Boys for the Parlophone Company (a division of the multi-national recordings company, E.M.I.). He sang two 'West Indian' Spirituals and a song, *Sweet Willie*, he later described as a St. Lucian biguine. The vocalist in the fourth performance, *Ara Dada*, Pasea [sic], was Gus Newton (a percussionist, probably from Trinidad). The title of this song seems to be connected with Rada, the name used collectively by New World African-Americans conscious of their Dahomian ancestry. 'Pasea' is almost certainly a misspelling of 'Paseo'.⁸⁹

These four sides have some claim to be the first recordings of idiomatic English-speaking Caribbean music in Britain. In this they were not to be superseded until 1945.

With the outbreak of the Second World War (1939) black West Indian musicians took a higher profile in London's clubland and so did their indigenous repertoires. In this respect, contemporary reports pinpoint the small band run by the Trinidad-born ex-Southern Syncopated Orchestra veteran Cyril Blake, as featuring calypsos, paseos, and other forms of West Indian folksong.⁹⁰

There was also an influx of West Indians who served in the armed forces, in particular the RAF, or were engaged in manual labour, such as the British Honduras Forestry Unit in Scotland, or munitions work. West Indian blacks also served in the merchant navy, as did blacks from Britain.⁹¹ The latter included the London-based musicians: guitarist Frank Deniz (from Cardiff, Wales) and drummer Cab Quaye (British born, of Ghanaian ancestry). Reed player Bertie King (originally from Jamaica) served in the Royal Navy until released on medical grounds, and the Trinidad-born string bassist and band leader Gerald 'Al' Jennings (who had served in the Navy in the First World War) was appointed a Chief Petty Officer in the Royal Naval Volunteer Reserve, serving at sea in this capacity. Jennings combined his Petty Officer duties with playing in a band called the Blue Mariners, when not at sea.⁹²

The Trinidad baritone, Edric Connor, travelled to Britain via New York in 1944 to sustain studies in engineering. He found work in a munitions factory where he was employed as an engineer, and undertook evening classes at a technical college, as well as continuing in his musical activities. These included BBC radio broadcasts to the West

Indies. A folk song collector as well as a trained singer, by late 1945 Connor had recorded two examples of black Trinidad folk music in formal setting for British Decca: *The Lord's Prayer*, based on a version used by the Shouters, or Sprititual Baptist Church in Trinidad, and a carol *The Virgin Mary Had A Baby Boy*; having published the music and words to both earlier in the year in a small collection of West Indian spirituals and folk songs.⁹³

Connor's publishing and recording activities serve to signal renewed commercial endeavours in Britain, as the country began to change slowly from a wartime to peacetime economy, and also introduces the second period of West Indian migration to the United Kingdom.)

(ii) From the end of World War II to 1962

As has been implied, the ending of the Second World War on 14 August 1945 (VJ Day) led to a radical change in the pattern of migration from the West Indies to Britain, although this was not apparent immediately. In common with the period following World War I some musically inclined West Indians who, like Edric Connor, has arrived as a result of the war effort, decided to remain in Britain. Others, such as Al Jennings, saw an opportunity to bring new talent to the United Kingdom. On 5 November 1945 Jennings' All Star Caribbean Orchestra, recruited in Trinidad, landed at Southampton, initially for engagements entertaining the demobilized, or demobilizing, armed forces.⁹⁴ Further aspects of these musical activities will be discussed subsequently. It is important to mention, however, that alongside the pool of black West Indian musicians already in Britain, this influx of younger performers from the Eastern Caribbean added greatly to those conversant with recent developments in idiomatic music from the region who were domiciled in the United Kingdom.

In the pattern of events at this time, however, the arrival of the black Caribbean musicians recruited by Al Jennings was unusual. This on two counts. First, musicians already in Britain, or in the process of demobilization there, were seeking employment and expected prior choice of jobs; by 1946 there was talk of a colour bar in this regard.⁹⁵

Second, with respect to black West Indians, the official policy of the British Government was repatriation to their islands of origin. Paradoxically, despite this attitude, the acknowledged signal of the steady increase in migration to Britain by blacks from the West Indies that took place in the 1950s began with the transportation of discharged servicemen to Caribbean locations. Used for this purpose on its outward journey from Britain, the return voyage of the M.V. *Empire Windrush* in 1948 brought the first wave of West Indians who took advantage of bargain fares to seek work in the 'mother country'.⁹⁶

On its departure from Kingston, Jamaica on 27 May, the *Daily Gleaner* reported 'A cross section of Jamaican citizens - musicians, boxers, craftsmen, clerks, and the rest going to England in search of work, as well as professional persons going on holiday - make up the big passenger list.' A similar list of occupations was described by the *Daily Worker's* correspondent, Peter Fryer, who interviewed many of the migrants on board the ship after it had docked at Tilbury on 22 June 1948. Until 1987, however, he was unaware of two of the most important West Indian musicians who had travelled on this boat, the Trinidad calypsonians Lord Beginner (Egbert Moore), and Lord Kitchener (Aldwyn Roberts). The film newsreel company Pathe were more alert and fortuitously incorporated a sequence of Kitchener, singing a calypso he had composed on the voyage *London Is The Place For Me*, in its coverage of the event. In addition to these two performers there were fifteen other individuals who described their occupation as artist, musician, singer, or band leader, in the *Windrush* passenger list. Also on board was the Trinidad vocalist Mona Baptiste, who had registered as a clerk.⁹⁷

Another significance of the arrival of the *Windrush* in 1948, therefore, is its transportation of these two authentic Trinidad calypsonians to Britain. With the pool of musicians already available and, indirectly, the Empire dollar crisis, their presence created the circumstances that led to the commercial recording of English-speaking Caribbean music in the United Kingdom. Records were made for export and local consumption. The latter was boosted as the 1950s progressed and an increasing stream of West Indian migrants reached the British Isles.

The reasons for, and circumstances of, this migration are not the purpose of this investigation. It must be mentioned, however, that as well as economic factors the social symbolism of the 'mother country' in Britain's colonies, which had a mythological as well as a practical significance for Empire/Commonwealth nationals, was an element in this long-distance movement of peoples. For ten years, from 1948, "chain" migrations were sustained revolving around clusters of ethnic communities from the West Indies who settled in several urban areas. The official commencement of the short-lived Federation of the principal British West Indian islands early in 1958, and the anti-black riots in Nottingham, and 'Notting Hill' in London, in August of the same year, marked a negative turning point in this pattern. The second period of migration can be said to have ended, however, in 1962. In this year the Federation was dissolved in May (following Jamaica's referendum in September 1961, which voted for withdrawal); the Commonwealth Immigration Act (which restricted West Indians wishing to settle in Britain) was implemented on 1 July; and separate Independence from Britain was achieved by Jamaica (6 August) and Trinidad & Tobago (31 August).⁹⁸

An historical sample of repertoire defined by record label descriptions for commercial releases of recordings made by English-speaking West Indians in Britain: 1948-1953

A more detailed analysis of the history and content of commercial recordings made by English-speaking West Indians in Britain in the period following the Second World War will be made in Chapter VII. At this point, however, it is necessary to distinguish, where possible, repertoire represented in these recordings. This for comparison with the 'Kinds of Music' identified in commercial recordings of English-speaking Caribbean music for the period 1911-1945 (Table VIII).

The period covered by the 1948-1953 classification is established by historical circumstances. The first is another visit to Britain by Lionel Belasco. This took place in 1948 and, as on his previous trip, he was contracted by British Decca to make a series of recordings of Caribbean rhythms with a small band under his leadership. Of eight titles

recorded only three were issued.⁹⁹ They signal, however, the first authentic recordings of West Indian music in Britain made after the Second World War. This excludes Edric Connor's more formal arrangements of two songs from the Trinidad religious tradition, mentioned already (1945), and pseudo versions of calypsos by Edmundo Ros, a band leader who specialised in Latin American music and claimed Venezuelan nationality (but was from Trinidad). His first calypso *Rum And Limonada*, was also recorded in 1945.

It was not until 1950 that authentic calypsos (sung by Lord Beginner, and Lord Kitchener) were first recorded in London. The success of their initial endeavours led to an increasing volume of similar recordings, most of which (like this initial session) were produced by Denis Preston, an enthusiast for black music well placed in the fields of recording and broadcasting. He had supervised these first recordings for Parlophone, but others he organized were issued by a newly formed company called Melodisc.¹⁰⁰

Preston continued the pre-War practice of specifying repertoire in label copy for his Caribbean recordings. This was stopped, however, at the time, in 1953, his association with Melodisc ceased.¹⁰¹ In all events, repertoire identifications were discontinued by other record companies in the same period and 1953, therefore, marks the conclusion for a tabulation that has been compiled principally from the labels of records or, when available, company files (Table XI).¹⁰²

A greater diversity of musical interests can be seen in this listing than is apparent in Table VIII. This reflects both changing fashions and, in the case of recordings supervised by Preston a penchant for experimentation that he was to continue throughout his career as a record producer.¹⁰³ Most of the 'Kinds of Music' in the list are self-explanatory, either in the light of previous descriptions, or their territorial location. Two, however, require clarification:

(i) The *Shanto*, from Guyana, as has been indicated, is a calypso-like song style. The history of the term is somewhat obscure. It appears to have been selected by the Guyanese singer Bill Rogers (Augustus Hinds) in 1949 to differentiate similar Guyanese songs from Trinidad calypsos. The earliest traced use of the word, which also credits Rogers with its invention in 1949, is in a Guyanese newspaper published in 1952.¹⁰⁴

(ii) *Highlife* is a music akin to calypso that developed concurrently in West Africa in the 1920s and was influenced directly by London-recorded calypsos in the 1950s. The latter achieved popularity in Commonwealth West Africa as well as the West Indies. Until the 1960s, most recordings of Highlife, although made in West Africa, were pressed in Britain and re-exported.¹⁰⁵

Taken as a whole this listing of repertoire recorded between 1948 and 1953 can be used as a general indication of the way in which the recording of West Indian music in Britain developed, at least until 1955. The emphasis was on Trinidad styles with calypso to the fore. Sometimes new recordings were made of songs that can be traced to previous versions, mainly before the Second World War, and there were occasional glimpses of other aspects of the island's musical heritage.

In contrast only a small proportion of the singers who recorded in Britain at this time were from Jamaica. They tended to perform songs from the island's traditional repertoire, rather than new material in the fashion of the Trinidadians.

Commercial releases of English-speaking West Indian recordings in Britain as a guide to trends in popularity of 'Kinds' of repertoire: 1956-1962

From 1956 there was a steady decline in the release of recordings made by West Indians in Britain issued by Melodisc Records who, until then, had been the most consistent in marketing this music. Trinidad-orientated repertoire, however, remained the mainstay of the records Melodisc did release, at least until 1960.

A change of circumstances in Trinidad, with the rise of a new generation of locally popular calypsonians, and Melodisc's probable involvement in the development of record manufacturing and retail interests in Jamaica led to a slowing down of their British operation in this field. At this point Melodisc also began to expand their successful recording of West Africans domiciled in the United Kingdom, making records for export and sale among West Africans in Britain. On the evidence of song subjects, British-recorded calypsos also continued to sell in these markets.

In 1957, with an attempt to launch calypso internationally by major recording companies in the U.S.A., principal British manufacturers made a concerted effort to sell calypsos in the U.K., but this phase in their marketing strategy hardly lasted a year and was not a success.

With a decline in the popularity of their British-based singers, in 1958 Melodisc began to release a few recordings made by the newly popular Trinidad calypsonian the Mighty Sparrow and his chief rival Lord Melody. These were leased from Caribbean companies (probably in Guyana). Melodisc's only rival was Nixa (a subsidiary of Pye Records) for whom Denis Preston continued to produce records by West Indians domiciled in Britain. Hardly any calypso records were released by either company in 1959.

This situation changed perceptibly in 1960, with the introduction into the British market of what is described in one subsequent record company catalogue as 'West Indian And Rhythm And Blues'. The majority of these recordings were leased from Jamaican record companies and were modelled musically on black music from the U.S.A., although elements from Trinidadian and specifically Jamaican traditions can be found in this repertoire. Records were made in Britain too, principally of Jamaicans performing in the new style.

The first label to specialise in this development was Starlite, a subsidiary of Esquire Records, a small company run by former British jazz-band drummer Carlo Krahmer. Melodisc soon followed suit with a new and exclusive label called Blue Beat (another term for this music) that drew on the catalogues of its associate the Caribbean Recording Company and other Jamaican-based enterprises.

Few 'Calypso' releases were issued in Britain in 1960, although Melodisc published two items probably recorded in Jamaica, by two Trinidad-led bands, those of Fitz-Vaughn Bryan, and Cyril Diaz. These were made, presumably during visits to Jamaica for performing engagements. They also issued one record by the leading Jamaican 'rhythm and blues' performer, Laurel Aitken, which may have been recorded in London.

In 1961 Melodisc released only one calypso coupling, their last featuring new material by Lord Kitchener. They maintained a presence in the market, however, with their

Kalypso label. This issued recordings leased principally from companies in Jamaica, but occasionally from the Eastern Caribbean. Releases on Kalypso appear to have begun in the late 1950s, and featured Jamaican mento/calypsos. Jamaican rhythm and blues, and recordings by Trinidad calypsonians made in Guyana. As with most of Melodisc's activities, however, dates of publication are difficult to determine precisely.

British Decca, who held the franchise of the large U.S.-based recording organisation, RCA, released two albums by the Mighty Sparrow in 1962, but the principal event in the United Kingdom, with respect to music from the West Indies, was the launch of a new record company. This was Island Records, whose founder Chris Blackwell (with family interests in the exportation of rum and sugar from Jamaica) had been producing rhythm and blues recordings in the island since 1959.

While Island Records subsequently became associated with the introduction of the Ska and other forms of Jamaican popular music to Britain, its first release was a 'Creative Calypso Jamaica', as stated on the record label of Island WI-001. This was *Independent Jamaica Calypso* by Lord Creator (a Trinidadian settled in Jamaica).

In the light of its subject, as well as its performer, this 1962 publication provides a convenient point to close this résumé of West Indian repertoire in Britain to the time of Independence in Jamaica and Trinidad in August of that year.¹⁰⁶

5. Defining The Recorded Repertoire Of West Indian Music On Microgroove At The British Library National Sound Archive

A major problem when assessing the evolution of the 'Kinds' of West Indian music that have been identified in this chapter is the separation of printed documentation from recorded evidence and the restricted accessibility of both printed and recorded material.

While this is not a musicological study, there is a need to assess what interrelationships exist between various styles island by island, and in the wider context of the circum Caribbean. The disparate nature of printed material, however, means that neither a single bibliography, nor the annotated holdings of a particular library can provide

a reliable guide.¹⁰⁷ A contextual understanding of the relationships between black music in each different territory in this area can best be achieved, therefore, by comparison of the evidence available on gramophone records, using the holdings of a primary public institution as a form of control. Working in the United Kingdom, the most appropriate institution of this type is the British Library National Sound Archive.

Unfortunately, the National Sound Archive has no proper catalogue of its holdings. The variety of its collection, however, has ensured that the Archive has an unusual selection of diverse Caribbean recordings in microgroove. These range from scholarly long-playing records, devoted to anthropological documentation, to records issued for maximum sales potential. The Sound Archive also provides unique public access to the series of archival recordings preserved by the British Broadcasting Corporation. Such factors establish a representative sample of West Indian recordings suitable for analysis, territory by territory and in an historical perspective.

Relevant microgroove recordings in the Sound Archive's collection have been located using their finding aids, supplemented by additional research. The sample has been limited by the exclusion of 45 rpm single records and 78 rpm coarse groove discs, with the exception of a small proportion of BBC archive recordings.

For each track in each long play, or extended play, record, details of title, place, and date of recording have been identified. In addition, particulars of the 'Kind of Music', its territorial location (sometimes different from the place of recording) and other relevant information have been extracted. These have been augmented where necessary, and arranged in a uniform pattern.¹⁰⁸ This data has been transferred to a computer indexing programme and an annotated discography, with cross-referring indexes by types of music, country, performer, title, &c, has been produced.

The discography adds to the evidence assessed in this discussion of black musical repertoire by providing a provisional measure of the distribution of 'Kinds of Music' (limited by the Archive's holdings) in an historical context.

1 See, for example, J.S. Handler, 'The History Of Arrowroot And The Origin Of Peasantries In The British West Indies,' *Journal of Caribbean History*, Vol. 2, May 1971, pp.46-93.

2 J.H. Parry and P.M. Sherlock, *A Short History of the West Indies*, 3rd.ed., London, Macmillan, 1971, p.59, 171.

3 Sally and Richard Price *Afro-American Arts of the Suriname Rain Forest*, Berkley, University of California Press, 1980, p.171.

4 op.cit., pp.194-215.

5 Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, 'An Anthropological Approach To The Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective', *Occasional Papers in Social Change*, No. 2, Philadelphia, Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1976, pp.43-44.

6 3 & 4 Gulielmi IV c.73; 1 & 2 Victoriae c.19; see also William A. Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1976, pp.156-61.

7 This is a very complex subject. See, for example, Mintz and Price, 'An Anthropological Approach'; Edward Brathwaite, *The Development of Creole Society in Jamaica, 1770-1820*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1971; Sidney W. Mintz, *Caribbean Transformations*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1984; Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture In The History Of Latin America*, Boston, Little Brown, 1967.

8 Geo III c.36. See also Parry and Sherlock, op.cit, p.173, 180.

9 See especially the first essay in Roger D. Abrahams *Deep the Water Shallow the Shore*, Austin, University of Texas, 1974, pp.1-21. From the sample of historical accounts available in Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed, eds. *After Africa*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1983; Dena J. Epstein, *Sinful Tunes And Spirituals*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1978 and Abrahams, op.cit., between 1745 and the 1850s there are reports of work songs in: Antigua (2), Barbados (or Virgin Islands) (1), English-Speaking West Indies (2), French Antilles (1), Haiti (2), Guyana (2), Jamaica (4), Leeward islands (1), Martinique (1), Nevis (1), St. Thomas (1), Surinam (1), Virgin Islands (1). A selection of useful contemporary definitions can be found in the repertoire analyses for:

Carriacou Andrew Pearse, 'Aspects of Change in Caribbean Folk Music', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, Vol.VIII, 1955, pp.30-33.

Grenada *ibid.*

Guadeloupe Anca Bertrand, 'Notes pour une definition du folklore antillais', *Parallèles*, No. 28, 1968, pp.18-19.

Haiti Harold Courlander, *The Drum And The Hoe*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960, pp.116-118.

Jamaica Olive Lewin, 'Traditional Music in Jamaica', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1, March 1983 pp.36-37.

Martinique Bertrand, *ibid.*

Nevis Abrahams, op.cit. pp.22-63 [shanties only].

St. Lucia Daniel J. Crowley 'Song and Dance in St. Lucia', *Ethnomusicology*, 9, January 1957, p.13.

St. Vincent Abrahams, op.cit. pp.64-118 [shanties only].

Tobago op.cit., pp.22-63 [shanties only]. Pearse, *ibid.*

Trinidad *ibid.*

10 Richard and Sally Price, 'John Gabriel Stedman's Collection of 18th Century Artifacts From Suriname', *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, Vol. 53, Nos. 3-4, June 1979, p.131, 138.

11 Michael Theodore Coolen, 'Senegambian Archetypes for the American Folk Banjo', *Western Folklore*, Vol. 43, No. 2, April 1984, pp.117-132; Epstein, op.cit., pp.359-362.

12 Epstein, *ibid.*; see also her 'The Folk Banjo: A Documentary History', *Ethnomusicology*, Vol. 19, No. 3, September 1975, pp.347-371, from which these statistics were computed.

13 *ibid.*

14 Vida Chenoweth, *The Marimbas of Guatemala*, Lexington, University of Kentucky, 1964, pp.52-77; Abraham Cáceres, 'Preliminary Comments On The Marimba In The Americas' in Caroline Card, *et al.*, eds., *Discourse In Ethnomusicology*, Bloomington, Ethnomusicology Publications, 1978, pp.225-250; Robert Garfias, 'The Marimba of Mexico and Central America', *Latin American Music Review*, Vol. 4, No. 2, Fall/Winter 1983, pp.203-228.

15 Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*: Barbados, p.26, 57, 64; French Antilles, p.62; Jamaica, p.58; St. Vincent, p.58, 83; Virginia, p.57. See the comments in Jerome S. Handler and Charlotte J. Frisbie, 'Aspects Of Slave Life In Barbados: Music And Its Cultural Context', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 4, January 1972, p.18.

16 Chenoweth, op.cit., p.71 (Brazil): Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., 'Ansokko-bania' in the list of musical instruments obtained and described by John Gabriel Stedman (1796), p.283; Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, (1806), p.58 (Surinam). See also Price and Price, *Afro-American Arts*, p.183.

17 For Caribbean details, excluding Trinidad, see three versions of what are essentially the same article by Donald Thompson: (1) 'Poor Man's Bass Fiddle', *Caribbean Review*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 1971, pp.11-12; (2) 'The Marimbula: An Afro-Caribbean Sanza', *Yearbook For Inter-American Musical Research*, VII, 1971, pp.103-116; (3) 'A New World Mbira: The Caribbean Marimbula', *African Music*, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1975-76, pp.140-148. The latter two contain an historical discussion and references. For Trinidad see Pearse, op.cit., p.34. For Africa see the entry for 'Lamellaphone' in Stanley Sadie, ed. *The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments*, Vol. 2, London, Macmillan, 1984, pp.497-502 and Paul F. Berliner, *The Soul of Mbira*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1978.

18 For Colombia, see George List, 'The Mbira in Cartagena', *Journal of the International Folk Music Council*, 20, 1968, pp.54-59; for Venezuela, Isabel Aretz, Luis Felipe Ramón y Rivera and Alvaro Fernaud notes to side B, track 8, in the International Folk Music Council long playing record *Musica Folklorica de Venezuela: Anthologie de la Musique Populaire*, Ocora OCR78, Paris, n.d. (post 1968); for Uruguay, Thompson, op.cit. (2) p.104, 115.

19 Price and Price, *Afro-American Arts*, pp.182-183.

20 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., p.284; Price and Price, 'John Gabriel Stedman's', p.130.

21 For New Orleans, George Washington Cable, 'The Dance in Place Congo', reprinted in Bernard Katz, ed. *The Social Implications Of Early Negro Music In The United States*, New York, Arno, 1969, p.34; for Brazil, Thompson, op.cit. (2), pp.104-105 and David Thiermann, 'The Mbira in Brazil', *African Music*, Vol. 5, No. 1, 1971, pp.90-94.

22 List, op.cit., pp.55-56. Recordings by Cubans made in the United States for Latin American export in this period are listed in the Spanish chapter, (Vol.4) of Richard K.

Spottswood, *Ethnic Music on Records: A discography of Ethnic Recordings Produced in the United States 1894 to 1942*, 7 vols., Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1990.

23 Harold Courlander, 'Musical Instruments of Haiti', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol.27, June 1941, pp.380-381.

24 For Jamaican migrant workers in Cuba see: J. Pérez de la Riva, 'Cuba y la migración antillana, 1900-1931', *Anuario de Estudios Cubanos*, Havana, 1979, pp.1-76. For the *rhumba box* see: Earl Leaf, *Isles of Rhythm*, New York. A.S. Barnes & Co., 1948, p.61, 70. The occasion was an Accompong Maroon dance, where dances such as '*Quadrilles*, *polkas*, *waltzes*...and several square or "set" dances' were performed.

25 List, op.cit., pp.55-56. He also notes an interchangeability of the words *mbira* and *marimbula*: see also 'Lamellaphone' in Sadie, ed. *Grove, Musical Instruments*.

26 Pearse, op.cit., p.34. Interview with Joseph Nelson, 24 April 1951 (Pearse Papers).

27 See, for example, Joseph H. Howard, *Drums in the Americas*, New York, Oak Publications, 1967; and John Miller Chernoff, 'The Artistic Challenge of African Music: Thoughts on the Absence of Drum Orchestras in Black American Music', *Black Music Research Journal*, 1985, pp.1-20.

28 Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music, U.S.A.*, London, Jazz Book Club, 1966, pp.219-220. See also, David Evans, 'African Contributions to America's Musical Heritage', *The World and I*, Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1990, pp.628-639.

29 Classes of instruments taken from Sibyl Marcuse, *A Survey of Musical Instruments*, Newton Abbot, David & Charles, 1975.

30 For an annotated contextual discussion of musical instruments played by blacks in one West Indian island during the slavery period see: Handler and Fisbie, op.cit. For a useful U.S.A. comparison see the findings of Robert B. Winans, 'Black Instrumental Music Traditions In The Ex-Slave Narratives', *Black Music Research Newsletter*, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring 1982, pp.2-5. Fiddles and tambourines are identified in both surveys. The European history of both instruments is covered in David Munrow, *Instruments of the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, London, O.U.P., 1976, and Sadie, ed., *Grove's Musical Instruments*.

31 Paul Oliver, *Savannah Syncopators*, London, Studio Vista, 1970, pp.87-89.

32 Harry Hoetink, 'The Cultural Links', in Margaret E. Crahan and Franklin W. Knight, eds., *Africa And The Caribbean*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1979 pp.20-40.

33 Pearse, 'Aspects of Change', pp.29-36.

34 Andrew Pearse, 'Music in Caribbean Popular Culture', *Revista Inter-americana*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, Summer, 1978, pp.629-639.

35 Andrew Pearse, 'LOCAL STUDIES: Notes on the development of local research projects through the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of the West Indies', c. 1955 (Pearse Papers); Andrew Pearse, 'Report on the LOCAL STUDIES EXPERIMENTAL PROGRAMME with suggestions for its continuation', c. 1955 (Pearse Papers). Some of this material is in: Andrew Pearse, 'Caribbean Folk Culture', *Caribbean*, Vol. 9, No. 3, October 1955, pp.62-65; and Andrew Pearse, 'Ethnography and the Lay Scholar in the Caribbean', *West-Indische Gids* Vol. 36, Nos. 2-4, May 1956, pp.133-146.

36 Pearse, 'Music', pp.629-30.

37 op.cit. p.631. Reference has also been made to Pearse mss. notes: 'Music in Caribbean Popular Culture', c. 1977; and 'Music in Popular Culture: Trinidad', c. 1977 (Pearse Papers).

38 Pearse, 'Music', pp.631-636. For *Carriacou* he identifies 7 kinds; *Grenada* 8 kinds; *Tobago* 8 kinds; *Trinidad* 16 kinds. 8 kinds, all of which are associated with Carnival, have no geographical designation. 'Quesh' (Pearse no.17) is attributed wrongly to *Tobago*, it is from *Trinidad*. Geographical inter-relationships are not shown here.

39 op.cit., p.636.

40 op.cit., pp.636-639.

41 op.cit., p.639. Using Pearse's musical taxonomy, thereby identifying 'folk blues' as a 'kind' of black music in the U.S.A., a useful comparison might be made with the work of David Evans: *Big Road Blues, Tradition and Creativity in the Folk Blues*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1982.

42 Kenneth M. Bilby, 'The Caribbean as a Musical Region', in Sidney W. Mintz and Sally Price, eds., *Caribbean Contours*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1985, p.203.

43 John Cowley, 'L'Année Passée: Selected Repertoire in English-Speaking West Indian Music 1900-1960', unpublished ms.

44 Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*; Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit.

45 Epstein, op.cit., pp.30-38.

46 Pearse, op.cit., p.639.

47 For Christmas and Carnival in these islands see Appendix 4.

48 Compare, for example, 'The Ritual of the Year', Appendix 2 of Bob Bushway, *By Rite: Custom, Ceremony and Community in England 1700-1880*, London, Junction Books, 1982, pp.283-284.

49 See Appendix 1.

50 For drum legislation in Trinidad, see Appendix 5. For the eighteenth-century slavery period in the West Indies see: Elsa V. Goveia, 'The West Indian Slave Laws of the Eighteenth Century', in Laura Foner and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Slavery in the New World: A Reader in Comparative History*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall Inc., 1969, pp.120-121.

51 Epstein, op.cit., pp.52-53, contrasts the open playing of drums in the West Indies with its discouragement and secret playing in the United States. Evans, 'African Contributions' pp.631-632, notes this discouragement and the evolution of black fife and drum music out of militia bands and music. A parallel development of the latter also took place in the English-speaking West Indies, for example in Jonkonnu music in Jamaica. There, however, the drums were often of Creole/African design, as well as European. See, for instance, I.M. Belisario's lithographs depicting 'Band Of The "Jaw Bone John-Canoe"' (sketch 4), 'Koo-Koo or Actor-Boy' (sketch 5), 'French Set Girls' (sketch 7) in his *Sketches of Character...* Kingston, Jamaica, The Author, No.1 (sketch 4), 1837, No.2 (sketches 5 and 7), 1838; and Helen H. Roberts, 'Some Drums and Drum Rhythms of Jamaica', *Natural History*, Vol.24, 1924, pp.241-251.

52 See Appendix 3, 'The Big Drum Dance of Carriacou', for one sample of this complex phenomenon.

53 A useful example, from St. Vincent, is in Sir William Young's description of a Christmas (St. Stephen's Day), 1791 plantation house dance in Young's 'A Tour Through Several Islands...' in Bryan Edwards, *The History Civil And Commercial Of The British Colonies In The West Indies*, Vol.III, London, John Stockdale, 1801, p.276. This, and other examples can be found in Appendix 1: DANCES.

54 This, of course, does not preclude the use of the fiddle in other circumstances. See, for instance, Charles William Day's description of 'the barbarous music of that dark season' [night], in Trinidad: Day, *Five Years' Residence In The West Indies*, Vol.II, London, Colburn & Co., 1852, p.90.

55 A welcome exception to this rule is the recently published survey of carnivalesque in the Caribbean: John W. Nunley and Judith Bettelheim, eds., *Caribbean Festival Arts*, Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1988 [in association with the St. Louis Art Museum].

56 Pearse, op.cit., pp.638-639.

57 The most important of these studies is Andrew Pearse, 'Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, pp.175-193. See also Bridget Brereton, 'The Trinidad Carnival 1870-1900', *Savacou*, 11/12, September 1975, pp.46-57, 109-110; and Errol Hill, *The Trinidad Carnival: Mandate For A National Theatre*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1972.

58 The *Mirror* identifies the 'Carnival songs' as 'Calypsos', and refers to the 'Pasillos' as 'Paseos': 'Arrival of the S.S. Matura', *Mirror*, 18 August 1914, p.7; '"His Master's Voice": Victor Records In Our Midst,' *POSG*, 28 August 1914, p.8. Recording details from Richard Spottswood, comp. 'A Discography of West Indian Recordings [1912-1945]', unpublished m.s.

59 'Victor Gramophone Records', *Mirror*, 13 February 1915, p.3.

60 Robert M.W. Dixon and John Godrich, *Recording The Blues*, London, Studio Vista, 1970, pp.9-10, 33-34.

61 Compiled from Spottswood, op.cit.

62 The earliest and most complete definition located for the term *Castilian* can be pieced together from references in Charles S. Espinet and Harry Pitts, *Land of the Calypso: The Origin and Development of Trinidad's Folk Song*, Port of Spain, Guardian Commercial Printery, 1944. They describe it as a *Venezuelan Waltz*, and a fast *Spanish Waltz*, known as *Castilian* in both Trinidad and Venezuela (whence it came). They note also that the *Venezuelan Paseo* is an 'offshoot' of the *Castilian* and that both rhythms can be found in the calypso: p.14, 25, 36, 65.

63 Take, for example, the investigation into 'Dance Halls And Dance Hells', *Trinidad Guardian*, 6 February 1921, p.9.

64 On Herskovits' approach, and for a cross-section of his papers on the subject see: Melville J. Herskovits, ed. Frances S. Herskovits, *The New World Negro*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1966. On this, and Herskovits' work in the Caribbean see: Sidney W. Mitz, 'Melville J. Herskovits And Caribbean Studies: A Retrospective Tribute',

65 Classification abstracted from an annotated numerical listing of the Herskovits recordings supplied and compiled by Donald R. Hill: 'Addendum To The Spottswood Discography: The Herskovits Recordings [in Toco, Trinidad, 1939]', unpublished m.s., n.d. This has been checked against the relevant discussion of secular music in Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits, *Trinidad Village*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp.284-286, 314-317. See also: Richard Alan Waterman, *African Patterns In Trinidad Negro Music*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University, 1943, pp.60-62. Waterman's study is based on the Herskovits recordings.

66 Andrew Pearse, 'Kinds of Folk Music Differentiated According to Social Institution: Trinidad', *Caribbean Society And Culture Notes*, Vol. 1, No. 2, Dec. 1955, pp.6-7. The list is expanded to describe Carriacou, Grenada, and Tobago in his 'Music', pp.631-636.

67 Herskovits and Herskovits, *Trinidad*, p.316; J.D. Elder, 'Reel Dance', unpublished paper, c. 1950s (NSA 7), in the collection of the British Library National Sound Archive, London, Britain.

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1910: H.G. De Lisser, *In Jamaica And Cuba*, Kingston, Jamaica, The Gleaner Company Ltd.;

1922: Martha Warren Beckwith, *Folk Games of Jamaica*, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Vassar College;

Josef Holbrooke, *Jamaican Dances For The Young*, London, Goodwin & Tabb Ltd., [music only];

1923: Martha Warren Beckwith and Helen H. Roberts, *Christmas Mummings In Jamaica*, Poughkeepsie, N.Y., Vassar College;

1924: Helen H. Roberts, 'Some Drums and Drum Rhythms of Jamaica', *Natural History*, 24, pp.241-151;

1925: Helen H. Roberts, 'A Study of Folk Song Variants based on field work in Jamaica', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 38, No. 148, pp.149-216;

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1927: E.A. Clarke, 'The John Canoe Festival In Jamaica', *Folklore*, 38, pp.72-75;

1928: Martha Warren Beckwith, *Jamaica Folk-Lore*, New York, American Folklore Society [includes reprints of *Folk Games* and *Christmas Mummings*, both with 'Addenda'];

1929: Martha Warren Beckwith, *Black Roadways: A Study of Jamaican Folk Life*, Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press [New York, Negro Universities Press, 1969].

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100 Cowley, 'London Is The Place', pp.66-67. For a contemporary biography of Preston see: *Musical Express*, 16 July 1948, p.4.

101 Cowley, 'London Is The Place', p.71.

102 Unlike Spottswood's 'A Discography', op.cit., Cowley and Noblett, op.cit., do not list repertoire descriptions from labels or similar record company documentation.

103 Although orientated towards Preston's interest in jazz, for an indication of his attitude see: the interview by Bob Dawbarn, 'At Heart I'm A Mainstreamer', *MM*, 30 May 1959, p.3; and the obituary by Max Jones, 'Denis Preston: A Jazz Life', *MM*, 3 November 1979, p.41, 52.

104 Earlier recordings by Rogers describe his local repertoire as 'folk song', 'calypso' or 'paseo': Spottswood, op.cit. In correspondence with EMI, in 1946, Rogers also referred to his repertoire as 'calypso': Hinds to the Parlophone Company Ltd., 30 September 1946 (EMI Music Archives). He used the term and claimed its origination in *Guiana Sunday Graphic*, 11 May 1952, p.3 and his *Shantos of Guiana*, Georgetown, Guyana, 1966; see also, Robert Adams, 'A Reprint from Foreword In "Shantos of Guiana" Book 1960', in the same work, pp.49-50, 56. Another reference to 'Shanto', without any acknowledgement to Rogers, is in P.A. Brathwaite, comp. and Serena U. Brathwaite, ed., *Folk Songs of Guyana: Queh-Queh, Chanties & Ragtime*, Guyana, 1964, p.17 and the 'Shantos', fol.

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II SYMPTOMS INDICATING AFRICAN-AMERICAN WEST INDIAN MUSICAL DEVELOPMENT

A mid-eighteenth-century description, by Abbé Raynal, sympathetically identifies key elements in music, dance, and song among black slaves in the West Indies. Raynal's sensitivity is unusual for the period. His objectivity serves as a very useful starting point discussing some of the symptoms that indicate continuity and change in the development of black music in the Caribbean. Raynal wrote:

'Their organs are extremely sensible of the powers of music. Their ear is so true, that in their dances, the time of a song makes them leap up and come down a hundred at once, striking the earth at the same instant. Enchanted, as it were, with the voice of the singer, or the tone of a stringed instrument, a vibration of the air is the spirit that actuates all the bodies of these men: a sound agitates, transports, and throws them into extasies. In their common labours, the motion of their arms, or their feet is always in cadence. At all their employments they sing, and seem always as if they were dancing. Music animates their courage, and rouzes them from their indolence. The marks of this extreme sensibility to harmony are visible in all the muscles of their bodies, which are always naked. Poets and musicians by nature, they make their words subservient to the music, by a licence they arbitrarily assume of lengthening or shortening them in order to accommodate them to an air that pleases them. Whenever any object or incident strikes a negro, he instantly makes it the subject of a song. In all ages this has been the origin of poetry. Three or four words, which are alternately repeated by the singer and the general chorus, sometimes constitute the whole poem. Five or six bars of music compose the whole length of the song. A circumstance that appears singular, is, that the same air, though merely a continual repetition of the same tones, takes entire possession of them, makes them work or dance for hours together: neither they, nor even the white men are disgusted with that tedious uniformity which these repetitions might naturally occasion. This particular attachment is owing to the warmth and expression which they introduce into their songs. Their airs are generally double time. None of them tend to inspire them with pride. Those intended to excite tenderness, promote rather a kind of langour. Even those which are most lively, carry in them a certain expression of melancholy. This is the highest entertainment to minds of great sensibility.'

The significant elements in this account, which underly subsequent descriptions and interpretation are:

- i) Work, or dance, to music, involving synchronised movement;
- ii) improvised singing, in call and response fashion (lead singer and chorus), with words subservient to music by arbitrary lengthening or shortening, and warmth of expression;

- iii) sensibility of harmony, but uniformity of tunes, usually in double time, tinged with melancholy sentiment;
- iv) accompaniment of stringed instruments (unusually, drums are not mentioned).

The present investigation will concentrate on dances, exploring their institutional contexts and examining the role of the fiddle and the drum at these events.

1. Dances In The Context Of Their Occasion: Slavery To 1900

A general indication of the special and regular occasions at which dancing took place among blacks in the pre- and post-slavery periods (Table I) provides a framework for assessing the impact of European and African institutions on the black community.

In the Caribbean the European (Christian) ritual season was imposed by plantation owners and other members of the white hierarchy. A similar adaptation took place in the United States.² This is linked closely to the agricultural year and, by association, would have been familiar to Africans. They also grew their food according to the annual environmental cycle. Dances, therefore, which took place on calendar occasions should not be classified simply as 'European', indeed, the evidence available (Appendix 1), shows a far more complicated pattern of evolution, with a juxtaposition of 'African' and 'European' dances taking place sometimes at the same event. In addition, despite an inevitable overlap, these activities can be classified generally as either sacred or secular. There also seems to be some significance in whether or not dances were held in the open air. Such factors add further qualifications when assessing institutional contexts.

Prior to the period when slavery was abolished and 'Apprenticeship' abandoned in the British Caribbean (1838) one measure of the institutional status of dances is the way they reflect the relationship between African slave and European master. In this they represent a common ground, a point where compromise could and did exist between oppressor and oppressed. The adoption of European dances and musical instruments by blacks at these events can be said to characterize an influence of master over slave (although this is an oversimplification). The performance, at the same time, of 'African'

dances (usually to the accompaniment of the drum) exemplifies the influence of slave over master. Rituals held by blacks sometimes in secret, sometimes openly, also demonstrate defiant self identification by slaves. Thus, compromise with, but not usually acquiescence to, European values was a means of subjective negotiation between slave and master.

It has been shown that the abolition of the slave trade in the British Caribbean (1807) provides a convenient point for discussion of black musical developments in the area during the early nineteenth century. Attention has been drawn to descriptions of musical events at this time, which often differentiate between 'African' and 'Creole' performance characteristics. After the importation of slaves was reduced, it must be remembered that a complex creole culture - one born in the Caribbean and much less influenced by direct African input - continued to evolve, but within this compass. This 'old creole' culture remained relatively stable until the abandonment of 'Apprenticeship' when, as Pearse has argued, freedom allowed the development of a new and innovative black culture conditioned by circumstances in individual territories. The former slaves considered 1838 their real Emancipation. The institutional context of dances in this later period must take into account these factors, as well as the arrival of new migrants (especially those from Africa) in the post-Emancipation period.

An example of a development in this later era is the group of Africans from the Congo who arrived in Jamaica between 1841 and 1869 and were responsible for establishing the African-American religious cult of Kumina in the island. This includes music and dancing.³ On the secular side of the spectrum, and on the northern rim of the circum Caribbean, is the work of Basil Jean Barès (possibly originally a slave), who composed and published a number of European dances, ranging from a *Grande Polka* to a *Valse brillante*, between 1860 and 1884 in New Orleans, Louisiana, U.S.A. These pieces would have almost certainly been danced at the innumerable balls that were a continuing feature of black (and white) New Orleans society from the pre- to post-slavery periods. The balls were probably a direct result of French culture.⁴ In Port of Spain, Trinidad (likewise influenced by French culture) one or more popular black creole orchestras flourished in the mid nineteenth century, playing a similar repertoire for whites, as well as

upwardly mobile black creoles.⁵ Both colour and class, therefore, were also contributory factors in the context of such events. This is a simplification, however, as formal 'old creole' drum dances, for instance, the *belair*, were still danced by the same Trinidad black creole elite at appropriate occasions, such as Emancipation Day celebrations.⁶

2 The Role Of The Fiddle, And 'European' Dances: Slavery To 1900s

It has been established that the fiddle was a principal instrument of the pre-emancipation plantation ball musicians. It is not surprising, therefore, that this bowed chordophone continued to be featured by post-slavery creole bands who performed dances with steps and rhythms that had evolved originally in Europe.

Some indication of the types of European dances accompanied by the fiddle and, or, other instruments can be seen in a simplified table drawn from the musical instrument sample (Table X).

West Indian locations represented in this table, its relationship to occasions when fiddles were used for dances (Table II) and the combined use of fiddles/tambourines in the complete musical instrument/dance sample (Appendix 1) are shown in Table XI.

In summation, the fiddle is specified as a musical instrument used for dance accompaniment on twenty one occasions in six territories (Table II). In four of these territories, European dances with fiddle accompaniment are identified on eleven occasions, eight of which indicate the use of fiddle and tambourine in combination. This can be contrasted with the sample's full specification of European dances in five territories on thirteen occasions, and dances with fiddle/tambourine combinations in six territories on fourteen occasions (Tables X and XI).

Despite its use in accompaniment to dances of European origin, and the recognised European shape of the instrument, the role of the fiddle at these events should not be taken to represent exclusive European influence. As has been shown, bowed chordophones are known in the West African savannah (one source of the slaves). The probability of the

transfer of a technical skill, from an African instrument to one of European design is highly likely.

This same reasoning can be applied to the role of the tambourine in conjunction with the fiddle. This single-headed membranophone is close enough to the African drum to be considered as a substitute: yet, it also has antecedents in Europe. There is a complex binary symbolism attached to these two instruments, especially when played in combination. This intermeshes Africa with Europe and Europe with Africa and, can also be considered as representative of one strand of the evolution of music in the Americas.

Having given some indication of the use of the fiddle and fiddle-tambourine combinations for dances, half of which were based on European dance steps, attention will be given to the European dances themselves.

European dances and black music in the Caribbean, 1775-1900

In the light of the European history of these dances, it is useful to divide the English-speaking West Indian sample into four periods. These are best shown in the form of a further table (Table XII).

This is a very small sample. Remembering that the accounts were written by members of the British social elite, using descriptive language based firmly in their homeland experience, enough evidence is available to give a general indication of the introduction and popularity of these dances in the Caribbean. Using the work of Philip J.S. Richardson on nineteenth-century social dances in England, the importation of these dances normally parallels adoption by British, and by inference European, high society.⁷ The dances were brought from Europe to the West Indies by the plantation-owning hierarchy and during slavery introduced to the whole community at plantation social events.

Another factor that conditions the use of descriptions of black culture by the white elite in the nineteenth century is the plantocracy's objection to the abolition of slavery in

1834 and the discarding of 'Apprenticeship' in 1838. From this time reports reflect these events.

Following the ending of slavery, European social dances continued to be performed by blacks in the West Indies. The very limited evidence available suggests they were highly popular with black creoles (Appendix 1), who considered themselves equal, if not superior, to the white elite. Their popularity is represented by grand balls and other occasions for entertainment that parallel the activities of white 'society' both in Britain and the West Indies during the same mid- to late-nineteenth-century period.⁸ Charles William Day, for example, describes a white Bachelor's Ball he attended in Trinidad in the late 1840s - early 1850s. This featured polkas, quadrilles, and waltzes. The music was provided by an 'amateur orchestra', led by a huge mulatto and his son, put together because 'the professional band of Port of Spain (all black and coloured) positively refused to play for white people on the ground that it would be derogatory to them to do so'. Day's commentary continued: 'though probably not one of them could read or write, they consider themselves not merely equal, but *superior* to the whites. In England, this would be deemed ridiculous; but here it is a matter on which serious consequences depend, as such sentiments pervade all the black and coloured classes, making them exceedingly insolent and insubordinate'.⁹

This serves as a good example of symbols of status existing among upwardly mobile blacks and elitist whites at this time, which varied from island to island. It was especially galling to the 'superior' Day as a writer on British etiquette.¹⁰ Day, therefore, was equally scathing about the white creole elite, as in his description of 'the highest legal authority in point of rank' in St. Christopher, who during his stay in that island, 'played the flute in a wretched style at half dollar public concerts, when he got hired. He also danced quadrilles very execrably, and had danced "Jim Crow" in Dominica.'¹¹

European dances and black music in the Caribbean, 1900s

Whatever the attitude of the nineteenth-century white elite, the performance of European social dances in the West Indies continues to the present in some black communities (Appendix 2). A general indication of their distribution and the longevity of their popularity can be demonstrated by tabulation of the relevant documentation in Appendices 1 and 2 (Table XIII). It must be remembered that this is limited by the availability of data.

The three French-speaking islands of Guadeloupe, Haiti and Martinique have been included for comparison, although it must be remembered that French Creole is, or has been, spoken as a second language in several of the remaining eleven English-speaking territories.

The statistical constraints of this evidence preclude the drawing of specific conclusions, especially as only one location, Jamaica, is represented by both nineteenth- and twentieth-century reports, and three, Grenada, Guyana, and St. Vincent, are represented only by nineteenth-century documentation. Some qualifications, however can be made relating to the dynamic evolution of such dances in the West Indies. Jocelyne Guilbault, for example, has examined this in relation to the quadrille in St. Lucia and observes that the adoption by blacks of 'the quadrille evening in St. Lucia...corresponds to ideological statements of power. Aside from its political implications, however, the quadrille evening has given rise to new artistic, aesthetic, and conceptual forms of expression for St. Lucians'.¹²

A similar dynamic evolution is described by Messenger for the 'country dance' in Montserrat:

'The most popular traditional dance is a seven-part set called the "country dance", performed by four couples to orchestra music. The parts are named after the creolized risqué songs accompanying each, and dancers rest in place between the parts as in many Irish sets. All of the seven dance patterns have Irish counterparts still practised in that country, but above the hips the Montserratians move their body to the dynamic rhythms as do Africans. Thus African music played with Western instruments serve dancers whose feet trace Irish patterns but whose bodies express African motor habits.'¹³

Perhaps the best summary of this dynamic process is contained in Cheryl Ryman's development of a typology for traditional dance in Jamaica. In this she shows that 'Quadrille' has become a generic name for

'a group ballroom set dance popular in Europe at the end of the 18th to 19th centuries, originating in France. It was borrowed by the English Court and from there transmitted to the new world, where it became "Square Dancing" in North America and remained as "Quadrille" in Jamaica.

'It was danced by the gentry during slavery. It filtered down to the Black population via their participation as musicians and through direct imitation. However, it became transformed with the addition of the distinctive "African" bounce quality and lively mento music.

'Two main styles may be seen today *Ballroom* - the more authentically European form and *Camp Style* - the more Afro-Jamaicanized form in which two straight lines (male and female) are substituted for the square formation. Five main figures are distinguished which include English dances and steps like the Waltz, Polka, Schottishes, Vaspian, Mazurka, Jigs, Chasse, Balance and Promenade etc. Sometimes a mento figure is added, as in Clarendon, Manchester and Trelawny. Further regional differences styles have been noted throughout the island.'¹⁴

It is very likely that an investigation of this subject across the West Indian islands would reveal a similar pattern of evolution that relates to historical and geographical circumstances in each location.

3. Drum Dance Evolution: Slavery To 1900s

Unlike the dances for which the fiddle was used in accompaniment, drum dances were always subject to control by the plantation hierarchies and local legislatures in the Caribbean during the slavery period. This is true also for the United States and elsewhere in the Americas where slaves were transported from Africa.

In particular Elsa V. Goveia has examined the eighteenth-century slave laws in the West Indies, and identified the constraints that were common throughout the area. She notes that, usually, slaves 'were forbidden to beat drums and blow horns, since these were means of communication which might be used to help runaways'. She goes on to point out that these activities were also considered 'dangerous' in that they could be used 'as a means of concerting uprisings'. There was latitude in the application of these controls, however, and Goveia draws attention to the fact that not 'all of them were enforced at all times with equal rigour'. Of special relevance was the allowance of 'slave dances, feasts and

drumming'. It must be remembered, nevertheless, that the laws controlling slaves 'remained in force' and 'were used when necessary to prevent and control emergencies'.¹⁵ Such qualifications are additional to those that have been identified for fiddle dances in the Caribbean during the slavery period.

It seems that no comprehensive study has been made of the laws controlling drumming and dancing in the British Caribbean following Emancipation. An examination of nineteenth-century Trinidad police ordinances, however, shows that laws restricting drumming continued to be passed throughout the century. A survey of press reports for the same time span, indicates that law enforcement varied according to changing circumstances. This will be discussed further in Chapter IV.

Additional considerations governing the differing contexts in which drum dances were performed in the nineteenth century - during the slavery and post-slavery periods - can be understood by analysis of the descriptive abstracts in Appendix 1. This is best introduced by a tabulation in chronological order (Table XIV). Only dances where drums are specified exclusively have been selected for the sample.

Dividing this chronology in two - the old creole period (1808-1838) and new creole period (1839-1900) - assists in understanding the way in which drum dances were viewed by the white hierarchy (Appendix 1).

In the old creole period, the context of the occasions at which slave dances were performed has been discussed already. The change from dances identified as African to those described as creole has also been mentioned. These become readily apparent in the Table.

There are eight descriptions from this era that are easily recognisable as 'African' - including ring dances, an accepted African form. Five of these are situated in Jamaica. Using additional references from Appendix 1 it is useful to note that in four accounts from Jamaica, and one from Guyana, the authors contrasted African forms with the performance by black creoles of European dances, often at the same, or, an associated event.¹⁶ This points up the dynamics of change although such changes were not simply imitative.

The 'Joe and Johnny' dance in Barbados: 1833-1852

An interesting example of the way in which dances evolved, and in which drums and fiddles came together in this period, is the dance known as Joan (or Joe) and Johnny in Barbados. One recollection of this ring dance describes an event, held at Christmas 1836, which took place in the open air to the accompaniment of a goumbay drum, and singing. The account was published in 1839 and, as a drum only dance, is included in the Table. Three other descriptions, one published in 1833, the other two in 1852, are in Appendix 1. In contrast, they feature fiddle and drum in combination, usually with shac-shacs (maracas), and the additional percussion of a tambourine. On the basis of all the reports, the regular location for this dance was out of doors, and it was held in the evening, either at Christmas, or New Year. Only one of the descriptions has an enclosed location - a substitute dance, held in the daytime in the back yard of a house, because of inclement weather.¹⁷

These elements, of course, are the bare bones of the descriptions, and more complete accounts of each event are included in *After Africa*. The two reports published in 1852 are the work of Charles William Day who, despite his condescending nature details the dressing at the Christmas substitute dance and the attendance of 'a numerous assemblage of ladies of colour', pointing out that this was not 'a real negro dance' but 'dancing *a la mode*'. He notes 'The belle of the afternoon was a tall, well-formed mulatto "ladeé" from Trinidad, dressed in the extreme French negro taste... She was a splendid Yarico, with a dignified, but slightly disdainful expression, as if she scorned the vulgar "Joe and Johnny set out"'. Day was unable to ascertain whether or not she spoke French.

While distinctions of class and colour are apparent in Day's account, his report of the New Year's Day 'Joe and Johnny', which he attended subsequently, adds further to an understanding of these attitudes, certainly among white observers. Despite social differentiations among blacks and those of mixed ancestry, the dances served similar functions and had a similar musical compliment, although there was a different type of drum, and a triangle was added. Yet there was a further difference between this outside

evening event and the one he had witnessed previously, as he was quick to distinguish. 'This was the "real thing".' There were no 'fine madams...but negro girls', dressed in 'everyday rags'. He was impressed with the musicians - 'How the band did work!' - and the dancing, which he compared with the authenticity of 'the negro dances on the stage'. The latter were presumably performed by blackface minstrels seen by day in London, prior to his departure for the West Indies. These were probably whites in blackface who came to Britain from the United States following the success of the white American prognosticator Thomas D. Rice (who learned his style from blacks). He danced 'Jim Crow' for the first time in London in 1836. A progression of American minstrel troupes (some including blacks in blackface) visited Britain following the consolidation of the popular form, with the whites in blackface Virginia Minstrels, in New York, in 1843.¹⁸

Although there is variation in Day's accounts of the two 'Joe and Johnny' dances, that indicates divisions of class and colour among black creoles in Barbados, the general tenor of these entertainments is apparent. Despite his blinkered ideology and the dichotomy in the two descriptions - between an attempt at airs and graces and a less sophisticated vitality - both dances can be said to represent respectability. This, as has been suggested, is one means by which blacks negotiated compromise with the white hierarchy in the New World, flattery by imitation. Flattery, of course was also used by blacks to ridicule whites who were often blind to this double meaning. Black participation in minstrelsy (where whites often ridiculed blacks), can also be seen in this light.

A stickfighting dance in Bequia: 1838

If negotiation via respectability provided one means of establishing a dialogue with whites, there was another course open to blacks should this approach be unproductive, that of being offensive.¹⁹ Offence ranged from patterns of verbal abuse to physical combat, with uncontrolled violence as a last resort. Disciplined ritual fighting between black and black, or black and white, was one element in this form of competition, and a stickfighting dance to drums was developed in the Caribbean that embodies this sentiment.

The earliest reference to stickfighting in the Caribbean located in the course of this research is an engraving of an illustration by the Italian artist Agostino (or Augustin) Brunias, published in London in 1779. This depicts 'A Cudgelling match between English and French negroes in the island of Dominica'.²⁰ Stickfighting was a European as well as an African sport, and was probably also practiced by the Amerindians. The form of stickfighting to the accompaniment of drums developed by black creoles in the Caribbean, however, undoubtedly reflects African influence, as well as that of the continents of Europe and the Americas.²¹ The earliest known reference to this type of combat is situated in the small island of Bequia, and dates from 1838. It occurs in a novel by the Trinidad historian E.L. Joseph and, interestingly, describes combat between white creoles and their black slaves. This is also included in the Table, and points up the more competitive aspect of musical evolution in the old creole period. The account is also important because of the extension of this style of fighting to drum accompaniment by late-nineteenth-century Trinidad Carnival bands, and it is therefore quoted in full:

'Bequia owns the completest specimen of white creoles that I have ever met in the West Indies.... Each family of them has one or two slaves who live on terms of equality with it.... Their dance is peculiar to them: they use two or three negro drums, beaten with the hands; and these produce monotonous notes to which they dance with more agility than grace, though not entirely without the latter. The male dancers carry what they call a beau-stick, which is a heavy piece of cinnamon-wood not thicker than that which the humane law of England allows a man to beat his wife withal, about thirty inches in length; and with this beau stick, they, at irregular intervals, strike at each other, still keeping time to their rude music. The person struck at generally is active enough to ward off the blow; otherwise the only check the stick receives is on its encounter with the head, limbs, or body of the party aimed at, who takes the matter in excellent part, retaliating on the striker, or "firing a lick" at some other person near him. The dexterity displayed in warding off blows, and the good humour shewed when they receive them, are astonishing. 'As the *taffia* (new rum) circulates, the mirth and fun grow fast and furious; the combat darkens, the blows thicken, sticks and heads rattle; until amid laughter, the lights are extinguished and thwack! thwack! thwack! resounds, each laying about him without, seeing, knowing or caring whom he strikes. Those whose heads are made of penetrable stuff now make a rush towards the door, or bolt through the sides of the fragile wattled house. All this is done in the best possible temper. Such are the humours of a west-end Bequia "jolification"'.²²

There are four principal elements relating to this stickfighting dance, which will be considered subsequently:

- (i) The accompaniment of two or three drums, played with the hands
- (ii) offensive and defensive moves by the fighters made to the rhythm of the drumming

- (iii) the 'beau stick' used was 30 inches long
- (iv) the drinking (of new rum) by combatants.

In the instance of this dance the fact that new rum was being drunk may indicate that the occasion was Cropover.

Old creole drum dances: the *bamboula*, the *belair*, the *juba*, and the *kalenda*

As the old creole period drew to its close, the 'Joe and Johnny' dance from Barbados, and the stickfighting dance from Bequia represent two of the differing ways in which black musical culture in the West Indies began to emerge as a fusion of ideas drawn from African, Amerindian and European sources, together with local invention. There were, however, other drum dances that transcend this era and continued in popularity into the later nineteenth century, although they too were subject to the dynamics of change in the context of time. These are principally the *bamboula*, the *belair*, the *juba*, and the *kalenda*. It can be seen that two of them, the *bamboula*, and the *belair*, are included in Table XIV.

Each of these terminologies is important in the development of drum-accompanied black creole music, especially in the French-speaking Caribbean and circum Caribbean. In addition, *juba* developed as an exclusive form of rhythmic hand patting in the United States where the use of the drum was minimalized by stringent control.

A brief discussion of the *bamboula*, *belair*, and *juba* will be followed by a detailed examination of the *kalenda*. The latter has been selected because of its late-nineteenth-century relationship with Trinidad Carnival music, and the early recording of this form of Trinidad black creole music when the Victor Talking Machine Company visited Trinidad in 1914.

The *bamboula*: 1690s-1900s

The *bamboula* is probably named after a particular type of drum, sometimes called the *baboule*, however nomenclature in early descriptions is notoriously inexact. In this respect the comment by Jacqueline Rosemain when discussing *bamboulas* in Martinique is pertinent. She notes that 'Africans frequently gave the same name to their rhythms, drums, dances, songs and balls'.²³ It is as likely, however, that white observers did not pay detailed attention to the names of these musical forms, or the instruments, dance movements, and occasions. In all events, they associated the *bamboula* with Africa.

The history of the dance with this name has not been pursued thoroughly. On the basis of Rev. C. Jesse's comparative essay on the two principal descriptions of seventeenth century slave life in the French-Antilles - by Père Jean-Baptiste du Terte (1667), and Père Jean-Baptiste Labat (1772) - it seems likely, however, that Labat's reference to the 'baboula' drum (used to accompany a performance of the *kalenda*) is the first use of this word in the context of black dances; though not of dancing itself. Labat's *kalenda* report will be discussed subsequently.²⁴

The 'bamboula' drum is mentioned in Moreau de Saint-Méry's account of *kalenda* in Haiti (published in 1797, again discussed subsequently) and a *bamboula* was danced at the Mardi Gras in New Orleans, Louisiana, during the Carnival of 1808. This was performed side by side to a *contredanse* and, accepting the terminology, is another indication of the juxtaposition of 'African' with 'European' dances by blacks at festive events.²⁵

A report from St. Lucia in 1844, published by Henry Breen, indicates that *bamboula* was the name for a drum dance performed in the open air at that time (Table XIV) and an 1842 source from the French-speaking Antilles (probably Martinique) uses *bamboula* in the context of an improvised song. The latter is quoted by Jacqueline Rosemain in her book on *La Musique Dans La Societe Antillaise* when discussing what is essentially the process of change from old creole styles to post slavery musical developments in Martinique and Guadeloupe.²⁶

In 1847, the white creole composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk, who was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, published his *La Bamboula* - Danse Nègre, Op.2, and following the end of the Civil War in the United States (1865) the *bamboula* became part of the folklore of white writers on the evolution of black music in the state of Louisiana and, in particular, its cosmopolitan Gulf Coast part of New Orleans. A *bamboula* by report, *Musieu Bainjo*, is one of seven French Creole songs from a Louisiana plantation collected just before the War, and contained in *Slave Songs of the United States* (1867); the first published collection of this pre-War, black-American music. The *bamboula* is also one of the drum dances discussed in the much quoted late-nineteenth-century writings of Lafcadio Hearn, and George Washington Cable on New Orleans music.²⁷

The emphasis of these writings is on the past. This appears usually to have been the case in Trinidad also, as is indicated by an 1881 newspaper reference to *bamboula* drum dances - performed by the white creole elite as well as their black slaves, during celebrations in the pre-emancipation period.²⁸ The music catalogue of the British Library lists a piano arrangement of a West Indian melody entitled *Bamboula* by John Urich which, as 'part of the "Alliance Musicale. Album Bijou"', was published in London by J.R. Lafleur & Son in 1887.²⁹ Circumstantial evidence suggests that this is almost certainly of Trinidad origin, although proof positive has not been pursued, nor has the exact status of its publication. The word *bamboula* seems to have remained at least in limited circulation to describe drum dances in Trinidad, however, as is witnessed by a contemporary press report of the Arouca Riot, in 1891.³⁰ This involved a clash between stickfighters and the police and will be considered in Chapter V.

An association of the *bamboula* with stickfighting is of considerable interest in that it supports the oral history recollections gathered in Trinidad during the early 1950s by Mitto Sampson and edited and published by Andrew Pearse in 1956. Sampson obtained a stickman's dirge of the 1870s from his informants which was objected to by the 'coloured' creole Attorney General of the time, Maxwell Phillip. Sung in French Creole, the words are:

Djab sé yô nom-la blâ,

The Devil is a Negro,

Mé Dié sé nom-la blâ,

But God is a white man,

Bamboula, Bamboula,

Bamboula, Bamboula,

Bamboula, Bamboula.

Bamboula, Bamboula.

Pearse notes that 'the words of this song were earlier associated with the Bamboula dance, which is supposed to have originated in Trinidad during slavery days. At certain stages in the dance the dancers stamped, went prostrate and beat the ground, a gesture which was symbolic of the final victory when the negro would eventually be able to be the tormentor and not the tormented.' Such overt forms of insult, protest, and the wish to avenge, are also implied in another comment by Pearse in the same article where, aware that the *bamboula* was not unique to Trinidad, he draws attention to 'the tradition in the Virgin Islands connecting the Bamboula dance with slave insurrection.'³¹

Whatever role the *bamboula* may have taken, its symbolical reputation as a statement of Africa in the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries led to its adoption by black composers, such as Samuel Coleridge-Taylor (1905).³² The dance itself, however, maintained a status in West Indian islands such as St. Thomas (U.S. Virgin Islands), where Maude Cuney-Hare persuaded a performance from a dancer in the 1930s, and Haiti where, in the same period, Harold Courlander identified it as a dance in the Juba cycle.³³

The *belair*: pre 1838-1988

Like the *bamboula*, references to the *belair* (or *bele*) vary from account to account, sometimes they refer to songs (which seems to be the original French meaning of *bel air*) and sometimes to the entity of a drum dance itself - drumming, dancing, call and response singing etc. The origin of the word is also uncertain. It is possible that *bele* represents a conflation of two separate words, one French, and one West African, although direct contextual historical evidence is unlikely to be found.³⁴

The use of the word *belair* in the nineteenth-century historical literature available (first reference only) ranges between the islands of Trinidad (1838 - within the context of slavery), Martinique (1841 - prior to Emancipation in the French West Indies), St. Lucia

(1844 - Table XIV), and Grenada (1893 - Table XIV).³⁵ In the twentieth century it is reported in Trinidad (1939 - Table VI), Haiti (1939); in the research into the repertoire of Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad conducted by Andrew Pearse and Daniel J. Crowley (1955); and in Anca Bertrand's 'Census of Martinique and Guadeloupe Rhythms' (1968, Martinique only). In addition Bertrand notes communal work songs (*chants de coups de main*) to drum accompaniment, which are also called *bel-airs*, in Guadeloupe and Martinique. In Carriacou the *Bele Kawe* and *Gwa Bele* are components in the Big Drum Dance cycle (discussed subsequently), and Lennox Honychurch and others report a series of *Bele* drum dances in Dominica: *Bele Contredanse*, *Bele Juba*, *Bele Priority*, *Bele Pitchay*, *Bele Rickety*, and *Bele Sante* (1975-88). A *Bele* dance also exists in the parish of Westmoreland, Jamaica where, Cheryl Ryman notes, 'it has been performed at Wakes, being referred to as "Bele play"' (1980).³⁶

The juba: 1727-1939

Of the four dances under discussion, only two have entries in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the *bamboula* in the first volume of the revised *Supplement* (1972), and the *juba* in the original *Dictionary* (1933). In the light of the present investigations, neither entry is satisfactory, especially regarding the earliest quotation identified. For *juba* this is particularly evident as instructions for a dance with this name were published in London by Playford, in the third volume of his *The Dancing Master*, in 1727, at least 100 years earlier than the first reference in the *Dictionary*.³⁷

Whether or not Playford's *Juba* is of African origin is a matter for conjecture. Its existence is important, however, in that this draws attention to the presence of blacks in Britain in the era of the slave trade, and suggests the possibility of the direct introduction of the dance by Africans. The association of the word with dancing in Britain was certainly understood by the middle of the next century, on the arrival from the United States of the blacks in blackface minstrel dancer William Henry Lane, whose nickname was 'Juba'. Lane was reportedly seen by Charles Dickens in New York in 1842. He

caused a sensation with his dancing when he appeared at Vauxhall Gardens in London in 1848.³⁸

Dena J. Epstein has documented several references to clapping, or, patting juba in the United States, that also predate the first reference in the *Dictionary*. In this respect *juba* is classified as describing a black-North-American dance accompanied by hand clapping and body patting. These techniques were developed by black slaves in the United States, as a substituted for the drum, which was prohibited.³⁹

The *juba*, however, existed also in the Caribbean. Spelt *jouba* it was named as one of three kinds of sung music in Trinidad the words to which were collected by the black philologist and historian J.J. Thomas and used as examples of language in his pioneering and justly celebrated *The Theory And Practice Of Creole Grammar*, published in 1869. In 1881 (spelt *ghouba*) this drum dance was also recalled, alongside the *bamboula* and the *calinda* as having been performed by the white creole elite as well as their black slaves prior to emancipation. This in a newspaper article that has been mentioned already in the context of the *bamboula*.⁴⁰

In 1886, discussing slave dances in Louisiana, George Washington Cable suggested a connection between the *guiouba* of the West Indies - 'comparatively unknown in Louisiana', he said - to 'the famed *juba* of Georgia and the Carolinas'.⁴¹ Most other available nineteenth-century references are to the hand-patting accompaniment that became synonymous with this form of music in North America.

In the twentieth century, during the 1930s, Harold Courlander identified the Juba cycle of dances in Haiti, which has been mentioned also in the context of the *bamboula*. Similarly, a *juba* dance was found by Melville and Frances Herskovits in their survey of black culture in Toco, Trinidad, in 1939. This, they were told was otherwise called 'Congo', on the basis of a comment by one of their informants, appears to have been a wake dance. If this was the case, it served a function similar to one aspect of the Juba cycle in Haiti, although there it is not associated with 'Congo' dances.⁴²

The tangled evolution of black music in the Caribbean is only suggested by these brief historical assessments of the *bamboula*, *belair*, and *juba* . A more comprehensive

understanding can be gained by a detailed analysis, using all available reports, for a particular 'kind of music', in this instance, the *kalenda*.

***Kalenda:* A sample of the complex development of African-derived culture in the Americas.**

Using evidence pieced together from references in Epstein's *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals* and articles by Robert Stevenson, Reginald Nettel, Lillian Moore and others, a chronology of this dance can be traced from the seventeenth to the present century and as this demonstrates admirably the complex development of African-derived culture in the Americas as well as providing a foundation stone for understanding one of the constituents of twentieth-century Trinidad black music, it is useful to outline its origins.⁴³

***Kalenda:* possible etymology and first American report (early 1600s)**

In European parlance, the origin of the word *calenda* is rooted in the Graeco-Roman word *calends* or *kalends* that signified the first day of the Roman calendar. There was a New Year Roman festival of the January *kalends* which, it is said, spread throughout the Roman empire and 'was celebrated by the relaxation of all ordinary rules of conduct and the inversion of customary social status'. This season, in turn, is close to the mid-December Roman ploughing and sowing festival of Saturnalia when similar licence was allowed. Ultimately, these end-of-year and new year festivities were adopted and adapted by the Roman Catholic Church and included in the annual celebration of the birth of Jesus - Christ's mass - and other Christian days of worship.⁴⁴ By 1611, according to the *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española* published in that year, *Calenda* was a Roman Catholic Church festival celebrated throughout Spain and its American empire.⁴⁵ The latter is exemplified by *villancico* sacred music called *calendas* that are among the Mexican musical compositions of Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla (c. 1590-1664).⁴⁶ From the 1690s evidence of the French monk, Jean-Baptiste Labat, it is also possible the word *calenda* may have had

an early Guinea Coast meaning, although in the absence of contemporary and subsequent dated written West African testimony this is difficult to establish.⁴⁷ Père Labat's report will be described further. In 1914, the music critic H.E. Krehbiel suggested '*Calinda* or *Calienda*' was derived 'possibly from the Spanish *Qué linda*' meaning how pretty, or what a pretty girl, but this seems unlikely.⁴⁸

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, 1649**

Robert Stevenson in his discussion of 'The Afro-American Musical Legacy to 1800' indicates that there are numerous *calendas* (calemdas) in the list of vernacular pieces of music in the *Primeira parte do Index da livaria de musica* of King John IV of Portugal, which was drawn up in 1649, and this suggests earlier evidence for the use of the word and its musical meaning may well be found in seventeenth-century Spanish and Portuguese documents.⁴⁹ Certainly its use by Spanish Creoles throughout the Americas was recalled by Labat, who reported that 'They dance it in their churches and their religious processions, and it is even performed by the nuns on Christmas night, on stages specially erected in the chancel behind an open grille, so that people can share in the joy to which these good souls bear witness at the birth of their Saviour. It is true that no men are admitted to join them in so devout a dance. I am even ready to admit that they dance it with completely pure intentions. But how many spectators must there not be who judge less charitably than me?'⁵⁰

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, 1678-85**

Whether the 'indecent' *calendas* Labat had witnessed in Martinique were the same as the *calendas* popular in Spanish America is one of the problems posed by the complicated cultural patterns being explored in this chronology. Labat's description of the dance and its accompanying musical instruments are preceded, however, by an earlier report, also from Martinique, identified by Dena J. Epstein.

This report, discovered in colonial papers, notes that on 16 August 1678, a Martinique planter named Greny had permitted a large gathering of blacks for the wedding of one of his slaves, which had been celebrated from morning to night, presumably with feasting and dancing. A disturbance was caused and the planter was charged with breaking the law, for such gatherings had been prohibited by ordinance since 1654. The prohibition was restated at this time. The dance, described as 'most lascivious and tiring', was apparently called a *kalenda* in the documents and was accompanied by a drum (usually of the small cask type - ka or quart) and a banza (almost certainly a banjo). As this description was not printed until 1847-48 it is possible some details came from later sources.⁵¹

Assuming that the complete information is contemporary, it is evident that this 'kalenda' was a large gathering at which a dance was performed to the accompaniment of musical instruments that have a long history in the Caribbean, with the instruments themselves, at least, almost certainly originating in Africa. The dance movements, however, are not identified. The ritual occasion was one of *rites de passage* with both secular and religious significance. Also, white fears of insurrection at such events are established by its legal record; a symbol of the transported African's defiance against slavery. These add up to general evidence of an institutional attempt to maintain homeland remembrances and one method slaves adopted in this endeavour. At the same time, because of its general nature, little further can be learnt from this description.

By 1685, Article 16 of the Code Noir (the French slave code) forbade gatherings of slaves by day or night on the property of their masters or elsewhere, and later prohibitions (1758 and 1772) specified the *kalenda* in their restrictions.⁵²

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, Père Labat's account, 1690s (Martinique)**

The description of Père Labat, to which reference has been made, provides the most complete early description of the *kalenda* in the West Indies and dates from the 1690s. As

it was also a reference point for much subsequent writing his account must be considered further.

Labat states that the *calenda* came from the Kingdom of Arada on the Guinea Coast, was learnt by the Spanish from blacks (almost certainly slaves) and danced by the former 'everywhere in the Americas after the true Negro fashion'.⁵³ In this the *calenda* is identified as a dance but its purpose is not specified. As has been stated, Labat indicates the dance was celebrated by Spanish creoles (including nuns) during religious festivals. Corroborative evidence, however, is not available, excepting the circumstantial particulars stated here concerning the name of the *calenda* and its possible European origin as a Roman ritual adopted as a seasonal Catholic Church festival. A point worth emphasising is that although all the reports under consideration were written by Europeans, the general contemporary assumption is that the dance, or rather what took place at a *calenda* held by black slaves in the New World, always had its source in Africa, whatever the origin of its name.

The event observed by Labat in Martinique was definitely a drum-accompanied dance and he describes the dimensions, construction and method of playing the two drums he saw being used - *le grand tambour* and *baboula*. The first, and larger, drum was two to four feet long and fifteen to sixteen inches in diameter, the second was about the same length but only about eight or nine inches in diameter; both were open at one end with drum heads of stretched sheepskin or goatskin. They were placed on the ground in front of, or inserted between the legs of seated players who struck them with the four flat fingers of each hand. The larger drum was used to keep a steady beat, the smaller for faster 'unsynchronised beats'.⁵⁴

Labat goes on to describe the dance itself:

'The dancers are drawn up in two lines, one before the other, the men on one side and the women on the other. Those who are waiting their turns, and the spectators make a circle round the dancers and drums. The more adept chants a song which he composes on the spur of the moment, on some subject which he deems appropriate, the refrain of which, chanted by all the spectators, is accompanied by a great clapping of hands. As regards the dancers they hold their arms a little after the manner of those who dance when playing the castinets. They skip, make a turn right and left, approach within two or three feet of each other, draw back in cadence until the sound of the drum directs them to draw together again, striking

the thighs one against the other, that is to say the man against the woman. To all its appearances it seems that the stomachs are hitting, while as a matter of fact it is the thighs that carry the blows. They retire at once in a pirouette, to begin again the same movement with altogether lascivious gestures, as often as the drum gives the signal, as it often does several times in succession. From time to time they interlock arms to make two or three turns, always striking the thighs and kissing. One easily sees from this abbreviated description how the dance is opposed to decency.⁵⁵

***Kalenda*: characteristics of early performances**

While the function of the dance is not established, Labat's description affords a rare early glimpse of certain performance characteristics that can be documented in black song and dance in the Caribbean from the seventeenth to the present century; they are:

- (i) the circle for performance
- (ii) the position of the drummers
- (iii) the construction of the drums
- (iv) the playing of the drums
- (v) dance steps being directed by drums
- (vi) improvised song
- (vii) the style of singing: call and response (chantwell and chorus)
- (viii) handclapping

It is possible further research might reveal correspondences in the dance steps with more recent descriptions.

That general performance characteristics, in one form or another can be shown to have a degree of consistency across a time span lasting four centuries, is certainly very strong evidence for the maintenance of a traditional approach: yet, in itself, this does not verify the continuation of a particular musical style by name, or take account of different variations, regional and or institutional.

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, 1750s-60s**

Such difficulties in establishing a continuity are aggravated by the realisation that most eighteenth-century reports of the *kalenda* are so general that they give little further information on what was understood by Europeans who used the word to describe gatherings of black slaves in the West Indies. They include the two French prohibitions mentioned previously, an entry in the *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonné des Sciences des Arts et des Métiers* (1751-65), and a report of the *calendoe* 'a sport brought from the coast of Guinea' by the British geographer Thomas Jeffreys (1760): both the latter are probably based on Labat's information. These and a report from Louisiana by Le Page du Pratz (1758, France; 1774, Britain) are identified by Dena J. Epstein.⁵⁶ Le Page du Pratz's description is useful in that it maintains the same general use of the word *kalenda* as in Martinique in 1678.

'Nothing is more to be dreaded than to see the Negroes assemble together on Sundays, since under pretence of Calinda, or the dance, they sometimes get together of the number of three or four hundred, and make a kind of Sabbath, which it is always prudent to avoid; for it is in those tumultuous meetings that they...plot their rebellions.'⁵⁷

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, Moreau de Saint-Méry's accounts, 1790s (Haiti)**

The next detailed description of the *kalenda* available is from the late eighteenth century and comes from the writings of the French scholar and politician Médéric Louis Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry. Almost certainly the dance he describes took place in Haiti (then Santo Domingo) where he settled for a period.

Saint-Méry distinguishes between black 'imitative' dance presumably those dances he saw and believed to have been based on European steps - and black dance 'brought originally from Africa.' He indicates indirectly that black creoles were as fond of dancing as newly imported slaves from Africa, and that the latter had been brought from all parts of the continent, mentioning the Gold Coast, Congo and Senegal. His observations led him to write that 'their taste for the dance (is) so strong that, however tired out from work the

negro may be, he always finds strength to dance, and even to travel a long distance to satisfy this desire'.⁵⁸

Like Père Labat almost a century before, Saint-Méry goes on to describe the size and manufacture of the two drums used in accompaniment for the event - the smaller being called *bamboula*. These and their playing technique appear to have been very similar to those observed by Labat. In addition, Saint-Méry identifies the playing of a number of maracas-like shaking instruments that, from their description, are usually called shac-shacs in the Antilles, and several *banzas*, described as 'a sort of large guitar with four strings'.⁵⁹

Resembling Labat's *kalenda* the dance took place in a circle, the tempo being regulated by clapping. There was 'a sort of chorus which responds to one or two strident voices which repeat or improvise a song'.⁶⁰

The dance steps described by Saint-Méry, however were not the same as those seen by Labat in Martinique:

'A male and female dancer, or several dancers, divide into an equal number of each sex, jump into the centre of the circle and begin to dance, always two by two. This dance, which varies very little, consists of a very simple step in which one foot is put forward after the other, and then drawn back quickly while striking the toe and the heel on the ground, as in the *Anglaise*. Some turn in place, or around the woman, who turns also and changes place with her partner; that is all which one sees, except for the movement of the arms which the man raises and lowers with the elbows quite close to the body and the hands almost closed; the woman holds the two ends of a handkerchief, which she waves. When one has not seen this dance one would hardly believe how lively and animated it is and how much grace it derives from which the strictness with which the musical rhythm is followed, the dancers replace one another without respite, and the negroes are so intoxicated with pleasure that it is necessary to force them to conclude dances of this sort called *kalendas*.'⁶¹

This description was first printed in a short treatise on *Danse* published in 1796 under Saint-Méry's own imprint whilst he was in exile in Philadelphia during the French Revolution. The same booklet also included a description of another Haitian dance that he called the *chica*. Both the *kalenda* and *chica* descriptions were printed in slightly amended forms in his *Description Topographique Physique, Civile, Politique et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle Saint-Dominique...* that he published in Philadelphia the following year.

If the translations available are accurate the differences between Saint-Méry's Haitian *kalenda* dance and his two descriptions of the *chica* allow further interpretation of the word *kalenda*. Writing on the *chica* in 1796, Saint-Méry stated:

'Our Creole customs have adopted another exotic product which, also coming from Africa, has had the most general influence of all the negro dances I have described. It is a dance known almost everywhere in the American colonies, under the name of the *Chica*, which it bears in the Windward Isles and Santo Domingo.

'When one wishes to dance the *Chica*, several instruments play a melody, which is absolutely dedicated to this kind of dance, and which the rhythm is very plainly marked. For the woman, who holds the ends of a handkerchief or the two sides of her apron, the art of this dance consists chiefly in moving the lower part of the loins, while holding the rest of the body almost motionless. To enliven the *Chica*, a man approaches the woman who is dancing, throws himself suddenly forward, falling so that he almost touches her, draws back and then darts forward again, while seeming to implore her to yield to the desires which she seems to feel.'⁶²

Saint-Méry ascribed the origins of this dance to 'the countries of Africa, where every tribe dances it, and particularly the natives of the Congo. The negroes carried it with them to the Antilles, where it soon became naturalized.' He continues with an unacknowledged commentary ultimately deriving from Père Labat's general description of the Spanish American distribution of the *kalenda* and it being danced by nuns on Christmas Eve.

In the 1797 printing of his *chica* description Saint-Méry still did not acknowledge Labat but at least gave an oblique reference to the *chica* being 'called simply Calenda in the Windward Isle[s]'; a name Labat had used for very similar dance movements in one of the Windward Islands, Martinique. Saint-Méry went on to say that his Santo Domingo *chica* was called 'Congo at Cayenne (Guyana), Fandango in Spanish, etc.' before repeating his own observations on the body movements of this particular dance.⁶³

In neither of Saint-Méry's dances are their institutional functions established, thus again these descriptions can only be interpreted in general fashion, although the ascription of his *chica* especially to blacks from the Congo might have some significance. As well as two drums - the smaller of which, *baboula* or *bamboula*, as has been discussed, is also used as a dance name in the Caribbean - the musical accompaniment in his Haitian *kalenda* is augmented by shac-shacs, *banzas*, clapping, and improvised call and response singing. The establishment of a dance area by a circle of people is also maintained. From earlier

observations it will be noted that, with the exclusion of the *banza*, the instrumentation, singing style and circle for performance might be used in descriptions of certain dances in the West Indies to this day.

While such particulars are not given in his account of the *chica*, the differences between Saint-Méry's and Labat's reports of the dance steps give some indication of general continuities and changes in the dance Labat called the *kalenda*. This, of course, assumes the origins of these two dances are the same. However, because of the large number of variables in space, time, and description, this cannot be stated with certainty.

Kalenda: descriptive chronology, 1811-67

Chronologically, the next available mention of the *calinda* is in the verse of a song included in *Idylles et Chansons on Essais de Poésie Créole par un Habitant d'Hayti* published in Philadelphia in 1811.⁶⁴ There are also recollections of its performance in New Orleans in the 1830s, although they amount to unsubstantiated hearsay. More concrete evidence is the inclusion of a *Calinda* from Louisiana in *Slave Songs of the United States* compiled by William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware and Lucy McKim Garrison (New York 1867). This, and the other six French Creole songs, 'were obtained from a lady who heard them sung before the (U.S. civil) war on the "Good Hope" plantation, St. Charles Parish, Louisiana.' The song, No. 134, has the following annotation: 'The "calinda" was a sort of contra-dance, which has now passed entirely out of use. Bescherelle describes the two lines as "avançant et reculant en cadence, et faisant des contorsions fort singulières et des gestes fort lascifs."'65

Kalenda: descriptive chronology, 1869-81 (Trinidad)

In 1869, J.J. Thomas described in the 'Preface' to his *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* how it had been compiled 'under circumstances the most

disadvantageous, having no other materials than a collection which I had made of *bellairs*, *calendas*, *joubas*, idioms, odd sayings, in fact everything I could get in Creole.⁶⁶

This is the earliest Trinidad reference that has yet been located for the use of *kalenda* to describe songs sung in French Creole. It is significant that Thomas distinguishes between these three types of song but unfortunate that he does not relate other aspects of performance. From a subsequent account to which reference has been made previously it is confirmed that all three were also distinctive dances. The latter comes from a Trinidad newspaper article on 'The Origin of Canne Boulée' published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1881.⁶⁷ Canne Boulée (or Canboulay) was at that time a violent Sunday midnight torchlight procession that opened the Shrovetide carnival season in Trinidad, when bands of drum accompanied stickfighters challenged and fought one another or the police.⁶⁸

The appearance of the *kalenda* in Trinidad, where it is known to have become associated with this stickfighting, requires explanation. In very simple terms African-French creole traditions were introduced in Trinidad by the establishment of French-run sugar plantations in the late 1700s, at the end of the island's period of Spanish control. As well as the settlement of a white creole plantocracy, many black creole slaves were brought to Trinidad from the French-Creole speaking West Indian islands, Martinique included. Britain took Trinidad in 1797, by which time the French-Creole speakers had become the most significant proportion of the population, so much so that their linguistic influence was maintained until well into this century.⁶⁹

Describing the carnival in the period prior to slave emancipation (the latter took place between 1834 and 1838) the anonymous white French Creole correspondent wrote in French on 19 March and in English on 26 March 1881 in the *Port of Spain Gazette*:

'At carnival time our mothers and grandmothers have even danced the *belair* to the African drums whose sound did not offend their dainty ears, and our fathers and grandfathers danced the *bamboula*, the *ghouba* and the *calinda*. It is traditional in our families that General P. aide-de-camp to Governor Woodford and Commander in Chief of the militia, and Mr. P. G. who, though 70 years of age, is still strong and robust excelled both in the last mentioned dances.'⁷⁰

Later descriptions of the *calinda* dance movements in Trinidad note that it 'consisted of windings and contortions of the body' and, more particularly, men and

women 'hook' dancing up to a stage where the drummers were playing. The partners bowed three times, danced back and wound down to the ground. Dancing took place in a 'tent', presumably situated in one of the many yards around which blacks were housed in Port of Spain. This or a similar style of *calinda* is also reported to have been danced in the streets during Carnival.⁷¹

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, 1885-86 (Louisiana, U.S.A.)**

Following its mention in an 1881 edition of the *Port of Spain Gazette*, two reports from New Orleans, Louisiana, use the word *calinda* in meanings that differ somewhat from the male/female dance in Trinidad and the sort of 'contra-dance' from Louisiana printed in *Slave Songs of the United States*. The first was identified by Dena J. Epstein, who will be quoted verbatim:

'Charles Dudley Warner, the American editor, visited New Orleans for the first time in March, 1885. He witnessed "the barbaric rites of Voudooism" at noon in a "small frame house...just beyond Congo Square, an incantation rather than a dance...

"A coloured woman at the side of the alter began to chant in a low melodious voice. It was the weird and strange 'Danse Calinda.'... The chant grew, the single line was enunciated in stronger pulsations, and the other voices joined in the wild refrain...The singing became wilder and more impassioned, a strange minor strain, full of savage pathos and longing... the chant had been changed for the wild *conga*, more rapid in movement than the *chanson africaine*..."⁷²

In this, Warner gives the *calinda* a religious ritual association not found in earlier observations, the Spanish-American Catholic Church festival apart. With the established general nature of most of these reports, however, this does not rule out the possibility of unspecified sacred significance in some descriptions.

George Washington Cable provides the other *calinda* reference from New Orleans, in his well known 1886 *Century Magazine* article on 'The Dance In Place Congo'.⁷³ Cable is writing about the late 1840s period of his childhood and about a different style of performance altogether than the one described by Warner. He makes it clear that he had never seen a *calinda* performed but he appears to have been familiar with it, and especially its songs, because of a local upbringing in the proximity of black song and dance

traditions. He also shows familiarity with previous literature notably Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Déscription... Saint-Dominique*. After describing the *bamboula* and *counjaille*, Cable wrote:

'There were other dances. Only a few years ago I was honoured with an invitation, which I had to decline, to see danced the Babouille, the Cata (or Chacta), the Counjaille, and the Calinda. Then there was the Voudon, and the Congo, to describe which would not be pleasant. The latter called Congo also in Cayenne, Chica in San Domingo, and in the Windward Islands, confused under one name with the Calinda, was a kind of Fandango, they say, in which the Madras kerchief held by its tip-ends played a graceful part.

'The true Calinda was bad enough. In Louisiana at least, its song was a grossly personal satirical ballad, and it was the favourite dance all the way from there to Trinidad. To dance it publically was not allowed this side of the West Indies. All this Congo Square business was suppressed at one time; 1843 says tradition.

'The Calinda was a dance of multitude, a sort of vehement cotillion. The contortions of the encircling crowd were strange and terrible, the din was hideous. One Calinda is still familiar to all Creole's ears; it has long been a vehicle for the white Creole's satire; for generations the man of municipal politics was fortunate who escaped entirely a lampooning set to its air.

'In my childhood I used, at one time, to hear, every morning, a certain black *marchande des calas* - peddler woman selling rice croquettes - chanting the song as she moved from street to street at the sunrise hour with her broad shallow, laden basket balanced on her head.' ⁷⁴

Cable goes on to quote a song about a certain Judge Preval that had been the subject of this particular satirical commentary. It is the same song entitled *Calinda* in *Slave Songs of the United States*. Accepting Cable's account of learning the song independently (he quotes more verses than are included in *Slave Songs*) the two versions are a general indication of the song's distribution and popularity, and its association with the *calinda* in Louisiana.⁷⁵ Cable also indicates that the *calinda* was usually the final dance of each summer Sunday evening that blacks gathered in Congo Square for their recreations.

Viewing Cable's information in the light of the previous descriptions, he implies the New Orleans *Congo* was the dance first described as the *kalenda* in Martinique by Père Labat, and subsequently as the *Chica* in San Domingue by Moreau de Saint-Méry. Cable's *calinda* dance, however, is difficult to distinguish in that an encircling crowd's contortions do not describe events inside the circle where, on the basis of earlier evidence, the dance took place. He may mean that selected male/female partners performed their 'vehement cotillion' in that area but as he never saw the *calinda* danced, the value of his description is unreliable and his vagueness to be expected. More important are his childhood memories

of *calinda* songs in Louisiana having been in the satirical and topical tradition, much in the same way as the *belair* seems to have been in Grenada, Martinique, St. Lucia, and Trinidad during the same period - if contemporary references can be relied upon.⁷⁶ It may also be significant that Cable remembered *calinda* songs as having been a 'vehicle for the white creole's satire' as well as the satire of blacks. This suggests a degree of common cause among white and black French Creole speakers in New Orleans against the English-speaking majority. There was a similar linguistic divide in Port of Spain, Trinidad.⁷⁷

In the same period Cable was writing on black slave culture in New Orleans, another writer, who had already published several important articles on contemporary black music, in Cincinnati, Ohio, travelled down the Mississippi River by paddle steamer to New Orleans. This was Lafcadio Hearn. One of his projects was a collection of black French Creole songs, compiled by Cable, music critic Henry Edward Krehbiel, and himself which, unfortunately, came to nothing.⁷⁸ Hearn, however, was a well-read and acute observer of what was then termed 'exotica', and learnt French Creole during his stay in the city. He wrote a number of significant articles on white and, especially, black French Creole folk culture in New Orleans at this time.⁷⁹

Hearn had an eye for the antique and obscure. With the paucity of detailed observations it is unfortunate, therefore, he saw only once the performance of dances otherwise reported a feature of Congo Square every Sunday until 1834, if not later.⁸⁰ Such dancing, however, had retreated to the privacy of less public territory. His account has been pieced together from several separate sources but it seems that on a Sunday afternoon in about 1883 he witnessed a group of middle-aged and older blacks performing in a back yard on Dumaine Street. 'A dry goods box and an old pork barrel formed the orchestra. These were beaten with sticks or bones to keep up a continuous rattle while some old men and women chanted a song that appeared to...be purely African in its many vowelled syllabification...'⁸¹ This *New York World* commentary was unsigned but is essentially the same as one published under Hearn's name, in the November 1883 edition of *Century Magazine*, which describes 'The Scenes Of Cable's Romances'. In the latter Hearn confirms 'the male dancers fastened bits of tinkling metal or tin rattles about their

ankles', and comments on their 'curious and convulsive performances'. He calls the occasion a *bamboula*, and in both articles refers to the specific dance as the Congo, with its associated chant.⁸²

Of direct relevance to this discussion, however, are Hearn's observations in a post card sent to Henry Krehbiel at this time, and published by Krehbiel in 1914: 'The Voodoo, Congo, and Caleinda dances had for orchestra the empty wooden box or barrel drum, the former making a dry, rapid rattle like castinets. The man sat astride the drum.'⁸³

Although he gives little information on the dance steps - in the *New York World* they were described as 'lascivious' - Hearn does provide more detail than Cable.⁸⁴ It would seem he saw at least one, if not all three types of dances, and his comments on the drums, their playing, and the style of singing, are in general accord with accounts from elsewhere.

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, Lafcadio Hearn's account, 1889 (Martinique)**

To some extent fired by his knowledge and in an endeavour to understand and document further the culture of black New World French creoles, Lafcadio Hearn made two journeys to Martinique in 1887, travelling from New York in July and October respectively. On one of these trips probably the latter, Hearn sought out and witnessed a *caleinda* in the small village of Grande Anse, on the Atlantic coast of the island, twenty miles as the crow flies, and almost opposite the ill-fated-Caribbean-Sea-town of St. Pierre, where he had been staying.⁸⁵ Writing on his experiences 'At Grande Anse', in the November 1889 edition of *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Hearn paid attention to the black musical heritage that had first captured his interest in English-speaking Cincinnati, and then in French-Creole-speaking New Orleans.⁸⁶

'I had long desired to examine a plantation drum and see it played upon under conditions more favourable than the excitement of a holiday *caleinda* in the villages where the amusement is too often terminated by a *voum* (general row) or *goumage* (a serious fight): and when I mentioned this wish to the planter (whom he was visiting 'at one of the old colonial estates on the hills near the village') he at once sent word to his *commandeur* or assistant overseer, the best drummer in the settlement, to come up to the house and bring his instrument with him. I was thus

enabled to make the observations necessary, and also take an instantaneous photograph of the drummer in the very act of playing.

'The old African dances of the *caleinda* and the *belé* (which latter is accompanied by chanted improvisation) are danced on Sundays to the sound of the drum on almost every plantation in the island. The drum, indeed is an instrument to which the country folk are so attached that they swear by it - *Tambou!* being the oath uttered upon all ordinary occasions of surprise or vexation. But the instrument is often called a *ka*, because (it is) made out of a quarter barrel or *quart* - in the patois "ka". Both ends of the barrel having been removed, a wet hide, well wrapped about a couple of hoops, is driven on, and in drying the stretched skin obtains still further tension. The other end of the *ka* is always left open. Across the face of the skin a string is tightly stretched, to which are attached at intervals of about an inch, very short, thin fragments of bamboo or cut feather stems, these lend a certain vibration to the tones.

* * *

'The skilled player *bel tambouyé* straddles his *ka* stripped to the waist, and plays upon it with the fingertips of both hands simultaneously, taking care that the vibrating string occupies a horizontal position. Occasionally the heel of the naked foot is pressed lightly or vigorously against the skin, so as to produce changes of tone. This is called "giving heel" to the drum - *baill y talon*. Meanwhile a boy keeps striking the drum at the uncovered end with a stick, so as to produce a dry clattering accompaniment. The sound of the drum itself, well played, has a wild power that makes and masters all the excitement of the dance - a complicated drum roll with a peculiar billowy rising and falling. The Creole onomatopoes *b'lip-b'lip-b'lip-b'lip*, do not fully render the roll; - for each *b'lip* or *b'lip* stands really for a series of sounds too rapidly flipped out to be imitated by articulate speech. The tapping of a "ka" can be heard at surprising distances: and experienced players often play for hours at a time without exhibiting wearisomeness, or in the least diminishing the volume of sound produced.

* * *

'During the dances, a sort of chant accompanies the music - a long sonorous cry, uttered at intervals of seven or eight seconds, which perfectly times a particular measure in the drum roll. It may be the burden of a song, or a mere improvisation:

"Oh! yoie-yoie!"	(Drum roll)
"Oh! missié-à"	(Drum roll)
"Y bel tambouyé"	(Drum roll)
"Ai, ya yaie!"	(Drum roll)
"Joli tambouyé"	(Drum roll)
"Chauffé tambou-à!"	(Drum roll)
"Géné tambon-à!"	(Drum roll)
"Crazé tambon-à!"	(Drum roll)
	etc. etc.

The *crieur* or chanter is also the leader of the dance. The *caleinda* is danced by men only, all stripped to the waist, and twirling heavy sticks in a mock fight. Sometimes, however, - especially at the great village gatherings when the blood becomes overheated by tafia (rum) - the mock fight may become a real one and then even cutlasses are brought into play.⁸⁷

Hearn has been quoted at length, partly because of the quality of his observations, and partly because his appears to be the earliest reference to the kalenda as a male only drum accompanied dance, involving sticks and fighting between representatives of different territories; with which the term became almost wholly associated in Trinidad, probably during the same period.

Hearn was aware of Père Labat's Martinique *kalenda* description but does not comment on the differences between the *caleinda* he saw and Labat's male/female dance. He does, however, contrast the appearance of the two drums identified by Labat - *le grand tambor* and *baboula* - with the *ka*. It is also worth noting, however, the general similarities between all these drums, with skins stretched over one end, the other being left open, and also the finger-tip playing techniques observed by both authors. Quarter barrel drums, called *ka*, quart, or keg and played in similar fashion were still being used in Trinidad to accompany the *kalenda* stickfighting dance in the 1950s and '60s.⁸⁸

Unlike the *belé* or *belair* drum dance, which Hearn states was 'accompanied by chanted improvisation' he is less clear that the *caleinda* was accompanied by a vocal, although later references in his text imply that it was. Hearn identifies the solo vocalist as a *crieur* or chanter and describes him as 'leader of the dance'. He does not, however, refer to a chorus and it is uncertain, therefore, whether these dances featured the call and response singing that have been the hallmark of earlier accounts. It is most likely that they did.

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, 1890s (Trinidad)**

Writing on black dance in the Caribbean in the late 1880s - early 1890s, British diplomat Hesketh Bell gives a general description, with some reference to Grenada. He quotes liberally, and without acknowledgement, from Père Labat, and mentions the *calenda* as a dance of the past, noting the *belair* as the favourite contemporary drum dance.⁸⁹ He emphasises improvisatory and satirical singing, in a minor key, by solo vocalist and chorus. With many of his observations taken from secondary sources, Bell's details are unreliable. It is possible, however, that he signals a gradual decline in the use of *calenda* to denote a male/female social dance in the English-speaking Lesser Antilles. This is certainly true for Trinidad, and it is emphasised by an editorial printed in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 17 February 1896 that refers to '"Bell Airs" and "Calendas"' as 'old time negro dances' which 'were totally different to the obscene and vulgar dances of the present

day'. It encourages the revival of the former as a tourist attraction especially for the Centennial Exhibition of Trinidad's Government by the British, planned for the following year.⁹⁰

White opinion of "'Bell Airs" and "Calendas"' in Trinidad differed. The satire and vulgarity of *belair* songs and the movement of its dance steps, as with the *calenda*, were more often than not criticised with utmost hostility. As to the disappearance of these dances, their demise was not signalled by a lack of popularity but by the banning of the drum by Ordinances that forbade its use on premises by those who had been convicted previously, or in processions (1883 and 1884).⁹¹ Responsibility to enforce the law on premises was placed with the owner of the property. The circumstances and 'official' attitude towards the latter are vividly portrayed by long-time Port of Spain resident, Lewis Osborn Inniss who wrote in 1910:

'...it was found necessary to make special legislation against the beating of the big African drum, to which the *bass people* were fond of dancing *calindas* (a most indecent performance) on account of the noise it made. And the manner in which it operated was rather ingenious, illustrating the well know adage, "There are more ways of choking a dog than hanging it", for the ordinance did not say "you must not beat the drum" but it made of owner of any yard where a drum dance took place, liable to a heavy fine, if a detective could prove, that there was anyone present at the dance who had been convicted before the Magistrate for any cause! As the public in general could walk into a yard where a "*calinda*" was going on, one can see that the owner of the yard, would be almost sure to incur the fine, and consequently no one would allow the drum to be beaten in the yard and the archaic instrument died a natural death, and quattros, bandols, flutes and clarionetts reigned in its stead, to the great comfort of decent inhabitants.'⁹²

Evidence from 1891 (The Arouca Riot), however, shows that drum dances continued to be allowed on the basis of police licence. This will be discussed further in Chapter V.

In a later version of Inniss' observations (1932), he described the the drum and its manner of playing: 'This grand Tambour was made like a half barrel with the bottom out and the head covered with a dried goat's skin. The drummer sat with his legs across it and manipulated with both hands, producing a noise which could be heard a mile off so when a Drum Dance started anywhere in your vicinity, Morpheus fled.'⁹³ The construction and manner of playing follow the general pattern established by earlier accounts.

A description of 'Carnival in the Old Days (from 1858),' also by Inniss, published in a 1932 edition of the Trinidad periodical the *Beacon*, furnishes details of the Canboulay processions mentioned earlier and the part the *calenda* played in their enactment:

'At twelve o'clock on the evening of Shrove Sunday the blowing horns or empty bottles as a substitute, was the notice for the assembling of the bands, Belmont, Corbeaux Town, Dry River, Dernier point, etc. etc. These headed by the champions who could hallé baton skillfully with a grande tambour and a collection of shack-shacks to give the music, torches made of resinous wood to give light, marched down the street yelling ribald songs.

'The city was in total darkness at night in those days. When they came to some convenient spot the drummer put down the drum and sitting astride it proceeded to batte tambour, the women who carried the shack-shacks making vigorous accompaniment whilst the crowd danced Corlindas the women singing Bel-Airs and hallé baton (stickfighting) waged among the men.'⁹⁴

Inniss also includes one of the few contemporary Trinidad descriptions of 'the dance that followed the drum and shack-shack'. It 'was called a *Calenda* and consisted of windings and contortions of the body which was considered by the decent ladies of those days to be very vulgar and unfit for people to see.'⁹⁵ This has been quoted previously, in part, but is repeated because it provides a useful demonstration of the link between the earlier dance and its manifestation as a highly developed Trinidad stickfighting tradition.

***Kalenda*: descriptive chronology, 1900s (Trinidad)**

The stickfighting tradition is defined succinctly by Andrew Pearse, both musically and in its social setting and, virtually completes this chronology:

<u>'Kind of music and description</u>	<u>Institutions which contain it</u>
" <i>Kalenda</i> " Patois, English. Songs with 3 drum acc. or Tamboo Bamboo (stamping tubes) Chantwell and Chorus.	Music to accompany quarterstaff duelling between regional cham- pions, backed by followers at Carnival. Eccentric drumbeats act as lead in foot work, feint attacks, etc. Words boast prowess of champions and bands, throw challenging insults, etc.' ⁹⁶

It is also worth noting that *kalenda* is played in a ring surrounded by spectators (usually male) with drummers positioned on one side. Challengers state their intention by throwing their sticks into the ring. ⁹⁷

The adoption of Tamboo Bamboo stamping tubes followed the suppression of the drum, and replaced it in other music where a percussive effect was essential, such as the bongo wake dance. Tamboo Bamboo faded with the rise of the steel drum in the late 1930s.⁹⁸

Kalenda: Descriptive chronology, 1933 (St. Croix); 1946 (Louisiana)

In conclusion a further indication of the complexity of the development of the 'Calinda' is a song obtained by black-American writer Maude Cuney-Hare from 'Mary Catharine the "Princess" of "carossal" singing' near Frederikstead, in St. Croix (U.S. Virgin Islands). Mary Catherine divided her repertoire into '"Torees" (stories, we surmised), "Calindas", and "Carossals".⁹⁹ Verses from two 'Torees' are given, both of which were sung to keg drum accompaniment with vocal chorus. There are also verses from one 'Calinda', and one 'Carossal'.¹⁰⁰ Maude Cuney-Hare's description of the 'Calinda' is quoted in full:

"O Coolie Brown" is an example of a "Calinda" which is a form of African dance-song known in all Creole countries and popular in Louisiana and in the French West Indies. As danced in Martinique and in Haiti, the men twirl canes or sticks and imitate a fight. The dance is known also as "Caliendo" - perhaps with Spanish influences. Mary Catharine punctuated "O Coolie Brown" with rhythmic hand claps -

O Coolie Brown, where you ben so long?
All a-roun' der town, Calinda,
All aroun' der town, Calinda,
Cum out o'bonta we! - Ca-lin-da,
Mornin' star shell a'blow, Calinda,
Mornin' star shell a'blow, Calinda,
Cum out o bonta we! - Ca-lin-da!¹⁰¹

Unfortunately no further particulars are given, although by implication the St. Croix 'Calinda' was not a stick dance. It is also unclear whether or not the drum was used normally in accompaniment; the handclapping may have been a substitution.

The transposition of 'Colinda' to the name of a female dancer in *Allons Dance Colinda*, a song of longstanding popularity in the music of the French-speaking cajuns of

Louisiana,¹⁰² and this 1933 'Calinda' from St. Croix, indicate two highly tantalizing, but unexplored, footnotes to this chronology.

Kalenda: in Trinidad, 1869-1900s

J.J. Thomas' 1869 reference to the *calenda* as a type of song is almost certainly correct. All other contemporary accounts available, however, - the evidence of Inniss, and the 1881, and 1896 reports in the *Port of Spain Gazette* - distinguish *calenda* only as a dance, rather than vocal music. Inniss, for example, refers to 'women singing Bel-Airs while the crowd danced Corlindas', although, as other evidence indicates, the *belair* was a drum dance with singing in its own right.¹⁰³ This suggests, indeed confirms, a multiplicity of nomenclature that is apparent in most of the descriptions under consideration. The implication is that the *calenda* included singing in the style of *belair* songs and was danced by men and women together, although (excluding a 1950s recollection, also quoted previously) the latter cannot be stated with certainty. The 1881 report emphasises aged white male creoles excelling at the dance, while Inniss' objections are directed against the supposedly overtly sexual motivation of the female's movements, without mentioning male involvement. What is certain is that the *calenda* was danced both in enclosed areas (yards), and in the open during Carnival parades.

The next indication available referring to the *calenda* as a vocal music is in a *Port of Spain Gazette* report on the 1898 carnival, published on 26 February:

'The ancient and time-honoured amusement of the people is over for this time. The last shack-shack has been shaken, the last *calenda* sung, the last quatro strummed, the last clarionet squeaked and quiet reigns.'¹⁰⁴

This probably signals the period in which *calenda* became the name for what appears to have been a separate Caribbean stickfighting tradition, although even for the latter evidence is inconclusive. Writing about this period in 1932, Joseph Belgrave's 'Reflections on Carnival', published in the *Beacon*, certainly uses *calenda* in the context of a vocal music by stick bands:

'I can remember myself a form of carnival that as a boy I greatly enjoyed, it was called "Nig Jardin" (Garden Nigger), and consisted of stickfighting. The men of the different bands from Belmont, Corbeau Town, Tie-pins, (those from George Street and that vicinity) and also from other districts paraded the streets carrying sticks. They wore beautifully decorated costumes made of velvet, whilst some of them wore tweed or flannel trousers, silk shirts and silk handkerchiefs with pieces of ribbon attached to their trousers and shirts. They marched to the tune of the "Calenda" (a local chant sung in patois) accompanied by the beating of bamboo and bottle and spoon.'¹⁰⁵

The meaning of *kalenda* now encompasses all aspects of this stickfighting as the 1930s-50s calypsonian Lion explained in a 1981 newspaper article: 'The "la vouez" or stickman chant, (has) two bars (of music). Note that the "war song" the stickman sings is more commonly called a kalinda. The dance he performs during the stickfight, is also called a kalinda dance. However, the term kalinda refers to the complete ceremony: the bamboo tamboo (or tamboo bamboo), the dance, and the song. Hence the expression, "kalinda yard", a yard where dancing, singing, stickfighting and bamboo tamboo is carried on.'¹⁰⁶ The 'la vouez' is another name for the 'war songs' (or oaths of challenge) sung by individual stickmen, or collectively by carnival stick bands.

Kalenda: continuities in performance characteristics

As stated previously, the overlap between these meanings and earlier descriptions of *kalenda* both in Trinidad, and elsewhere, do maintain some general parallels with performance characteristics established in Père Labat's Martinique description of the 1690s. They are repeated here, with additional comments underlined.

- | | | |
|-------|--|--|
| (i) | the circle for performance: | <u>but not in Carnival bands</u> |
| (ii) | the position of the drummers: | <u>but not in Carnival bands</u> |
| (iii) | the construction of the drums: | <u>very similar</u> |
| (iv) | the playing of the drums: | <u>very similar; excepting forced replacement by tamboo bamboo stamping tubes in Trinidad. Ka or quart keg drums, however, remained in use there in country districts.</u> |
| (v) | dance steps being directed by drum | <u>very similar, can probably be assumed for most descriptions, although not usually identified</u> |
| (vi) | improvised song: | <u>usual, but not always noted</u> |
| (vii) | the style of singing: call and response (chantwell and | |

(viii)	chorus): hand clapping:	<u>usual, but not always noted</u> <u>sometimes replaced by shack-</u> <u>shack, sometimes not featured, or</u> <u>not mentioned</u>
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Of course, as is implied by these comments, not every description provides enough detail to be certain of a continuity of these rather limited and general performance categories, and hardly any give sufficient social details to establish their full institutional contexts. What we can learn of the latter can be shown best by tabulation: Table XV: Chronology of Kalenda Descriptions, 1611-1944.

***Kalenda*: interpretation of historical evidence**

From the table it can be seen that *kalenda* sometimes denotes a dance, or music (including song), associated with sacred rituals, but, more usually, reports suggest its use to describe secular rituals and recreations. Many observers, however did not differentiate between secular and religious in their dance descriptions, and exact functions cannot be identified reliably. In addition, the dividing line between secular and religious is sometimes very difficult to determine, and it seems very likely that on occasion dances served both purposes at a single event.

In early reports, the *kalenda* is usually a male/female dance but in most available late-nineteenth and twentieth-century accounts it is a male-only dance involving stickfighting. It would be wrong to assume, however, that this represents a complete understanding of *kalenda*, as the variety of sources here indicate. Much remains to be discovered as to similarities and differences in the use of the word in both the islands and the circum Caribbean.¹⁰⁷

Such complexity demonstrates the difficulty in pin-pointing exclusive African origin in present day black music from the Caribbean, although it cannot be denied that African-derived components are its most important features. The weight of evidence for the *kalenda* stresses an enduring African-American creative adaptability to changing circumstances that, in itself, is a strong measure of continuing cultural perception. Harold Courlander provides an appropriate final example of this in his assesment of the *kalenda* in

Haitian tradition. He notes, in historical context, that Moreau de Saint-Méry's attribution of the dance to Africa had 'missed the point altogether'. The dance he described already demonstrated European concepts of male/female pairing while maintaining other characteristics, such as the position of the drummers in the dancing court, that can be identified more positively with West African practices today.¹⁰⁸ These have also been shown to be consistent in many of the descriptions above. Courlander goes on to outline other interrelated aspects of Haitian dance before summarising his findings on the *kalenda*. As these synthesize the problems involved in interpretation for this case study, it is necessary to consider his judgements.

Courlander draws attention to the frequent historical descriptions of this dance in the French-speaking Caribbean, and the variety of functions represented in the accounts - 'a funeral dance, an exhibitionist sexual display, and a stick dance'. He notes also that 'the word Calinda appears sometimes in songs of the Vodoun cult in Haiti', where there is also a 'Calinda secret society' with special exclusive dances all known by this name. Accepting the inexactitude of the earlier descriptions, and inconclusive local evidence, he believes however 'Calinda' to have been originally a stick dance in Haiti 'known also by the name Mousoudi'. In support of this he parallels the existence of 'battle dances' in Trinidad (stickfighting *kalenda*), Puerto Rico (Bomba Calindán), Surinam, and Brazil (Capoeira), as well as drawing attention to 'modern mock prize-fighting dances performed in the Rara season' in Haiti itself.¹⁰⁹

Rara is a Haitian carnivalesque that commences on Ash Wednesday for seven weeks, immediately following Shrovetide Mardi Gras.¹¹⁰ In the latter, Courlander notes a band of 'male stick dancers known as *batonni* dressed in women's clothing' who 'crouch in circles and perform baton-tapping dancing to the accompaniment of drumming and singing'.¹¹¹ This band has indirect parallels in the *Neg Jardin* (garden negro) and *Battonier* stickfighting bands of nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Trinidad Carnival who sang, danced and fought to drums and, later, tamboo bamboo.¹¹² The Haitian band, however, seems more especially allied to another, outlawed, nineteenth-century band of

Trinidad masqueraders called *Pissenlit* (wet the bed) where men dressed in women's clothing, sang obscene songs and used their fighting sticks in sexual horseplay.¹¹³

Like the variables apparent in the *kalenda* dance descriptions, however, these inconsistencies emphasise that there is no proof positive of direct interrelationships between battle dances or, for that matter, masquerade bands in the examples Courlander has chosen, especially when differences of space and time are taken into consideration. What is apparent, nevertheless, is a general pattern of evidence that tallies with the model for musical evolution defined by Andrew Pearse. This process can be understood further by considering examples of mid twentieth-century drum dances in the Caribbean.

4. Drum Dances: An Eastern Caribbean Sample, 1955.

A foundation for the comparative study of black drum dances in the Eastern Caribbean in the mid twentieth century is the ethnographic survey carried out under the direction of Andrew Pearse. This was while he was resident tutor in Trinidad for the Extra-Mural Department of the University College of the West Indies between late 1948 and 1956. As has been mentioned in Chapter I, the survey included a study of the musical repertoire in the islands of Carriacou, Grenada, Tobago, and Trinidad. In addition, Daniel J. Crowley undertook an associated survey of music in St. Lucia. Lists of repertoire were prepared and published using the classifications of 'Kinds of Music' and 'Institutions containing it' that underly the present analysis.¹¹⁴ An abstraction of the drum dances identified in these lists is best presented by tabulation (Table XVI).

The most studied of these dances is the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou and, in the light of this, it will be considered first.

The Big Drum Dance of Carriacou

Carriacou is a small island in the archipelago known as the Grenadines. These form a cluster of islets between Grenada and St. Vincent, in the Windward Islands of the Caribbean Sea.

Although there are many types of music played in the island, its most characteristic and important local musical event is the Big Drum Dance. This is classified institutionally by Andrew Pearse as 'Music of family or neighbourhood ceremony for ensuring favour of ancestors, accompanied by offering of food. For weddings, raising tombstones, boat-launching etc., and in other critical situations, usually as the mandate of a dream. Also as a pleasure dance.'¹¹⁵ He divides the Dance into three principal sections that have developed cumulatively by accretion:

- (1) Nation Dances : that reflect African ancestry. The *Coromanti* are 'head nation' and their dances always open proceedings.
- (2) Old Creole Dances : that were developed by black slaves in the New World prior to Emancipation. They are not associated with particular 'nations' but are longstanding parts of the cycle.
- (3) New Creole Dances
(or *More recent Accretions*) : that were developed in Carriacou, or elsewhere, after Emancipation. The latter being brought to the island by traders, or returning migratory workers.

On the basis of Pearse's research and more recent findings, up to sixteen Nation Dances have been identified in the Big Drum cycle. The names of twelve of these 'nations' can be traced to places reported as sources for slaves in historical documents (see Appendix 3). There are seven Old Creole Dances and eleven New Creole Dances. Obviously, the selection of which individual dances are performed will vary from ceremony to ceremony. Nation Dances, however, form the core component with, as noted, the *Coromanti* taking precedence. Following a warm up dance, perhaps a *Gwâ Bèlè*, Nation Dances and Old Creole Dances comprise the styles featured in the two opening sequences of the cycle. In the third, and final sequence, the performance of

Nation Dances ceases. Old Creole Dances, however, continue and New Creole Dances, which are regarded as more frivolous, are added.

It is useful to identify aspects of the Big Drum Dance that are relevant to the theme of musical migration and evolution that form the basis of this investigation. Additional discussion on the form and function of the ceremony can be found in the source material specified in the bibliography to Appendix 3.

Dealing first with Nation Dances, the areas in Africa that can be identified where dance names originated are:

Point/Area of Departure	Nation
Bight of Biafra	: <i>Banda</i> : <i>Ibo</i> : <i>Moko</i>
Bight of Benin	: <i>Awouhsa (Hausa)</i> : <i>Ayerba (Yoriba)</i> : <i>Chamba</i>
Central Africa	: <i>Congo</i> : <i>Lasa (Kwesa/Quesa)</i>
Gold Coast	: <i>Arada (Allada)</i> : <i>Coromanti</i>
Senegambia	: <i>Manding</i>
Sierra Leone	: <i>Temné</i>

Taking into account the dynamics of space and time, however, as Pearse points out 'this does not of course imply that [these] items are necessarily a pure survival of the music of [the] nations [specified], but undoubtedly at some stage in the history of the festival Africans of these different nations or collections of nations connoted by these names have attempted to pass on to the mixed groups of singers and dancers in Carriacou some items of their own music, and have danced as these strangers played it for them.'¹¹⁶

Three of the Old Creole Dances belong to the group of pre-Emancipation drum dances whose geographical distribution has been described earlier:

<i>Belair</i>	: Bèlè Kawé : Gwâ Bèlè
<i>Juba</i>	: (in one source 'Bele Juba', and another 'Bele Tuba')
<i>Old Kalenda</i>	: (possibly 'woman Kalinda' in one description)

The other dances in this category are:

<i>Dama</i>	: (probably Bèlè Kawé, although Dama is also the name of a nation known to have been in Trinidad)
<i>Hallecord</i>	: (like Bèlè Kawé this name seems to be

Old Bongo derived from the way women hold their skirt when dancing)
: (seems to have been dated by content of lyrics)

For some of the New Creole Dances, Pearse gives a brief indication of their geographical origin before incorporation into the Big Drum cycle:

<i>Cariso</i>	: brought to Carriacou from Trinidad
<i>Ladderis</i>	: brought to Carriacou from Union Island (another of the Grenadines)
<i>Lora</i>	: brought to Carriacou from Union Island
<i>Man Bongo</i>	: brought to Carriacou from Trinidad
<i>Pike</i>	: brought to Carriacou from Grenada
<i>Quelbé</i>	: brought to Carriacou from Union Island
<i>Trinidad Kalenda</i>	: stickfighting kalenda, brought to Carriacou from Trinidad

He notes that 'recent observations show that accretion is continuing' and this probably accounts for the other items in this group, such as *Chattam*, *Chiffone* and *Chirrup* identified by Pearse in 1956, and *Fiola* by Donald R. Hill in 1977.¹¹⁷

The languages used for these dance songs vary. African words, whose meaning is lost, occur in Nation dances alongside the more usual 'patois' or French Creole of the Old Creole and New Creole dances. Some of the latter can be performed in English. The singing follows the pattern of call and response, by chantwell and chorus, accompanied by three drums and shac-shac.

The components of this drum dance cycle exemplify the open cumulative institution that, as Pearse has shown, serves a number of different sacred and secular functions in the Carriacou community. In this it is the most elaborate of the drum dances described in the lists of repertoire published by Pearse and Crowley in 1955. These other 'Kinds of Music' will be considered briefly.

The drum dances of Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad

(i) Grenada

In Grenada, Pearse identifies two drum dances, the *Belè*, and the *Kalenda*. The former is divided into two institutional divisions: music for a secular festival (as in Trinidad); or, 'for a crisis etc., in association with Sakra or sacrifice to ancestors.' In this

religious function Pearse seems to have subsumed the *Big Drum*, *Congo*, and *Shango* cults reported, by M.G. Smith, to have been prohibited by laws passed in 1926, thus driving them underground. All three feature drum dances, and Smith made recordings of the latter two 'Kinds of Music', if not the first, while undertaking field work in the island during the early 1950s.

On the basis of Smith's biographical interviews with black religious leader Norman Paul, *Big Drum* in Grenada appears to have had a similar structure to its namesake in Carriacou. *Congo* has been shown to denote affiliation to a specific 'African' nation. *Shango*, defined already as sacred music for the rites of a cult in Trinidad of Yoruba origin, has a similar meaning in Grenada.

Pearse indicates there are from eight to ten sub-types of *Belè* dance-songs, which are all sung in patois by chantwell and chorus to the accompaniment of chac-chacs and three drums.

Kalenda describes the same stickfighting dance as in Trinidad and conforms with Pearse's definition quoted previously.¹¹⁸

(ii) St. Lucia

In St. Lucia the drum dances reported by Daniel J. Crowley can be divided into two categories, those that perform a sacred function, and those that are used for secular purposes. For this outline, the *Bèlè* can be classified simply as a secular dance. The sacred dances will be described first.

The *Kèlè* is a family ancestral rite which was observed by Crowley in Resina village where it had survived only in one family who said they were descended from the 'Caplaw' nation. Harold F.C. Simmons reported in 1963, however, that this cult (despite suppression by the Roman Catholic church) was more widespread and originated with the Ekiti tribe (from Western Nigeria) who migrated to St. Lucia in the 1860s. George Eaton Simpson, relying on a description from Babonneau in St. Lucia, associated this rite with *Shango* (which is of Nigerian origin), although the evidence is tenuous (1973).

Kutumba is a social or wake dance performed by Neg Jine (descendents of Guinea blacks) whom Crowley encountered in the settlement of Vieux Fort. They claimed ancestry from various nations, in particular the 'Angol' and the 'Awandu', a fact also reported by Simmons.

The other sacred drum dance, *Kont*, is not associated with peoples of particular African ancestry but is a wake dance held throughout the year and in particular in November to 'please all dead' (or Poor Souls in Purgatory).

The *Bèlè* is occasionally given to please ancestors, but more generally is a formal secular Sunday dance with (as in Dominica and Grenada) many subtypes.

The pre-Carnival season has two particular village dances, the *Débòt* and the *Pika*. These are very similar although Simmons notes the *Débòt* is more formal (sharing the influence of the Quadrille) and the *Pika* (meaning thorn) more sexually overt. These dances are also performed at Thanksgiving, usually the first Monday in October. As has been indicated, a dance by the name of *Pike* is also part of the Big Drum cycle in Carriacou.

In Carnival itself, a drum dance is performed called *Kambulé*. This is a 'dance mime of cutting cane in slave times' and is 'mostly danced by a group of women' accompanied by a 'male drummer and *shatwel*' (lead singer), with chorus. Derived from *cannes brulees* (cane burning), as has been observed, a ceremony called Canboulay, with some-what different characteristics, was once an important component in Trinidad Carnival. This subject will be investigated further in Chapter IV.

Mápa is the name for an exclusive drum dance performed by the La Rose society, one of two associations that divide St. Lucia and are affiliated to patronal saints. In this instance St. Rose of Lima, whose festival is celebrated annually on 30 August. The other 'Flower Society' is La Marguerite - patron St. Margaret Mary Alocque, whose feast is on 17 October. These societies will be discussed in Chapter III. The *Mápa* is danced in a circle clockwise with a *shatwell* singing in praise of the society, while the dancers, alternately male and female, provide the chorus. Crowley observed the dance at Patience Estate.

The final secular drum dance *Solo*, takes place during December and, despite its title, is performed by male and female dancers in couples who face, but do not touch each other. They dance 'winin' style.

Excepting the *Kèlè* all these dances feature 'patois dance-songs' sung in call and response fashion by *shatwell* and chorus. Accompaniment is by one or two drums and shac-shac. The *Kèlè* differs in that the songs are in 'African' and there are one or more alternating *shatwells*.¹¹⁹

(iii) Tobago

In several respects, the two Tobago 'drum dances' are different from those that have been considered so far. This is evident especially with regard to their instrumental accompaniment and also the language used for songs - English in both cases. Almost certainly these differences reflect the history of Tobago which unlike Trinidad, was never settled *en masse* by French-or French-Creole-speaking West Indians. There is, however, a *Belé* dance in Tobago which Pearse reports 'provides music for a pleasure dance, and for "working" by magicians involving possession'. The singing is by chantwell and chorus, but the percussion instruments include a European style bass drum and stick, as well as a keg drum. Tambourines and chac-chacs are also used. Pearse notes that this dance 'has appropriated as a type a formerly independent kind, namely Congo music of nineteenth-century immigrants to Tobago.' This Congo music is identified by J.D. Elder (who undertook research with Pearse) as *Quelbè*. A dance with this name is also part of the Big Drum cycle in Carriacou.

The *Reel Dance*, known sometimes as *Tobago Reel* is not strictly a drum dance. There is a singer, but no chorus, who is accompanied by three tambourines, a triangle and a chac-chac. The predominance of percussion in accompaniment, and its function allows for the dance's inclusion here. Pearse states that it is 'music for dancing and invocation of spirits of ancestors and spirits of dead magicians for divination etc.' Elder gives an additional name for this music - the *Jumbie Dance* (jumbie meaning ghost, or spirit,

invoked in the performance). A dance with this name and similar function is part of the musical tradition in the island of Montserrat.¹²⁰

(iv) Trinidad

Three of the drum dances in Trinidad can be identified directly with the names of African 'nations', a fourth, *Shango*, with an African deity, as has been established.

Congo music, in decline at the time of Pearse's survey because descendants of mid-nineteenth-century Congo immigrants had intermarried with other blacks, was played at weddings and christenings for people of Congo ancestry. Dances were financed by contributions from the group. Songs were in patois, sung by a chantwell with chorus, and accompanied by three drums.

The Rada community in Trinidad (of Dahomian ancestry and identified with *Arada*) was probably founded shortly before, or, immediately following Emancipation. For the period of its existence (from the 1830s to the 1950s) it remained an exclusive institution whose *Rada* music exhibited strong African tendencies relating to the period of its consolidated establishment in the 1840s. This was used for cult ceremonies, including invoking saints and inducing spirit possession. It was used also for pleasure dancing. Each required different types of vocal music - all sung by a chantwell, with chorus, to the accompaniment of three drums and sticks, an iron, and *chac chac*.

The Yoruba of Nigeria have had a profound influence on the evolution of black culture in the Americas, where they are also sometimes known as Nago. In Trinidad their music is represented by two kinds of drum accompanied institutions, one a secular drum dance named after their nation *Yarriba*, the other the aforementioned religious cult *Shango*. *Yarriba* and *Shango* share the same musical accompaniment: three or four drums, sticks and *chac-chac*, with songs sung in 'African' patois by chantwell and chorus. The *Yarriba* is a co-operative pleasure dance held by *Yarriba* descendants and their friends. *Shango*, however, involves cult group rites, with hymns, litanies, and invocations, immanence of particular deities, and possession dances.

Bongo music in Trinidad, as has been mentioned in Chapter I, is performed at wakes. Like the *Reel Dance* in Tobago it is not strictly a drum dance and is included in this discussion because of its percussive accompaniment. Songs, to which new items are added by accretion from other kinds of music, are sung in patois or English by a chantwell and chorus to the accompaniment of pieces of bamboo (Qua Qua) beaten together, or bamboo stamping tubes, beaten on the ground. The music accompanies a competitive male dance and games held in the yard of the house where the wake is taking place.

Belè in Trinidad parallels its secular festival function in Grenada, and has a similar number of sub types. It also enjoys similar musical accompaniment, but has no religious significance.

Kalenda in Trinidad and Grenada has been described already.¹²¹

The Eastern Caribbean sample in a comparative perspective

What is apparent immediately from this sample is the similarity between performance characteristics, vocals by chantwell and chorus, to accompaniment by one or more drums, and chac-chacs, in most instances. As is indicated by Pearse's model, the function of these different dances, however, varies from dance to dance in relation to the institutional context of each kind of music. Relationships between associated kinds of music can be seen island by island, yet in most instances there are some differences on the basis of geographical location and other similar circumstances.

The identification with particular African 'nations' as a means of expression and maintenance of other ritual forms, however, together with consistency in modes of performance, shows some of the methods by which 'Africanisms' were sustained both before and after Emancipation. In several instances these forms and penchants (called, sometimes, extensions) were invigorated by additional participation from Africans who migrated, often as indentured labour, in the period following Emancipation.¹²² For the

English-speaking Caribbean this was highly significant in sustaining and establishing particular institutions that are a positive reflection of this heritage.

There is also a distinct difference between the African-Caribbean drum-dance music that developed in islands with strong links with the French-Creole-speaking Caribbean, in the pre- and post-Emancipation periods, and those English-Creole-speaking areas, such as Tobago, that were less directly influenced by Franco-European- and Franco-African-American cultural traits. Recent research in Jamaica confirms this pattern.

5. Drum Dances: Recent Research In Jamaica, 1981-1986

While there has been research into aspects of Jamaican music since the general survey undertaken by Martha Warren Beckwith and Helen Hartness Roberts in the 1920s, like their own findings, much of this work has not been presented in a way that facilitates comparative analysis. In the 1980s, however, the systematic work of Cheryl Ryman, and Kenneth Bilby has provided a necessary basis for such an approach. Their data will be used, therefore, for a brief examination of similarities and differences between the Eastern Caribbean drum dance sample (1955) and drum dances extant in Jamaica some thirty five years later.¹²³

Unfortunately, in their relevant publications, neither Ryman nor Bilby have adopted the approach devised by Pearse to describe and study black musical repertoire in the Caribbean and it has been necessary to supplement their work using data on performance styles from the discographical study of recordings at the National Sound Archive. As some 'kinds' of black Jamaican music are not represented in microgroove gramophone records available at the Archive a full comparison is not possible. Only selected items will be discussed here.

Cheryl Ryman divides her typology of Jamaican dances into two periods: Pre Emancipation, and Post Emancipation. For the earlier she notes two kinds of core religions dance: *Maroon* and *Myal*. For the core secular dances she uses the general heading *Jonkonnu* (which denotes the masquerade as well as a dance). This covers further

creole carnivalesque dances, formal European dances adopted by blacks, other creole recreational dances, and creole wake dances. Some of these are post-Emancipation developments. In this later period she defines three further kinds of core sacred dance: *Kumina*, *Revival*, and *Rastafari* (the only exclusively twentieth-century musical evolution readily identified).

On the basis of the available evidence, each of the core dance categories feature vocal music, often with a chorus in call and response fashion, and drum accompaniment. Sometimes the drums are of African-Caribbean design and manufacture, sometimes they are of European pattern.

As has been mentioned, by the nature of their original purpose, the Maroon communities in Jamaica have sustained particular exclusive musical institutions that reflect their sense of separate identity. The most representative kind of music associated with the exclusivity of these groups is the *Kromanti Dance*. This is not identified by Ryman, but Bilby has made a special survey of the dance. Although there are underlying similarities there are also differences in musical approach in *Kromanti* performance between the Leeward and Windward Maroon settlements. Bilby's research centres on the latter.

The dance appears to be losing its significance in two of the Windward villages, Charles Town and Scotts' Hall, it is still vital, however, in Moore Town. Performed, on the occasion of a crisis, for the healing of injuries, and spirit-caused illnesses, the *Kromanti Dance* of the Windward Maroons can be divided into three consecutive components.

- (1) *Jawbone* : that features as a 'warm up' dance to open the ceremony. This may also incorporate three other dances that seem to have evolved post-Emancipation, and appear to reflect interaction with blacks outside the Maroon circle. The words to the songs that go with these more 'recreational' styles are in English-based Jamaican creole.
- (2) *New War Songs* : that appear to represent five tribes or 'nations' that are not subsumed by the term *Kromanti*. They, and *Kromanti* are sung in African derived language.

(3) *Old War Songs* : that represent ten tribes or 'nations' involved in sustaining Maroon freedom from the whites. The Kromanti (Coromanti) are the most important and their sacred dance signifies the whole group. It is reserved for the climax of the ceremony.¹²⁴

The singing is in the call and response style, to the accompaniment of two drums and other percussion, *Jawbone*, *John Thomas*,¹²⁵ *Sa Leone*, and *Tambu* are the recreational dances, although the latter three also have limited powers in spirit invocation.

Excluding *Kromanti*, the specific nation dances identified are *Dokose* (African location not traced), *Ibo* (whose people live in contemporary Nigeria), *Mandinga* (of Senegambian origins), *Mangola* (known now as Angola), and *Prapa* (from the Ewe-speaking area of West Africa). These dances are used to invoke Maroon spirits from these nations.

Like the *Ibo* and *Mandinga*, the *Kromanti* (Coromanti) are represented in the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou and, in line with that particular dance cycle the latter takes precedence as 'head nation'. In the Maroon dance, as has been indicated, *Kromanti*, however, signifies a composite of nine other 'nations', including Nago (of Yoruba origin, in present day Nigeria). African locations for the other nations have not been identified, *Kromanti* songs are highly significant in the ritual and are called 'Country'. Further differences between the Big Drum Dance and the Kromanti Dance are functional. For example, while both honour ancestors, the Big Drum Dance begins with these exceptionally important tributes. In the latter, however, such reification forms the climax of the ceremony.

While this outline does not pretend to describe all the nuances of *Kromanti* performance, enough has been stated to indicate something of its significance as a dance with origins in the slavery period, and its relationship to other dances with similar ancestry in the Eastern Caribbean sample.

Omitting African-Christian sects that feature singing and dancing, sometimes with drumming, (covered by Ryman under the core category of *Revival*), the most appropriate

post-Emancipation sacred/secular drum dance for comparison with Eastern-Caribbean developments is the neo-African sect of *Kumina* (Another of Ryman's core categories, like *Revival*, it represents several styles in her typology).

Recent research establishes *Kumina* as a kind of music consolidated in Jamaica by migrants from the Congo area of central Africa, who arrived as indentured labour in the 1840s. In this it parallels similar developments in Trinidad, such as *Rada*, in Grenada, such as *Shango*, and in St. Lucia, such as *Kèlè*.

Kumina is performed principally in a religious context, especially in the parish of St. Thomas, where it appears to have originated. It is used for death rituals - funerals, wakes, burials, and memorials - and also to celebrate other *rites de passage*, such as birth, engagement, and marriage. On this basis it resembles the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou and, likewise, it can be used for magic, healing, and protection, as well as to commemorate social, or political, success, or to facilitate justice. Its secular use is usually in urban areas.

Dances are divided by three subdivisions, which communicate with the spirits of (i) ancestors, (ii) Earth, and (iii) sky, in this sequence. The sky spirit is the highest rank. Like the Kromanti Dance of the Maroons, the earlier part of the ceremony is less serious - songs (called Balio) are sung in Jamaican-English creole at this stage. The climax is at the end of the event and, again in parallel with the Kromanti Dance, there is spirit possession and an animal sacrifice. Songs (called Country) are performed in a Congo-derived language and have a much more serious significance in this section of the proceedings. This corresponds with the *Kromanti* (country) songs in the Maroon dance, although the African-creole language is different.

Call and response singing is led by a King or Queen, who is accompanied by up to five drums (of two types) and other instruments. The musicians are positioned in the centre of a ring around which the dancers, holding candles, circulate. The King or Queen also leads the dancing. There is a fire which illuminates the event, and a central pole with ritual significance.¹²⁶

Both Bilby and Ryman note some musical interchange between *Kromanti Dance* and *Kumina* performers that reflect the geographical proximity of the Moore Town Maroons to places in St. Thomas parish where the 'Bongo nation' perform their *kumina* rituals. They also note that each group considers itself separate from the other. In this they point up both the exchange of musical ideas between two significant institutions as well as the institutional conservatism of two distinct strands of African-derived music in Jamaica.

Further consideration of another aspect of this type of interchange, in this case involving institutional evolution, is given by Bilby and Elliot Leib in an examination of 'Kumina, the Howellite Church and the Emergence of Rastafarian Traditional Music in Jamaica'. This twentieth-century development provides a contemporary example of a Jamaican drum dance.¹²⁷

Rastafarianism is a neo-African cult that has its origin (by name) in the crowning of Haile Selassie as Emperor of Ethiopia (Ras tafari) in 1930. Following the political tenet of Marcus Garvey it is a black separatist as well as a religious philosophy and has always been an exclusive minority institution. It was driven underground by the colonial authorities in the 1930s. A further major disruption was suffered in 1954 when a principal community at Pinnacle, St. Catherine Parish, (founded and run by Leonard Howell) was dispersed in another attempt by officialdom to disrupt and disintegrate this form of worship and political challenge.¹²⁸

Like most aspects of Rastafarianism, institutional relationships in the evolution of its musical expression are controversial. The controversy is covered more fully by Bilby and Leib. Central to this is the relationship of drumming to the Rastafarian 'dance of "death and destruction"' called *Nyabingi* (covered by Ryman in her dance typology). *Nyabingi* music features communal singing (in the manner of Revival hymns) accompanied by three drums and maracas. Ryman argues a link between *Kumina* and *Buru* drumming techniques, and the compliment of drums used in these Kinds of Music, in the evolution of *Nyabingi*. Others discount the influence of *Kumina*. *Buru* it will be remembered Ryman defines as a fertility masquerade dance located in several Jamaican villages. It also has

other musical connotations and, among Rastafarians, is said to have originated in a plantation work song tradition of African origin.¹²⁹

Bilby and Leib extend Ryman's arguments and, together with other evidence, present convincing documentation of the influence of *Kumina* drumming on Leonard Howell and his Pinnacle community. They show how drums were not usually featured in Rastafarian music until after the Pinnacle raid, when Howell's followers were dispersed and introduced their musical experience to Rastafarians in the wider community, especially in the capital, Kingston.

In the parish of St. Thomas, Bilby and Leib note, that *Buru* is sometimes used to denote the 'Balio' (warm up) segment of a *Kumina* religious ceremony and, in addition, to describe a *Kumina* style dance held for secular (recreational) purposes. This secular form of *Kumina* is known to have been transposed to Kingston, where its function was modified and new drums and playing techniques adopted. In addition, the masquerade *Burro* tradition was also introduced into Kingston. This featured similar drums and playing and adopted a similar function. By the 1940s, therefore, a separate group of 'Burra' drummers, performing for secular dances and, in particular, celebrating the return of discharged prisoners from gaol, seem to have consolidated themselves in the capital. They almost certainly reflect this variety of influences and possibly other components. *Burra* influence on Rastafarian drumming is acknowledged. Such factors add to the complexity of terminology and difficulties in describing the movement of Kinds of Music from one social institution to another. They demonstrate as Bilby and Leib observe, 'that the origins of the Nyabingi drumming style cannot be traced back along a simple unilinear path.'¹³⁰

As well as reflecting these internal trends in Jamaican traditional music, Rastafarian drumming is important in that it was used by a particular group of cult musicians, Count Ossie's Afro Combo, to provide accompaniment for an early and influential commercial recording of Jamaican 'rhythm and blues' music, *Carolina* by the Folks Brothers. Recorded in Jamaica, this was issued in Britain in 1961 (Blue Beat BB30).¹³¹

Alongside the data on drum dances in the Eastern Caribbean gathered by Pearse and Crowley in 1955, these case studies from Jamaica provide ample evidence for the complex

evolution of black music in the English-speaking Caribbean, whether performed for secular or religious purposes, or a combination of both. They also emphasise the central role of migration in this process.

Finally, it must be noted that many secular dances feature accompaniment played on a variety of musical instruments, some of African and some of European ancestry. While not an exclusive instrumentation, fife and drum music, suggesting the latter influence, is used to accompany recreational dances such as *Mento* and *Quadrille*, or carnivalesque performances such as *Jonkonnu* (at Christmas) and *Maypole* (on May Day). All of these are identified by Cheryl Ryman under her general heading of *Jonkonnu*. From historical accounts, the latter three 'Kinds of Music' appear to have been performed from the pre-Emancipation period until the present. Their general relationship to the evolution of carnivalesque in the English-speaking Caribbean is the subject of the next chapter.

- 1 Abbé Raynal, trans J. Justamond, *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies*, London, T. Cadell, 1776, Vol.3, Book XI, pp.160-161.
- 2 See the chart in William H. Wiggins Jr., *O Freedom! Afro-American Emancipation Celebrations*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1987, pp.46-47.
- 3 Ryman, 'Kumina', pp.83-87.
- 4 Lester Sullivan, 'Composers of Color of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans: The History Behind The Music', *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol.8, No.1, 1988, pp.63-68, 75-77; Lucius R. Wyatt, 'Six Composers Of Nineteenth-Century New Orleans', *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol.10, No.1, Spring 1990, pp.126-127, 133-134; Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1966, pp.3-55, 226-245; John W. Blassingame, *Black New Orleans, 1860-1880*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1973, pp.145-146.
- 5 Day, *Five Years*, Vol.I, pp.260-1; José M. Bodu, comp., *Trinidadiana: Being a Chronological Review of Events which have occurred in the island from the Conquest to the Present Day, with brief notices of the careers of some Eminent colonists*, Port of Spain, A.C. Blondel, 1890, p.21, 23.
- 6 *Public Opinion*, 10 August 1888, p.4; E.M. Encinas, 'Emancipation Day', in Alfred Richards, comp., *Discovery Day Celebration 1927: Souvenir*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1927, p.72.
- 7 Philip J.S. Richardson, *The Social Dances of the Nineteenth Century in England*, London, Herbert Jenkins, 1960.
- 8 Richardson, op.cit. He describes various balls and also mentions the popularity of Tea Dances in England in about 1845, at the height of the polka craze, pp.86-7. A topic related by name but, on the evidence available, not by function is the West Indian Tea Meeting, discussed by Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit. pp.38-47. This had a Methodist evangelical origin and hymn singing and speeches as the primary entertainment. The subject is covered more fully by Roger D. Abrahams in his 'The West Indian Tea Meeting', in Pescatello, ed., *Old Roots In New Lands*, pp.173-208.
- 9 Day, *Five Years*, Vol.I, pp.260-1.
- 10 Agogos (pseudonym of Charles William Day), *Hints on Etiquette and the Usages of Society, with a glance at bad habits*, London, 1834. This was published in many editions subsequently.
- 11 Day, *Five Years*, Vol.II, p.225, Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up*, New York, O.U.P., 1974, p.28, summarizes briefly the origin of the whites in blackface 'minstrel' dance 'Jim Crow'. For Day, this was clearly the ultimate in 'low-class culture' for a man of 'society' to have performed.
- 12 Jocelyne Guilbault, 'A St. Lucian Kwadril Evening', *Latin American Music Review*, Vol.6, No.1, Spring-Summer, 1985, p.35.
- 13 John C. Messenger, 'African Retentions in Montserrat', *African Arts*, Vol.6, No.4, Summer 1973, p.56. For a slightly different version of this statement, that includes a claim that these set dance steps were learnt originally at dances held at plantation owner's houses before emancipation, see Messenger's 'The Influence of the Irish in Montserrat', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.13, No.2, 1967, p.22.

14 Ryman, 'The Jamaican Heritage' p.13.

15 Goveia, 'The West Indian Slave Laws', p.121.

16 Sample Nos. from Appendix 1 - Dances: (5); (25), (26); (30), (31); (32), (33); (34), (35); (18), (19).

17 Sample Nos. from Appendix 1 - Dances: (2), (5), (6), (7).

18 Day, Vol.I, pp.46-51, 52-53; There is a considerable bibliography on minstrelsy. Consulted in particular were: 'Black Musicians And Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy', *Black Perspective In Music*, Vol.3, No.1, Spring 1975, pp.77-99; L.A.H., 'Some Early Black-Face Performers And The First Minstrel Troupe', *Harvard Library Notes*, No.2, October 1920, pp.39-45; and two essays by Michael Pickering that consolidate research on whites in blackface, blacks in blackface, and other black performers in Britain during the nineteenth century: 'White Skin, Black Masks: "Nigger" Minstrelsy In Victorian England', in J.S. Bratten, ed., *Music Hall: Performance and Style*, Milton Keynes, Open University Press, 1986, pp.70-91, 159-162; and '"A Jet Ornament to Society": Black Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain' in Oliver, ed., *Black Music in Britain*, pp.70-91, 159-162.

19 For a series of essays that explore the use of 'respectable' and 'offensive' behaviour in the context of black culture in the Caribbean see: Roger D. Abrahams, *The Man-of-Words in the West Indies: Performance and the Emergence of Creole Culture*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.

20 The provenance of Brunias is in Lennox Honychurch, *The Dominica Story: A History of the Island*, 2nd ed., Roseau, Dominica Institute, 1984, p.36. The title and date of the print is from a contemporary catalogue of reproductions available from the Institute of Jamaica, and is confirmed by a print of the same illustration published by the Société d'Histoire de la Guadeloupe, who indicate the original was printed in London.

21 For stickfighting in Britain: the definition for cudgel in the *Oxford English Dictionary* dates from c. 837; J.C. Holt *Robin Hood*, London, Thames and Hudson, 1982, p.170, notes 103 stick cases resulting in death in Nottinghamshire between 1485 and 1558; Joseph Strutt's *The Sports And Pastimes of the People of England*, London, T.T. and J. Tegg, 1833 (first edition 1801), p.264, 369, has a description of quarter staff from 1625, and of cudgelling from 1711; the *O.E.D.* has a quote describing staff or cudgel play in 1682, and the 1711 source for cudgelling. Other references are in R.W. Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society 1710-1850*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1973, p.17, 31, 43-44, 57 (1710-1774); William B. Boulton, *The Amusements of Old London*, Vol.II, New York, 1961 (first published 1901), pp.235-236 (1779); P.H. Ditchfield, *Old English Sports, Pastimes and Customs*, Wakefield, E.P. Publishing 1975 (reprint of 1891 edition), p.38, 54-56. Gerhard Kubik discusses fist and other forms of fighting to drum accompaniment in the Angola region of Africa that were almost certainly taken to Brazil by black slaves: 'Angolan Traits In Black Music, Games And Dances Of Brazil', *Estudos De Antropologia Cultural*, No. 10, Lisboa, 1979, pp.27-29; and Mary C. Karish supplements Kubik in her *Slave Life n Rio de Janero 1808-1850*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987, p.245. Both draw attention to a 'military dance' identified by Johann Moritz Rugendas in his *Malerische Reise in Brasilien* (Paris, 1835), in which two parties armed with sticks faced each other and endeavoured to evade the blows of their opponents. A Carib tradition of stickfighting is mentioned by Pablo Pereria in his 'El Vestido en la Región de Barquisimento', *Revista Venezolana de Folklore*, No.2, Tomo I, Julio-Diciembre 1947, p.173.

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- 22 E.L. Joseph, *Warner Arundell: The Adventures of a Creole*, London, Saunders and Otley, 1838, Bk.I, pp.83-86.
- 23 Translated from the French: Jacqueline Rosemain, *La Musique Dans La Societe Antillaise 1635-1902: Martinique, Guadeloupe*, Paris, Editions L'Harmattan, 1986, p.102.
- 24 Rev. C. Jesse, 'Du Tertre and Labat on 17th Century Slave Life in the French Antilles', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.7, No.3, Dec.1961, pp.145-147.
- 25 Pierre C. de Laussat, *Mémoire sur ma Vie Perdant les Années 1803 et Suivantes...à la Louisianne...*, Pau, France, 1831, p.395; in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.84.
- 26 Bernard Adolphe Granier de Cassagnac, *Voyage aux Antilles françaises, anglaises, danoises, es panguoles, a Saint-Dominique et aux Erats-Unis d'Amerique*, Paris, Dauvin et Fontaine, 1842, p.216, 219-20; in Rosemain, op.cit., p.102.
- 27 Date of Gottschalk's *La Bamboula* from Rudi Blesh and Harriet Janis, *They All Played Ragtime*, rev. ed., New York, Oak Publications, 1971, p.303; biographical information from Eileen Southern, *The Music of Black Americans: A History*, 2nd ed., New York, W.W. Norton, 1983, pp.264-265; on *Musieu Bainjo*, op.cit., p.181. Hearn's and Cable's descriptions are considered in the *kalenda* discussion.
- 28 [x], 'The Origin Of Canne Boulee', *POSG* (Supplement), 26 March 1881, p.1.
- 29 British Library press mark, f.406. a.(22).
- 30 *POSG*, 1 April 1891, p.6.
- 31 Andrew Pearse, ed. 'Mitto Sampson on Calypso Legends of the Nineteenth Century', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.4, Nos. 3 and 4, March-June 1956, p.255, 258.
- 32 Southern, op.cit., p.290. See also Florence E. Borders, 'Researching Creole and Cajun Musics in New Orleans', *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol.8, No.1, 1988, pp.19-20.
- 33 Maude Cuney-Hare, 'History and Song in the Virgin Islands', [pt.2], *Crisis*, Vol.40, April 1933, p.118; Harold Courlander, *Haiti Singing*, New York, Cooper Square Publishers, 1973 (First published 1939), p.72-163; see also his *The Drum And The Hoe*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960, p.136.
- 34 For West Africa see Courlander, *Haiti*, p.72.
- 35 Trinidad: *POSG*, 13 March 1838, p.2; Martinique: *Trinidad Sentinel*, 1 April 1841 (Pearse Papers) - see also de Cassagnac, in Rosemain, op.cit., p.102; St. Lucia: Appendix 1 - Dances, Sample No. 40; Grenada: Appendix 1 - Dances, Sample No. 16.
- 36 Trinidad: Herskovits and Herskovits, op.cit., p.284; Haiti: Courlander, *ibid.*; Pearse, 'Aspects of Change', pp.30-31; Crowley, 'Kinds of Folk Music Differentiated According To Social Institution: St. Lucia', *Caribbean Society And Culture Notes*, Vol.1, No.2, Dec.1955, p.8; Bertrand, op.cit., p.19. Lennox Honychurch, *The Dominica Story: A History of the Island*, [Dominica, the author(?)], 1975, p.45; 2nd ed., Roseau, Dominica Institute, 1984, p.60; Lennox Honychurch, *Our Island Culture*, Roseau, Dominica Cultural Council, 1982, pp.37-38; 2nd ed., Roseau, Dominica Cultural Council, 1988, pp.62-63; Alan Gamble, *Chanté Domnitjen: Folk Songs of Dominica*, Roseau, Dominica Institute, 1986, p.46; Ryman, 'Jamaica Heritage', p.8.

37 For full particulars of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and its *Supplement* see 'Works Of Reference' in the main 'Bibliography' Playford, *The Dancing Master*, London, William Pearson, 1727, p.177.

38 Toll, op.cit., p.43, 196-197; see also 'Black Musicians And Early Ethiopian Minstrelsy', pp.81-83; and Pickering, 'A Jet Ornament', pp.25-26.

39 Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, pp.141-144.

40 J.J. Thomas, *The Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Chronicle Publishing Office, 1869, p. v. For biographical information on Thomas see Gertrud Aub-Bushier's essay in the reprint edition: London, New Beacon Books, 1968, pp.v-xviii (new preliminary material); the essays by Donald Wood, and C.L.R. James, in the reprint of: J.J. Thomas, *Froudacity: West Indian Fables by James Anthony Froude*, London, New Beacon Books, 1969 (first published 1889); and Carl Campbell, 'John Jacob Thomas of Trinidad: The early career of a black teacher and scholar 1855-1870', *African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletin*, No.8, 1978, pp.4-17.

41 George Washington Cable, 'Creole Slave Songs', reprinted in Bernard Katz, ed., *The Social Implications Of Early Negro Music In The United States*, New York, Arno, 1969, p.48.

42 Courlander, *Haiti*, p.72, 160-168; Herskovits and Herskovits, op.cit., p.284. Pearse, 'Music', however, lists the 'Institutions' for 'Congo' music in Trinidad, as 'wedding and christening dances held by groups of persons of Congo descent, and financed by contributions of group', p.632.

43 Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*; Robert Stevenson, 'The Afro-American Musical Legacy To 1800', *Musical Quarterly*, Vol. 54, No. 4, October 1968, pp.475-502; Reginald Nettel, 'Historical Introduction To "La Calinda"', *Music and Letters*, Vol. XXVII, No. 1, January 1946, pp.59-62; Lillian Moore, 'Moreau de Saint-Méry and "Danse"', *Dance Index*, 5 October 1946, pp.232-259.

44 The general assumptions are based on the work of J.G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: A Study in Magic and Religion*, abridged ed., London, Macmillan, 1922. Specifically, the entry for *calends* in *The Oxford English Dictionary*; Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque: A Study in the Relationship Between Poetry and the Revels*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1927, p.9, 12; and the entry for 'Christmas' in Maria Leach, ed., *Folk and Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, London, New English Library, 1975.

45 Entry for *calenda* in Sebastián de Cobarruvias Orozco, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española*, Madrid, Ediciones Turner, 1977 (first published, 1611). See also Stevenson, op.cit. p.489.

46 Gerard Béhague, *Music in Latin America: An Introduction*, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1979, pp.20-23.

47 Jean-Baptiste Labat, *Nouveau Voyages aux isles de l'Amerique*, IV Paris, 1722, p.154, in Stevenson, op.cit., p.488; see also Nettel op.cit., p.60.

48 Henry Edward Krehbiel, *Afro American Folksongs*, New York, G. Schirmer, 1914, p.116.

49 *Primeira parte do Index de livraria de musica* of King John IV of Portugal, Lisbon, 1967, p.173, 192, 204, 207, in Stevenson, op.cit., p.488.

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- 50 Labat, op.cit., p.157; this translation from Patrick Leigh Fermor, *The Traveller's Tree*, London, John Murray, 1950, pp.65-67, see also Stevenson, op.cit., pp.488-489.
- 51 Adrien Dessalles, *Histoire Generales des Antilles*, III, Paris, 1847-48, pp.296-297, in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, pp.27-28.
- 52 Epstein, op.cit., p.28.
- 53 Stevenson, op.cit., p.488.
- 54 ibid., pp.488-89; Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.32.
- 55 Nettel, op.cit., p.60.
- 56 *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Raisonnée des Sciences des Arts et des Métiers*, Paris, Briasson, 1751-65; 'Calinda' in Vol.II, 1758, p.474; Thomas Jefferys, *The Natural and Civil History of the French Dominions in North and South America...*, London, Printed for T. Jeffereys, 1760; 'Calendoe' in Vol.II, p.192; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiana*, Paris, De Bure l'ainé, 1758; 'Calinda' Vol.1, p.352; *The History of Louisiana, or of the Western Parts of Virginia and Carolina...* Trans from the French... A New Edition, London, printed for T. Becket, 1774; 'Calinda', p.380, 384, 387; in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, pp.31, 32, 397-98.
- 57 Le Page du Pratz, *The History of Louisiana*, in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, pp.31-32.
- 58 Médéric Louis Eli Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Danse*, Philadelphia, l'Auteur, 1796; translation in Moore, 'Moreau de Saint-Méry', pp.237-238.
- 59 ibid.
- 60 ibid.
- 61 ibid.
- 62 op.cit., p.241.
- 63 Médéric Louis Eli Moreau de Saint-Méry, *Description Topographique Physique, Civile, Politique et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle Saint-Dominique*, Philadelphia, l'Auteur, 1797, Vol. I, translation in Nettel, 'Historical Introduction', p.60.
- 64 *Idylles et Chansons on Essais de Poésie Créole par un Habitant d'Hayti*, Philadelphia, J. Edwards, 1811, p.17; reprinted in Edward Larocque Tinker, 'Gombo comes to Philadelphia', *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Association*, Vol. 66, April 1957, pp.48-76.
- 65 For 1830s New Orleans recollections see Epstein, *Sinful Tunes* 33; the edition consulted of William Francis Allen, Charles Pickard Ware, Lucy McKim Garrison, comps., *Slave Songs of the United States* was published in New York, by Oak Publications, 1965, 'Calinda', pp.170-171; the notes to the seven French Creole songs are reprinted from the original edition of *Slave Songs* (New York, A. Simpson, 1867) in Eileen Southern, comp., ed., *Readings in Black-American Music*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1971, pp.163-164.
- 66 Thomas, *Theory*, p.v.
- 67 X, 'The Origin of Canne Boulée', *Port of Spain Gazette*, 26 March 1881, in Andrew Pearse, 'Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 4, Nos. 3

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69 Summarised in John Cowley, 'Carnival in Trinidad: Evolution and Symbolic Meaning; a Background to Calypso', *Musical Traditions* No.4, early 1985, pp.4-5. See especially: Bridget Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962*, London, Heinemann, 1981, pp.13-51; B.W. Higman, 'African and Creole Slave Family Patterns in Trinidad', in Crahan and Knight, eds., *Africa And The Caribbean*, pp.41-64; David Vincent Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad...1838-1900*, Knoxville, University of Tennessee, 1986, pp.253-256; Lise Winer, 'Socio-Cultural Change and the Language of Calypso', *Nieuwe West-Indische Gids*, Vol. 60, Nos. 3 and 4, 1986, pp.134-138; Donald Wood, *Trinidad In Transition*, London, O.U.P., 1968, p.39, pp.171-189.

70 Quotation pieced together from texts in Errol Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, Austin, University of Texas, 1972, p.11; and Pearse, 'Carnival', p.182. These reflect differences in the texts of the French version, *Port of Spain Gazette*, 19 March 1881, p.3, and the English translation, *Port of Spain Gazette*, 26 March 1881, p.5, with which they have been compared and adjusted.

71 Lewis O. Inniss, 'Carnival In The Old Days (From 1858)', *Beacon*, Vol.1, No.12, April 1932, p.13; Joseph Clarke, interview, October 1953, (Pearse Papers); Joseph Belgrave, 'Reflections on Carnival', *Beacon*, Vol.2, No. 1, May 1932, p.16.

72 Charles Dudley Warner, *Studies in the South and West, with Comments on Canada*, Hartford, Conn., American Publishing Co., 1904, pp.(75)-82; in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.135.

73 George Washington Cable, 'The Dance In Place Congo', reprinted in Bernard Katz, ed., *The Social Implications of Early Negro Music In The United States*, New York, Arno, 1969, pp.31-47.

74 Cable, in Katz, ed. *Social Implications*, pp.42-43.

75 A longer version, entitled 'Old Boscoyo's Song' was published by Henry Edward Krehbiel, in his *Afro-American Folksongs*, pp.151-153. This allows a fuller understanding of the satire. A different version, collected in the 1930s from black Louisiana French-creole speakers, is *Michié Baziro* in Irène Thérèse Whitfield, *Louisiana French Folk Songs*, New York, Dover, 1969, pp.135-37; she gives a list of sources for the song cycle, p.5. See also the brief discussion of 'calinda' in New Orleans in *Borders*, op.cit., p.20.

76 *sup.* fn. 35.

77 *sup.* fn. 69.

78 For Hearn's writings in this period see Albert Mordell, ed., *Miscellanies By Lafcadio Hearn*, 2 vols., London, William Heinemann, 1924; and Albert Mordell, ed., *Occidental Gleanings By Lafcadio Hearn*, 2 vols., William Heinemann, 1925. On Hearn, Cable and Krehbiel see: Kjell Ekström, *George Washington Cable*, New York, Haskell House, 1966, pp.67-71, and Henry E. Krehbiel, 'Lafcadio Hearn And Congo Music', *Musician*, 11, 1906, pp.544-545; *Afro-American Folksongs*, pp.37-41.

79 For Hearn's writings on New Orleans and French Creole, see Mordell, ed., *Miscellanies*, and Mordell, ed., *Occidental Gleanings*. On his veracity as an observer of

folk culture see W.K. McNeil, 'Lafcadio Hearn, American Folklorist', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 91, No. 362, October-December, 1978, pp.947-967.

80 Henry A. Kmen, 'The Roots of Jazz And The Dance In Place Congo: A Re-Appraisal', *Yearbook For Inter-American Musical Research*, 8, 1972, pp.10-11; and Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.135.

81 Kmen, 'Roots', p.6, 12-13. This covers the subject more fully. The two letters from Hearn to Krehbil, quoted by Kmen, were both written in New Orleans and are dated respectively January 1885, and 1885: Elisabeth Bisland, *The Life And Letters of Lafcadio Hearn*, Vol. 1, London, Constable, 1906, pp.336-38, 385-60. Bisland explains, however, that these dates are based on circumstantial evidence.

82 *ibid.* Lafcadio Hearn, 'The Scenes of Cable's Romances' reprinted in Mordel, ed., *Miscellanies*, Vol.2, p.179.

83 Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs*, p.67.

84 Kmen, 'Roots', p.6.

85 For Hearn's visit to Martinique, see Edward Larocque Tinker, *Lafcadio Hearn's American Days*, London, John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1925, pp.274-300, and Lafcadio Hearn, *Two Years In The French West Indies*, New York, Harper & Brothers, 1890.

86 Lafcadio Hearn, 'At Grand Anse', *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Vol. LXXIX, No. CCCCLXXIV, November 1889.

87 *ibid.*, pp.855-856.

88 Pearse Papers, n.d.; Robin Bryans, *Trinidad and Tobago: Isles Of The Immortelles*, London, Faber, 1967, pp.196-197.

89 Hesketh J. Bell, *Obeah: Witchcraft In The West Indies*, 2nd rev. ed., London, Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1893, pp.32-33.

90 *Port of Spain Gazette*, 17 February 1896, p.5.

91 Premises: *Summary Convictions (amendment) Ordinance*, No.11 of 1883 (10 July), and its revised version, with strengthened provisions, No.2 of 1884 (1 February). Processions: *Peace Preservation Ordinance*, No. 1 of 1884 (25 January) See also: Brereton, 'Trinidad Carnival', pp.52-54; Jeffrey Ross Thomas, *A History of Pan*, unpublished MA dissertation, 1985, pp.49-60; Trotman, *Crime in Trinidad*, pp.264-269. The consolidated provisions of the relevant Ordinances are in Charles S. Espinet and Harry Pitts, *Land of the Calypso*, Port-of-Spain, Guardian Commercial Printery, 1944, pp.66-67.

92 Lewis Osborn Inniss, *Trinidad And Trinidadians*, Port-of-Spain, Mirror Printing Works, 1910, p.97.

93 L.O. Inniss, *Reminiscences Of Old Trinidad*, Port-of-Spain, Yuille's Printerie, 1932, pp.23-24.

94 Inniss, 'Carnival in the Old Days', p.12. Almost certainly 'Corlindas' are *Calendas*.

95 *ibid.*, p.13.

96 Andrew Pearse, 'Kinds of Folk Music Differentiated According to Social Institution: Trinidad', *Caribbean Society And Culture Notes*, Vol.1, No.2, Dec. 1955, p.6.

97 Espinet and Pitts, *Land of the Calypso*, pp.72-73.

98 Use of tamboo-bamboo for bongo wake dances is established in interview notes by unidentified informants, Pearse Papers; see also his 'Kinds of Folk Music' p.6. On the decline of tamboo-bamboo see Ross Thomas, *History of Pan*, pp.65-89.

99 Maude Cuney-Hare, 'History and Song in the Virgin Islands', *Crisis*, Vol.40, April 1933, p.84.

100 *ibid.*; May 1933, p.108.

101 *op.cit.*, p.84. See also Maude Cuney-Hare, *Negro Musicians And Their Music*, Washington, D.C., Associated Publishers, 1936, pp.98-100.

102 The earliest version which has been traced was recorded in 1946 in New Orleans, Louisiana, by Happy Doc & The Boys for J.D. Miller's *Fais Do Do* label: see Bruce Bastin, sleeve notes to the long-playing record *Fais Do Do Breakdown*, Flyright FLY 609, Interstate Music, Crawley, West Sussex, 1986. See also the discussion of the same song in Nick Spitzer, *Zodico: Louisiana Créole Music*, booklet notes to the long playing record of the same title, Rounder Records 6009, Somerville, Massachusetts, 1979, pp.16-17. For further information on the parallel complex development of this black music from Louisiana see also Barry Jean Ancelet, 'Zydeco/Zarico: Beans, Blues And Beyond', *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol.8, No.1, 1988, pp.33-49. He cites *colinda*, p.35.

103 Inniss, 'Carnival In The Old Days', p.12; on *belair*, *sup.* fn. 35, etc.

104 *Port of Spain Gazette*, 26 February 1989, p.5.

105 Belgrave, 'Reflections', p.16.

106 The Lion, 'Kalinda-Stick Man Chant: Leggo And La Vouez' Pt.2, *Trinidad Evening News*, 26 June 1981.

107 For example: Janheinz Jahn reports that the Cuban historian and musicologist Fernando Ortiz believes that the Cuban *rumba* derives from the *yuka* (a secular dance of Bantu origin) and the *yuka* possibly from the *calinda* of the days of slavery "which the moralists of the colonies so abominated". Janheinz Jahn, *Muntu*, London, Faber & Faber, 1961, p.79, quoting Fernando Ortiz, *Los Instrumentos de la Música Afrocubana*, Vol. IV, Habana, Cardenas y Cia, 1954, pp.196-197.

108 Harold Courlander, *The Drum And The Hoe*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1960, pp.128-129.

109 *ibid.*, pp.132-133. Stickfighting and stick dancing traditions exist in many cultures.

110 *ibid.*, p.103.

111 *ibid.*, p.106.

112 Daniel J. Crowley, 'The Traditional Masques of Carnival' *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol. 4, Nos. 3 & 4, pp.194-195; Belgrave, 'Reflections' p.16; Inniss, 'Carnival', p.13.

113 Crowley, *op.cit.*, p.196; a late-nineteenth-century description is in Chalamelle, *op.cit.*, p.10. Brereton reports that *Pissenlit* was prohibited from 1895: 'Trinidad Carnival' p.55.

114 Pearse, 'Aspects of Change', pp.30-31; Crowley 'Kinds of Folk Music', pp.8-9.

115 Pearse, 'Aspects', p.31.

116 Pearse, *The Big Drum Dance*, p.2.

117 Full sources in Appendix 3.

118 Pearse, 'Aspects', pp.30-31; M.G. Smith, *Stratification In Grenada*, Berkely, University of California Press, 1965, p.236; checklist of Smith's field recordings held at the British Library National Sound Archive (C4 38). M.G. Smith, *Dark Puritan*, Mona, Jamaica, University of the West Indies, 1963, p.14, 16-18, 32. See also Smith's comments in his *The Plural Society in the British West Indies*, Berkely, University of California Press, 1965, pp.33-34.

119 Additional sources consulted for the dances:

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Débôt : Crowley, 'Festivals' p.112, 119; 'Song' p.7; Simmons 'Notes', p.48.

Kambulé : Crowley, 'Song', p.12; Simmons, 'Notes', p.48.

Kèlè : Crowley, 'Festivals' p.104; 'Song', p.8; Simmons 'Notes', pp.45-47; George Eaton Simpson, 'The Kele (Chango) Cult in St. Lucia', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol.13, No.3, October 1973, pp.110-116.

Kont : Crowley, 'Festivals', pp.120-21; 'Song', p.56; Simmons, 'Notes', p.48.

Kutumba : Crowley, 'Festivals', p.104; 'Song', p.8; Simmons, 'Notes', p.47.

Mápa : Crowley, 'Festivals', p.119; 'Song', p.7; 'La Rose and La Marguerite Societies in St. Lucia', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.71, No.282, Oct-Dec 1958, p.542; Simmons, 'Notes', p.44, 48.

Pika : See *Débôt*.

Solo : Crowley, 'Festivals', p.121; 'Song', p.7; Simmons, 'Notes', p.48.

120 Additional sources consulted for the dances:

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121 Additional sources consulted for the dances:

Belé : Herskovits and Herskovits, *Trinidad*, p.284, 316; Earl Leaf, *Isles of Rhythm*, New York, A. S. Barnes & Co., 1948,

	pp.186-190; J.D. Elder, 'The Place of Traditional Dances'; Beryl McBurnie, 'The Belaire', <i>Shell Trinidad</i> , Vol.5, No.2, March 1958, pp.12-16.
Bongo	: Herskovits and Herskovits, <i>Trinidad</i> , pp.281-2, 315-6; Earl Leaf, <i>Isles</i> , p.192; J.D. Elder, 'Folk Dances of Trinidad and Tobago: The Bongo', unpublished paper, British Library National Sound Archive, c. 1950s, (NSA 8).
Congo	: Herskovits and Herskovits, <i>Trinidad</i> , p.284; J.D. Elder, 'The Place of Traditional Dances'; Maureen Warner, 'African Feasts In Trinidad', <i>African Studies Association of the West Indies</i> , Bulletin, No.4, December 1971, p.88, 90.
Kalenda	: see Table XV; also Leaf, <i>Isles</i> , p.190.
Rada	: Andrew T. Carr, 'A Rada Community in Trinidad', <i>Caribbean Quarterly</i> , Vol.3, No.1, 1953, pp.35-54 (republished in book form, Trinidad, Paria Publishing, 1989); Alan P. Merriam, Sara Whinery and B.G. Fred, 'Songs of a Rada Community in Trinidad', <i>Anthropos</i> , Vol.51, Fasc. 1-2, 1956, pp.157-174; Warner, op.cit., pp.87-88, 90.
Shango	: (selected sources), Herskovits and Herskovits, <i>Trinidad</i> , pp.316-317, 321-339; Wenzell Brown, <i>Angry Men-Laughing Men</i> , New York, Greenberg, 1947, pp.265-271; Earl Leaf, <i>Isles</i> , pp.176-180; George Eaton Simpson, <i>Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad Jamaica and Haiti</i> , Puerto Rico, Institute of Caribbean Studies, revised ed., 1971, pp.35-54, Warner, op.cit., pp.85-87.
Yarriba	: Warner, op.cit., pp.88-90.

122 See, for example, J.D. Elder, *African Survivals In Trinidad and Tobago*, London, Paria Press, 1988.

123 Ryman, 'Jamaican Heritage'; 'Kumina'. Bilby 'Jamaica's Maroons'; 'Kromanti'; *Music of the Maroons*; 'Caribbean as a Musical Region'; 'Caribbean Crucible', in Geoffrey Haydon and Dennis Marks, eds., *Repercussions: A Celebration of African-American Music*, London, Century Publishing, 1985, pp.128-151; Bilby and Bunseki, op.cit., Bilby and Leib, op.cit.

124 Differentiation from 'Maroon Drumming' in the special Jamaican music edition of the *Jamaican Journal*, Vol.10, No.1, March 1976, p.3. The description is deduced from Bilby, who divides the ceremony into four parts: *Jawbone*, other recreational styes, (other) tribes, and *Kromanti*.

125 Jekyll, op.cit., p.177, prints a Digging Sing (work song) about a John Thomas. This hints that a person of this name may have had some social or ancestral significance in Jamaican folk history.

126 Additional reference has been made to Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse*, Berkely, Turtle Island, 1981, pp.70-74 (first published 1938); and Hilary S. Carty, *Folk Dances of Jamaica: An Insight*, London, Dance Books, 1988, pp.20-22.

127 Bilby and Leib, op.cit.

128 For further historical background and a fuller discussion of this subject see: M.G. Smith, Roy Augier, and Rex Nettleford, *The Rastafari Movement In Kingston Jamaica*, Kingston, Institute of Social And Economic Research, University of the West Indies, 1960, pp.4-12.

129 Bilby and Leib, op.cit. p.23; Ryman, 'Jamaican Heritage', p.8; Verena Reckord, 'Rastafari Music - An Introductory Study', *Jamaica Journal*, Vol.11, Nos.1 and 2, 1977, pp.6-8; Yoshiko S. Nagashima, *Rastafarian Music In Contemporary Jamaica*, Tokyo Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies 1984, pp.70-77.

130 Bilby and Leib, op.cit., p.23; Roberts, 1925, p.205, 209; Smith, Augier, and Nettleford, pp.13-14; Reckord, op.cit., p.8; Nagashima, pp.67-87, Bilby and Leib, p.27.

131 Label copy from Blue Beat BB30.

III CHRISTMAS, AND OTHER FESTIVALS AS EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING CARIBBEAN

1 Processions In The Context Of Their Occasion: Slavery To 1900

The relationship of festivals to the evolution of black music in the English-speaking Caribbean can be seen to have been of great significance in the development of particular components in the region's musical heritage. It is necessary, therefore, to investigate more generally the history of these sacred/secular events throughout the area and, in particular, the celebration of Christmas in Jamaica.

It has been pointed out that such social institutions usually revolve around the European Christian church calendar, and originally incorporated components of European carnivalesque. At the same time they reflected a similar pattern of African masquerade traditions, founded in the agricultural season. This cross-cultural adoption and adaptation can be better understood by examination of the historical record. Reports of events where carnivalesque processions are identified have been abstracted from the sample in Appendix 1 and are presented chronologically by in Table XVII. This gives a general indication of the relationship between events, seasonal occasions, and geographical distribution that should be interpreted alongside Occasions for Dances (Table I), the Consolidated List of Dances and Processions (Table III) and the Use of Musical Instruments for Processions (Table IV).

Although this sample is very limited, and dominated by reports from early-nineteenth-century Jamaica, there is sufficient information to indicate general characteristics in descriptions of these and similar celebrations. For example:

- i) masquerades on stilts - Moko Jumbo (or Jumbie) - whose original purpose (as in the 1852 description from St. Vincent) was almost certainly sacred or magical.
- ii) use of nomenclature of European origin for descriptions of specific masques/masquerades that almost certainly had African significance for blacks - for example: Actor Boy (or Koo-koo), and Jack-in-the-Green.

- iii) the presence of special 'Sets' of women identified by
 - (a) uniformity of costume colour (Blue, Red etc.), or
 - (b) name of origin (French).
- iv) the presence of bands of 'Africans' identified by their specific 'tribe' or nation, or other carnivalesque groups.

From the dates of their initial descriptions it can be seen that virtually all of these characteristics were present in festivals before the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies. This is substantiated by other sources.

While the sample is small it does, however, give some indication of the transfer of particular masquerade institutions from one seasonal occasion to another. Thus the presence of Jack-in-the-Green is reported at Easter in an 1825 description, and during Christmas-New Year Jonkonnu celebrations in 1836 [1837]. In Britain, Jack-in-the-Green was a May Day festival. The occasions when Moko Jumbie masquers on stilts chose to appear are similarly fluid. Likewise the celebration of the Jonkonnu festival was moveable, both geographically and by calendar, as will be shown subsequently.¹ A fuller understanding of the movement of particular masquerades from occasion to occasion, and by location, can be ascertained by consulting the selected bibliographical index (Appendix 4). Using this resource, the variety of festivals in the region and their historical significance must be considered further.

2. Festivals In The English-Speaking Caribbean

Before examining specific nineteenth-century descriptions of these seasonal events, it is necessary to demonstrate their geographical distribution and the different occasions for which reports have been traced, island by island (Table XVIII). This establishes a consolidated background for discussion. The information is abstracted from Appendix 4.

This listing, which undoubtedly could be supplemented by further research, confirms that the general pattern of events revolves around the Christian calendar. Such festivals are complemented by harvest (Cropover) and, in particular, the celebration of

freedom from slavery on 1 August (Emancipation Day). The latter was adopted by black slaves in the United States after 1834 and prior to their own Emancipation in 1865, following the Civil War. This indicates a degree of Caribbean awareness among black slaves in America in the mid-nineteenth century that is not usually recognised. Other events conform to a European pattern, excepting the 'Devil Feasts' witnessed by Thomas Young on a visit to the 'Mosquito Shore', in 1841-2. These were performed by Black Caribs (of mixed Native American and African ancestry) who had been settled in Belize from St. Vincent by the British. Young parallels the Devil Feasts with local Christmas festivities, noting their similarity, excepting the former (essentially drum dances) were 'confined to some particular town', while Christmas was celebrated generally.²

It is evident from this sample that there is a considerable tradition of holding festivals in the region which, in some instances, can be seen to have lasted upwards of almost one hundred and fifty to two hundred years or more. It must be remembered, however, that in every instance dynamic changes will have occurred in the structure and function of each festival. A continuity of purpose in the social organisation of these events is most likely to have been sustained, although subject to vagaries of differing popular attitudes at differing times.

In order to gain a greater awareness of the similarities and differences between such events in the Caribbean during the nineteenth century, it is useful to take as a sample the descriptions of 'Festivals, Carnival, Holidays and Jonkanoo' selected from contemporary travelogues by Abrahams and Szwed in *After Africa*.³ These will be supplemented occasionally by observations from additional sources. A structural breakdown of each extract will be presented by calendar festival, and alphabetically by territory for each festival. It is necessary to make one more differentiation at this point. This, between those islands where the proselytizing of Christian missionaries was predominantly of a Protestant persuasion, and those islands where Roman Catholicism was a significant Christian influence. In general, this reflected the state religions of respective European colonial nations. They acquired territories from one another by conquest, however, that may have been dominated originally by a different Christian doctrine. Thus, when

Protestant Britain took over several islands which had been French originally or where French-speakers had settled, they inherited a legacy of Roman Catholicism that influenced the way in which festivals were celebrated in those particular locations.

(i) Christmas - New Year: a Protestant and Catholic festival

To facilitate comparison with other festivals, the structural elements in reports of events at this season has been broken down by tabulation (Table XIX). Jamaican accounts are excluded as they will be discussed subsequently. If items included in this Table are also in Appendix 1 the sample number is shown in square brackets after source information.

As will be seen from the sample numbers in the listing, there is a very complicated relationship between dances (both of European origin, and those accompanied by drums) and processions (Tables III, XII, XIV, and XVIII), plus other aspects of these events, including the use made of fiddles and, or drums in street bands (Table IV). At the same time common structural elements point to a similar approach in organisation and function in such celebrations. In essence, the events provide a focal point both for compromise and confrontation among different sectors of the community: for example, flattery and ridicule of whites by blacks; statements of black integrity; statements of white compromise (or conscience); and statements of violence by both blacks and whites.

These boundaries of race, class, emulation and animosity were tried and tested by the ritual holding of these calendar festivals and at other special occasions. Such factors can be identified by continuity of individual components throughout the English-speaking Caribbean. Thus, taking the four general characteristics identified in the Chronology of Processions (Table XVII), masqueraders on stilts were present in Christmas celebrations on St. Christopher in the late 1800s. There was also use of nomenclature of European origin to describe specific masques - Maypole, and a miracle play (or mumming). Further sources show that these elements continued in Christmas - New Year celebrations on St. Christopher and were also performed in masquerades on other islands. On the basis of the evidence the presence of 'Sets' of women seems to have been virtually exclusive to

Jamaica in a specific period. 'Sets' are mentioned, however, in a Belize description from the early 1800s and 'parties of negro ladies' in costume with 'boddices of the same colour' were a feature of the Carnival in Trinidad in 1847.⁴ Similarly, bands identified readily as 'Africans' were reported in Belize in the early 1800s, and in Guyana in the same period. A St. Croix description from the mid 1800s indicates membership of specific African nations, was still an important means of organisation for blacks. The continuation of 'nation' dances to this day, in such as the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou, is one example how this method of maintaining an African integrity has been sustained. Again, it must be remembered that such evolutions are representations, or interpretations of Africa that have developed dynamically on the basis of geographical separation and in time.

(ii) Carnival: a Catholic festival

Excluding Trinidad which will be discussed in the next chapter, early historical reports of Carnival in other English-speaking Caribbean territories have not been pursued in this research. One non-Trinidadian description from the nineteenth century is available, however, and usefully supplements other accounts of festivals in the area from the early 1800s. Located in Grenada, the description is by F.W.N. Bayley, who was in the region between 1826 and 1829. Even at this point, the planter's Carnival in Grenada was in decline. Bayley notes that whilst 'still a season of gaiety' unlike Trinidad 'masquerades and fancy balls' had 'long since been done away with'. He saw two whites playfully enter a room disguised as 'bandetti' and cause commotion among the occupants. Later that evening, at the same place, 'four ladies richly dressed and masked' entered and 'danced a quadrille with the gentlemen'. They were followed 'by a masked group of negro boys and girls, who danced for a while after the fashion of the chimney-sweepers on the first of May'. This allusion is to participants in Jack-in-the-Green ceremonies in England, and was made similarly by Susette Harriet Lloyd in her Christmas 1829 description of the Gombey festival in Bermuda (Table XIV). Bayley infers that even at that stage, prior to Emancipation, Carnival in Grenada was slowly becoming an event only for blacks.⁵ While

the participation of blacks in this description is limited, their presence conforms with the structural elements for festivals distinguished in Table XIV.

(iii) Easter: a Protestant and Catholic festival

In the same nineteenth-century period, there are four reports of Easter celebrations in the data available, two from Jamaica, one from St. Vincent, and one from Trinidad. Both Jamaican accounts mention that a maypole (the tree used was the American aloe) was a feature of this event. In the earlier of these two descriptions (by H.T. De La Beche, published in 1825) there is mention also of a Jack-in-the-Green - as stated earlier - and, an acting troupe accompanied by musicians which appeared on Easter Monday morning. This included 'a couple of personages fantastically dressed to represent kings or warriors'. One wore a white mask and spoke a passage from Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*. The performance ended with a sword dance. The second Jamaican report by W.J. Gardner (published in 1873) is concerned only with groups of people dancing around the American aloe (Maypole).⁶

Charles William Day indicates that during the mid 1800s Easter was 'one of the grand festivals of the St. Vincent negroes' and recalled that a whole week was spent in 'dancing and revelry' in celebration of this seasonal feast. For Trinidad, in 1888, J.H. Collens bemoaned the 'wretched custom among the street *gamins*', on Good Friday, who 'paraded the streets with "ra-rars" [rattles]... making a hideous noise' to drive away the devil.⁷ Again, these accounts can be seen to be part of the general pattern of carnivalesque structural elements identified in Table XIV.

(iv) Whitsun: a Protestant and Catholic festival

W.J. Gardner couples his description of Easter celebrations in Jamaica with similar gatherings at Whitsun (Maypole dancing etc.). His brief contemporary report, from 1873, is the only one available with any detail in its description. Others, such as Bayley (1833) have noted Whitsun as a festal period among blacks in the English-speaking West Indies.⁸

(v) Cropover: a harvest festival (Protestant and Catholic)

There are four travelogue accounts available from the nineteenth century that describe the harvest celebration called Cropover in the then British West Indies. This was an annual event held on the completion of cane cutting, crushing, and processing for the manufacture of sugar. The first, from Barbados was published by Greville John Chester in 1869.

Chester calls the event 'a kind of harvest home' and describes the proceedings in detail. They included a decorated cart laden with the last canes, bunting on buildings (the sugar mill, etc.), and ritual spoken exchanges of praise and admiration between an 'ancient negro' (the elder statesman of the blacks) and the planter. After these discourses the planter handed round a glass of 'falernum' (a mix of rum, lime juice, and syrup) to each in attendance, and music and dancing to fiddles and tambourine followed. Chester also notes that sometimes a 'trash man' was introduced into these proceedings. This was an effigy stuffed with sugar-cane trash and tied on to the back of a mule. The mule was let loose, its antics being of great amusement to onlookers.⁹

The second and third reports are from Jamaica. The first of these is divided into two periods; that prior to the abolition of the slave trade (c.1800), and the time of the book's publication in 1826. In the earlier period the writer, Alexander Barclay, recalls that at Cropover, 'African tribes' would gather in individual groups and sing and dance to the rhythm of the *gumbay* (drum). By the 1820s, however, he distinguishes a significant change, stating that the former 'custom is now extinct'. At this time slaves would assemble in the largest room of the house of the plantation owner, or manager, and dance Scotch reels and country dances to the accompaniment of fiddle and tambourine. Significantly he notes that at these occasions 'all authority and all distinction of colour ceases', symbolising the ritual role reversals that are apparent in many of the other descriptions of Carnival-like occasions under consideration.¹⁰ Although published in 1828, the other Jamaican description appears to conform with the model established in Barclay's account of celebrations prior to the abolition of the slave trade.¹¹

Writing about the post-abolition period when describing Cropover in St. Vincent, Mrs A.C. Carmichael identifies three elements in the holding of this festival that are part of the carnivalesque pattern - dressing (in colourful clothes); music (played by the estate's fiddler); and dancing ('at the heat of the day in the largest house').¹²

(vi) Emancipation Day

Emancipation Day for black slaves in the British Caribbean has been shown to have influenced some unfree blacks in the United States. They celebrated this event over a period of almost twenty years, until achieving their own freedom. In the Caribbean, it seems to have become a regular festival throughout the nineteenth century in British territories and, to a greater or lesser degree, is held to this day in some English-speaking West Indian islands. In the nineteenth century the forms the festival took included fancy balls (with dressing) - such as that witnessed by John Brummell in Guyana in 1853 - or marching by street bands (also specially dressed) singing 'popular airs' to the music of the drum and the penny whistle - seen also in Guyana, by the Reverend J.S. Scholes in 1885.¹³

The history of Emancipation Day in both Jamaica and Trinidad during the nineteenth century is the subject of separate detailed studies. In both instances, however, neither B.W. Higman (Jamaica), nor Bridget Brereton (Trinidad) are concerned directly with pan-Caribbean structural elements in these events. Both concentrate on the social development of this festival in each of the islands.¹⁴ Higman, however, makes an interesting observation regarding the likely relationship between Cropover and Emancipation Day. He notes that the first of August was chosen for the latter by the British parliament on the advice of West Indian planters. They established this as the most suitable date for freeing the slaves because sugar harvesting and processing would have been completed by that time. This was dictated by financial considerations as after 1 August 'sugar could not be shipped ... without incurring double insurance because of the hurricane season'. Higman identifies some overlapping between the two festivals after the slaves had been emancipated.¹⁵

In general, structural elements in Emancipation Day ceremonies in Jamaica and Trinidad during the nineteenth century appear to reflect the general pattern for festivals in the English-speaking Caribbean. Their respective relationships to Christmas (Jamaica) and Carnival (Trinidad) will be considered subsequently; Trinidad in Chapter IV.

(vii) Other festivals

(a) Belize: Devil Feasts

As has been pointed out, the 'Devil Feasts' observed by Thomas Young in Belize in 1841-42 are not representative of the sample of carnivalesque occasions in this survey. Their structure, however, shows similar components to other drum dances in the region - themselves a part of carnivalesque activity. These include, invitation and attendance of friends and relatives, dressing, offerings of liquor by those attending, drums and liquor being put into requisition, followed by the commencement of drum playing and singing, together with drinking, dancing, and eating.¹⁶ This is not to say that these 'Devil Feasts' have the same function, or replicate exactly aspects of other celebratory events in other territories. They nevertheless incorporate similar general characteristics, adapted to suit the purposes of different groups of people separated by social and geographical circumstances. These factors must also be recognised when interpreting all the events under discussion in this regional analysis.

(b) Jamaica: a Holiday, and a Tatoo

There are two examples of Jamaican celebrations that fall outside the principal categories identified in this survey. The first is a special Holiday held for the slaves on his plantation by their proprietor, Mathew Gregory (Monk) Lewis. Newly arrived from London, Lewis organised this event on 6 January 1816. The second example is a Tatoo [*sic*] held in the mid 1800s.

Strictly speaking, Monk Lewis's Holiday is an extension of the local Christmas-New Year Jonkonnu festival, that was just finishing as his ship came into port in Jamaica, and which he observed on his disembarkment.¹⁷ The fact that Lewis made particular

arrangements for this celebration on the sixth of January, however, also classifies it as an additional event, one which serves to demonstrate the transfer of festive components from one occasion to another. The structural elements observed by Lewis certainly fit the overall pattern under consideration. He describes the noise, dancing, feasting and dressing, also the singing by a female lead vocalist (singing two lines) and chorus, although he was unable to discern the lyrics, except a long song on the Duke of Wellington. Music was provided by gambys (Eboe drums), shaky-skekies (shac-shacs), and kitty-katties (a flat piece of wood beaten by two sticks. By special invitation, 'Mr. John Canoe, senior, and Mr. John-Canoe, junior' attended and performed for him. Lewis was impressed by their gaudy finery and 'canoe' headpieces, but less so by their antics, this because of a highly entertaining imitative performance by a small boy, who stole the show.¹⁸

The structural components of the second Jamaican example, an account of a Tatoo [*sic*], published in 1860, are far less elaborate. This report identifies dancing, to the accompaniment of cymbals, drums, and fifes, by 'African and negro women'. By implication, the former were recent migrants from Africa, and the latter black creole women born in Jamaica. These women are also noted as having performed their dances at Jonkonnu ceremonies.¹⁹ If interpretation of participation by post-Emancipation African migrants alongside Jamaican-born blacks is correct, it indicates early assimilation by the former into the ceremonies developed by the indigenous black community in the island.

c) St. Lucia: Fêtes Patronales (St. Rose and St. Marguerite)

While Christmas, Carnival and other similar events were celebrated in St. Lucia throughout the nineteenth century the festivals in this former French (hence Catholic) colony took second place to the organisation of two special societies, each associated with a patronal saint. As has been mentioned in the last chapter, these were St. Rose of Lima and St. Margaret Mary Alcoque or St. Marguerite. Otherwise called flower societies, each adopted its namesake flowers as symbols, together with individual colours, red or pink for St. Rose and blue or magenta for St. Marguerite.²⁰ There is a celebrated description of

the organisation of these societies by Henry H. Breen, published in 1844. This demonstrates admirably the interrelated structural elements of Caribbean carnivalesque under discussion.²¹

Breen notes that membership of these two societies was island wide and across all classes, although the active participants were working class. There was great rivalry between the two, the Marguerites being known also as the Wadelows. Allegiances had been political - English or French, Republican or Bonapartist etc. - but this was in decline at the time of Breen's observations. The organisation of each society was hierarchical, with elected kings and queens (three of each), the most senior of which appeared only on special occasions, such as the society's patronal festival. Activities revolved around meetings that would be addressed by one of the Kings and at which *belair* rehearsals would take place. In this instance *belair* refers to the songs sung on these occasions; they were 'a sort of pastoral in blank verse' and generally devoted to ridicule of opponents, or praise of each respective society. A highly important member of the society was the woman chantrelle who composed the *belairs* with 'poetical fecundity' and sang them at dances, the chorus being taken up by the dancers.²²

It has been mentioned in Chapter II that these dances can be divided into two categories: *bamboulas* (a ring dance, held in the open air at sunset); and balls (held in the confines of a building). Breen reports 'a marked predilection for the out-door recreation'. Males and females attending these events dressed in fine clothing, with other adornments. Breen's description of a *bamboula* is worth quoting in full.

'A circle is formed in the centre of some square or grass-plot. On one side appear four or five negroes, quite naked down to the waist seated on their *tamtams** These, together with two or three timbrels, compose the orchestra. Flags and banners, richly emblazoned upon a red or blue ground, and bearing characteristic legends in gilt letters, are seen fluttering in the air: and as the groups of dancers advance in all directions, the darkness of the night disappears before the blaze of a thousand flambeaux. Now the *chantrelle*, placing herself in front of the orchestra gives the signal with a flourish of her castinet: she then repeats a verse of the *belair*: the dancers take up the *refrain*; the tamtams and timbrels strike in unison; and the scene is enlivened by a succession of songs and dances to the delight and amusement of the assembled multitude.

* The *tamtam* is a small barrel, covered at one end with a strong skin. To this, placed between his legs, the negro applies the open hand and fingers, beating time to the *belair* with the most astonishing precision.²³

These activities by the rival Rose and Marguerite societies in St. Lucia, merge elements from the drum dance and carnivalesque traditions in the Caribbean that have been established in both ethnographic and historical sources. It should be of no surprise, therefore, that in 1844 Breen noted the active presence of similar societies in Dominica and Trinidad, drawing attention to their 'immemorial usage in the French colonies'.²⁴ Patronal festivals in Martinique, and probably elsewhere in the French-speaking Caribbean, are almost certainly celebrated to this day, especially in rural areas.²⁵ Although not devoted to St. Rose or St. Marguerite, the role of one such event in a village in Martinique has been described by the anthropologist Michael M. Horowitz. His account indicates broadly similar carnivalesque components to those under consideration in this study, conditioned by their separate setting in both space and time.²⁶

(d) **St. Vincent: Moko Jumbie, a pan-Caribbean masque**

Charles William Day's description of 'a "Willy" or Jumbie dance' in St. Vincent cannot be said to be an account of a particular festive event (of sacred and, or, secular significance). His report indicates, however, a further element that underlies the original purpose for black participation in carnivalesque occasions in the West Indies. This was magic. Day's is the second of two historical accounts of a Moko Jumbie in St. Vincent. The earlier of the two is Sir William Young's, from Christmas 1791 (Tables XVII, XIV) in which the circumstances of the appearance of the masquer on stilts with his band of followers indicates a much less serious purpose. Day's description was published some sixty years later, in 1852, and dates from the late 1840s-early 1850s.²⁷ As has been noted, a jumbie is a ghost, or evil spirit.

The report by Day is significant in a number of ways, especially because of the detail in his description.

First, the dance was 'got up as an exhibition by an African Ebo negro' - Day believed 'De Jumbee' was 'an imitation of the genuine'.

Second, the 'Jumps-a-man' appeared on 'stilts six feet high'. His attire, Day states comprised 'a guernsey-frock, and long striped trousers, made very wide, which concealed

his feet. His face was covered with a mask of scarlet cloth, ornamented with cowrie shells; and having a huge wig and beard, with a grenadier's hairy cap on his head'. Such details of costume are unusual. Day commented on the unearthly look it created.

Third the masquer on stilts was assisted by 'some of the Ebo soldiers of the negro regiment' stationed in the island. This African identification between masquer and soldiers suggests that there was probably more to his performance than Day perceived.

Fourth, he was accompanied by 'two tum-tums' (drums, by implication played by the 'Ebo soldiers'), and 'five or six negro wenches from the Granadines [*sic*] singing an African chorus and clapping their hands in accompaniment'.

Fifth, the stilt man's dance 'consisted of various contortions of the body sufficiently droll' for him to maintain perfect balance.

Sixth, the performance lasted twenty minutes, alternately amusing and frightening women onlookers.

Seventh, the performer demonstrated other aspects of his supernatural powers in the evening of the same day.

Day notes how he later discovered that the 'Jumbee-man was a regular Obea doctor, *i.e.* one who gives and counteracts poisons after the most approved African mode'.²⁸ By implication, this obeah man travelled from island to island with his entourage of women, undertaking magical practices for those who believed in his powers.

What is striking about Day's Jumbie dance account is the presence of Africans (Ibos or Igbo) particularly those serving as soldiers in the West India Regiment, whose military duties in the West Indies at this time are not usually noticed by cultural historians. The Ibos come from an area in present day Nigeria. In the light of their service in the British Caribbean, they obviously augmented the direct influence of Africa in the region introduced by post-Emancipation migrant labour. The association of Ibo soldiers in a West Indian island with an obeah man of Ibo origin travelling the islands, also suggests a Caribbean familiarity with the performance of jumbie dancers on stilts that had ritual African significance.

In addition to the Christmas 1791 St. Vincent reference to a Moco Jumbo on stilts, there are two other accounts of such masquers in Table XIV. One is from St. Christopher, in 1896, the other from Guyana, in 1899. In both instances they form part of the festive street parades celebrating Christmas-New Year in these territories. It must be noted, however, that the 'moka jumbie' dances identified in St. Christopher in 1896, were not performed by the 'men dressed as women' stalking 'about on high stilts' who 'at times round[ed] in a waltz with great ease' but seems to have been a form of possession dance performed by an old woman.²⁹

This may have been a further meaning of the term or, perhaps, a case of mistaken identity. Later accounts give a little further evidence for this additional interpretation. These include a description and one of three photographs of Christmas festivities in St. Christopher published in *Wide World Magazine* by Dorothy Harding in 1901. Her 'mock "Jumbi"' is defined as 'an imitation spirit', who was represented 'by a man in female attire' with a face mask, who skirmished around on stilts 'making himself a general nuisance to all parties'. She does note, however, that the 'Jumbi Dance of today...is in reality a sort of second-hand spiritualistic *séance*', and associates it with Africa. The photograph is possibly the first known of this form of masquerade, and accords with the earlier descriptions of masques with this name.³⁰

The presence of stilt men (called Moco Jumbie) in Trinidad Carnival is first noted in 1895, according to Errol Hill (although his source is not stated, and has not been traced). The two contemporary reports found in this research were published in the *Trinidad Mirror* in 1900 and 1905 respectively. This does not mean, however, that 'stilt walkers' did not appear in these street parades; they were simply not mentioned in newspaper coverage of the Carnival. A recollection of Carnivals *circa* 1907 supports this observation, noting that the music for these Moko Jumbie dancers was the flute and the big and side drums. According to this observer Barbadians monopolised the masque. A photograph published recently from the Carnival of 1919 shows a stilt man dressed in striped trousers. Interestingly, in this respect, his attire parallels Charles William Day's

description of the Jumbie in St. Vincent in 1852! By 1956, Daniel J. Crowley clasified the 'Moko Jumby' as a rare or extinct masque in Trinidad.³¹

In an appendix to her discussion of 'Christmas Mummings in Jamaica', published in 1928, Martha Warren Beckwith provides further information on stilt masquers in Barbados, communicated to her by Mr. Vincent Briggs, from that island. These were performed at Christmas in a ceremony called 'masquerade' or, significantly, 'Jumbies'. In addition to other masques and mumming (all called 'Jumbies') 'a man would appear upon stilts and dance in the midst of a circle, accompanied by music. He had "a sort of tin thing" in his hand filled with pebbles. When he was tired of dancing he would rattle the tin, the music would stop and he would take a rest. He wore a skirt sticking out but no mask on his face'.

Beckwith also prints a photograph of two masqued stilt dancers (supposedly called John Canoe), performing at Christmas in Belize City, marching up the street to the accompaniment of a fife and drum band. This had been submitted to her by a British ex-judge from Belize.³²

A newspaper cartoon from Guyana, at the time of the New Year celebrations in 1936 shows that masquers on stilts still appeared there at that time. From some sixteen years later a photograph of a stilt masquer from a Jonkonnu competition held in Jamaica in 1952 is printed by John Nunley and Judith Bettelheim in their recent comparative analysis entitled *Caribbean Festivals*. Bettelheim, in her research into these celebrations, solicited two fascinating accounts from aged informants describing men parading on stilts in the Christmas festivities in Nassau, Bahamas at the turn of the century. One recalled 'that the most famoust stilt men were from Haiti: "They came here to take money ... you could tell they were from Haiti by their speech ... you could hear it a mile away."' Research in Nevis and St. Christopher in the 1960s indicates that, although in decline, Moco Jumbies on stilts still performed at Christmas-New year celebrations in both islands at that time.³³ This, together with the other evidence, including the appearance of Bajan stilt men in Trinidad Carnival early in the century, indicates the pan-Caribbean status of this masque, inferred by Charles William Day's report from St. Vincent in 1852. It also documents its

movement from one type of celebration to another. In most instances, the stilt masquer and dancer was accompanied by music, usually a fife and drum band, in later accounts.

(e) **Trinidad: Fêtes Patronales (St. Rose), All Saints' and All Souls' nights**

The holding of the feast of Santa Rosa (St. Rose) in Trinidad has a long history that dates from before the British took the island in 1797. Until the 1850s it was associated with a Native American community who lived in, or around, the village of Arima, where the Spanish had established a mission of which St. Rose of Lima was the patron saint. Here, missionaries from the Roman Catholic church took similar measures to assimilate Native Americans to their creed as they did for enslaved Africans. Catholic Christianity was infused socially by the adoption and adaptation of local (or 'tribal') ritual functions among those whose conversion was sought.

At the time Louis de Verteuil was writing about the Santa Rosa ceremony in Arima (1858) the Native American festival was virtually moribund. This was due to the break up of the community, by land confiscation and old age. In its heyday, however, kings and queens were elected annually to preside over festivities, a mass and ceremonial dance was held in the church and secular dances and sports followed in the village. The Governor customarily attended and the Native Americans paid him homage. In 1857, however, only seven were left to perform this fealty. In the following year de Vertueil noted that the Santa Rosa patronal day (30 August) was still a holiday in Arima but was of a much changed character. 'People still crowd to the village from different parts of the island, but there are no more Indians, neither are their oblations to be seen adorning the church; their sports and their dances have passed away with the actors therein, and, in their stead, quadrilles, waltzes, races, and blind-hookey are the present amusements of the village'. By 1884 all of Arima's long-time Native American inhabitants had died.³⁴

This annual celebration has been included in this survey, partly to demonstrate similarities and differences in cultural evolution between the native inhabitants of the Caribbean and blacks, and to show how such festivals change in time. By 1858 blacks had taken over the Santa Rosa festival in Arima. In addition, as Henry H. Breen pointed out in

1844, black creoles of Martinique origin (and elsewhere in the French-Creole-speaking Caribbean) maintained their own patronal societies in Trinidad. Thus, a report of a court case published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1846 includes a witness who was a member of the 'Society of the Rose', who mentions the place 'where the St. Rose people dance'. Another witness refers to this location as 'the yard where the Martiniquians dance'.³⁵ These organisations formed one basis for Carnival bands, as will be shown subsequently.

Some of these societies (usually with Christian religious affiliations) maintained their identity by African 'tribal' or other means of association. As such, they had long standing traditions of paying respect to their dead on the night of either All Saints' Day or All Souls' Day. From about 1870, there was an economic decline in the smaller islands of the Eastern Caribbean. This resulted in large-scale unemployment and migration to Trinidad, the largest island in the region, where opportunity for work was believed to exist. The rush of 'outsiders' (supplemented by a continuing flow of East Indian indentured labour) led to great tensions in the society as a whole, and particularly among the unemployed.³⁶ One means of symbolic insult, ensuing from this competition for scarce resources, was to desecrate the dead of those seen to be opponents for territory, in the labour market, or in less straight-forward rivalries. Thus, in November 1881 the *Port of Spain Gazette* reports one such occurrence in the Christian calendar.

'We are sorry to have to state that the time honoured custom, among Catholic nations, to honour by an outward token of respect their beloved dead by resorting to the Cemeteries and praying over their tombs on the night of All Souls day, has, this year, been desecrated by some ruffians from the neighbouring Islands. Our own people, whether Protestants or Catholics respect each other's religious feelings, but some of the strangers among us require a lesson which would make them feel that we will not allow our hospitality towards them to be converted into a source of scandal and insult to our holiest feelings. A Barbadian and well known character, in derision and in provocation of the people assembled to honour their dead, established a kind of booth over a grave said to be that of *his own child* and there distributed rum to the loose women whom he had gathered around him, the whole set proffering jeers and insults to the address of those who had gathered to pray over the tombs of their departed friends. Such conduct is so disgraceful and insulting towards the Catholic population, that if there be no provision in the Police Ordinance to prevent its repetition, better that the Cemetery be closed in future years, than such a scandal and outrage be repeated.'³⁷

Remembering that the newspaper represented the standpoint of Victorian propriety, it is possible that this may have been an individual's wake celebration that got out of hand.

This seems unlikely, however, as it fits a pattern of similar disruption by people from this section of the black community, whether recent English Creole-speaking migrants from Barbados, or Trinidad-born French-Creole speakers. The 'vagabondage' of this group (to use the contemporary phrase) was cause for complaint by those in authority into the 1890s. This can be demonstrated by three similar instances. The first, on the night of All Saints day in 1888, occurred in San Fernando. Here, José M. Bodu reported, because of the bad behaviour of the 'rowdies' during the annual procession to the cemetery, the practice was abolished by the curé of the town, the Rev. Dr. Maginot. There had been trouble from the 'crowd' on the same evening in Port of Spain, the capital of the island. In the following year, Bodu notes, the Borough Council abolished the practice of illuminating the cemetery on this night, because of the previous bad behaviour of this group. Finally, five years later (on All Saints night in 1894) a newspaper account, located by Bridget Brereton, reports fights between rival gangs and 'unbelievable immorality' all night in San Fernando.³⁸ Such descriptions were commonplace, especially at the time of Carnival, in which these bands became the main participants in this era. As has been indicated, their relationship to the Carnival will be covered in the discussion of that event. Enough has been stated, however, to give some indication of Carnival activities in this period and something of the festival's relationship to other calendar customs.

3. The Development Of Jonkonnu In Jamaica

The principal British West Indian Christmas-New Year festival for which nineteenth-century travelogue reports are available is the Jonkonnu celebration in Jamaica. While this has been the subject of a great deal of research in recent years, unfortunately, no satisfactory overall history of the event has been produced describing its structural development in social context.³⁹ Considerations of space, time, and availability of historical evidence, do not allow such a discussion here. The subject, however, will be considered in the light of this criterion, as this approach allows comparison with the evidence for festive events in other English-speaking territories outlined in this chapter. In

addition, Jamaica was the largest nominally Protestant English-speaking island in the Caribbean. In the period under consideration, this provides a useful point for comparison with the evolution of Carnival (at Shrovetide) in Trinidad - the largest nominally Roman Catholic English-speaking island.⁴⁰

To provide the necessary data for comparison with other festivals, Table XX presents structural elements in accounts from *After Africa* (etc.) in the same way as Table XIX.

Using this much larger body of material located in one island, albeit concentrated in the mid-to-late-slavery period, a greater historical discipline can be introduced to facilitate interpretation than has been possible for other territories in the English-speaking Caribbean. In this, the work of Cheryl Ryman, who identifies Jonkonnu as a 'neo-African form', provides a necessary starting point.⁴¹

Accepting Ryman's over-all analysis, it is, perhaps, necessary to refine aspects of her definitions by period. These will be discussed using the primary characteristics in travelogue accounts of West Indian carnivalesque outlined following Table XVII. In simplified form they are:

- (i) masqueraders on stilts
- (ii) nomenclature of European origin
- (iii) presence of sets
- (iv) presence of bands of Africans

The significance of these characteristics in relation to the structural elements identified in Table XX will be discussed in the light of Ryman's periods, excepting masqueraders on stilts, who are not mentioned in available nineteenth-century travelogues from Jamaica. The presence of the latter in twentieth-century Jamaican Jonkonnu groups, their possible relationship to Moko Jumbie stilt men in the Caribbean, and masqueraders using stilts in West Africa, is covered in Ryman's analysis.⁴²

In historical context, Cheryl Ryman has divided the development of Jonkonnu in Jamaica into three consecutive phases.

(i) The pre Set Girl era, 1655-1774

Ryman estimates that festivals celebrated by black slaves in this period were 'marked by an interaction between a variety of African peoples and their adaptation to an alien environment'. She believes also that 'input or influence by the European ruling class' was limited at this time. The complexity of cultural evolution suggests, however, that European input and influence was probably greater than Ryman acknowledges. This is not to deny the black creole cultural amalgam that began to emerge in this period. Literate European influence on oral African culture would have begun at their point of contact, but, although usually unseen, or unrecognised, would have been part of a reciprocal process. Part of this reciprocation was the allowance of festivals by whites for their black slaves (despite the risk of rebellion). There were consequent statements by blacks of their cultural integrity whether in defiance of whites, or, in modified imitation of European ideas, designed to flatter competitively. The two early accounts of festivals in Jamaica in Table XX, both from this pre-Set Girl era, can be seen in the light of this interpretation. Sir Hans Sloan's account of feasts published in 1707 describes dancing with body adornments such as cow tails. It also shows a preparedness to make such statements in the presence of white Christians for whom animism was taboo. This indicates reverence for animals. The Christmas Carnival, however, was a ritual occasion when such taboos were allowed to be flouted. Thus Long's account of Jonkonnu in Jamaica in 1769 describes Jonkonnu masquers as 'tall robust fellows dressed upon grotesque habits, and a pair of ox-horns on their head sprouting from the top a sort of vizor or mask which about the mouth is rendered very terrific with big boar tusks'. At the same time each of these principal masqueraders carried a sword in the hand, in European symbolism. New masques appeared in this year also, named after respective African tribes, Ebo and Papaw are mentioned, each with their own Jonkonnu, and their bands of male and female followers.⁴³ In the sample, this is the first mention of specific African nations marching in bands in parade. Their individual numbers, no doubt, would have been sustained annually by the slave trade, until its abolition in 1807.

(ii) The Set Girl era, 1775-1837

As with the previous era, the parameters for this period are adjusted slightly from Ryman's dates. They are set by the year following the publication of Edward Long's account of Christmas festivities in 1769 (1774), and the year in which Apprenticeship ended (1838). In this time span, Ryman rightly observes, the European influence (through sponsorship) becomes more obvious, probably encouraged by plantation fortunes founded on the economic success of sugar production. She notes the 'level of patronage (from the plantocracy)' and fraternity towards blacks by 'the book-keeper class and white professional'. She perceives also 'an increasing divergence in the content and meaning of the Jonkonnu traditions'. Thus, while she identifies Jonkonnu as 'African' in the first period, in this era there is direct evidence of syncretism, bringing together African and European masquerade traditions in a creole synthesis. This is interpreted, presumably, from the travelogue reports available.⁴⁴

Leaving aside the under-explored possibility of similarities between African and European traditions of carnivalesque, that might have been interpreted in the same manner by both groups, the evidence from travelogues abstracted in Table XX bears out Ryman's analysis. Thus, including Long's account from 1769, bands representing African nations are reported as having participated in Jonkonnu parades into the late 1830s, although, as has been pointed out, from 1807 their composition would have become increasingly creole-born, because of the abolition of the slave trade.

The presence of sets of creole women dressed uniformly begins in accounts of this Christmas-New Year festival from the 1780s (William Beckford) and, again, their involvement in the celebration continues to the late 1830s. Generally, the colours worn by these rival groups of parading women were red, or blue. These particular hues are said, by Matthew Gregory Lewis, to have originated with the British navy although as Edward Brathwaite has indicated, their evolution is more complex. It will be noticed that Breen reported, in 1844, the same two colours as being used respectively by the Rose and Margurite societies in St. Lucia.⁴⁵ The use of colour symbolism exists in many cultures, however, and their selection probably reflects a multiplicity of allegiances (some with

political overtones) and other influences. This is supported in part by the occasional mention in Jamaican reports of different colours and, or, textures used by the set girls. In addition, Belisario identifies an occupational set, the House Keepers (in 1837), and designates one of his sketches with a linguistic title, the French Set Girls (in 1838). The latter comprised three groups, all descendents of slaves from St. Domingo (Haiti) brought to Jamaica at the time of the rebellion in that island in 1794. Belisario states that the first were 'wholly Creoles of St. Domingo' and were called 'Royalists'; the second, called 'Mabiales' were of Congo origin (presumably slaves unassimilated in St. Domingo at the time of their departure); while the third, called 'Americans', were a mixture of both of the other groups. Such designations show the complex process of cultural development at close quarters within what was a small and select black French-speaking group in Jamaica.⁴⁶

The complex development poses problems of interpretation that are particularly apparent when considering European nomenclature used by the British-born white elite when describing Jonkonnu during this period. Essentially, the nomenclature can be divided into four primary, but interrelated, categories:

- (i) descriptions of the Jonkonnu character (after which the masquerade takes its title)
- (ii) descriptions of mumming
- (iii) descriptions of Jack-in-the-Green
- (iv) masqued emulation of people in Britain with power, (that may also have been perceived by blacks as parodies of that power).

The first accreditation of Jonkonnu in this context dates from the 1790s, in which the character is described as a *droll*. Meaning 'a funny or waggish fellow' etc., this word had first been used in 1645, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and, by 1654, its use also included 'to play the buffoon'. A further meaning, from 1753, is 'unintentionally amusing'. In the sense of the description, however, this more derogatory understanding seems misplaced, as details of attire, including a janus-faced masque and what has become the familiar headpiece for this character, a model house, are carefully described, as well as other aspects of the masquerader's actions. Additional British designations for such

characters are *Jack-Pudding* and *Merry Andrew*. The first of these is used in a subsequent description of Jonkonnu by Michael Scott (1806-1822). The other is adopted by both Matthew Gregory 'Monk' Lewis (1 January 1816), and Israel Mendes Belisario (1837). Scott's Jonkonnu wore a cocked hat, with a two-faced masque (back and front of head) like that described in the 1790s, and again in British parlance he also refers to a group of performers as 'morrice dancers'. 'Monk' Lewis's Jonkonnu is the only one of the group to have worn a boat-shaped headpiece - described as a 'house boat'. Belisario's lithograph from 1837 - showing a house head piece - is the earliest visual image of this masquerade character. In all instances the performers were accompanied by music, including percussion.⁴⁷

Belisario also drew on lithographic stones, and published, two illustrations in colour of another form of Jonkonnu called *Actor Boy*. Performers adopting this masquerade character can also be classified as *mummers*, and serve to introduce the second category of British nomenclature.

The first wandering players of this type in the sample are called simply 'actors' (Nugent, 25 December 1801). Otherwise, they are described as (English) 'mummers' (De La Beche, 1826; Gardner, 1873 - writing retrospectively), or, participants in performances of excerpts from printed plays (Lewis, 1 January 1816; Barclay, Christmas 1823; Belisario, Christmas 1836). Strictly, De La Beche's account forms part of his aforementioned Easter description, although, by implication, it applies to Christmas also.

The 'actors' encountered by Maria Nugent appear to have all been children. One was a King, who stabbed all of the others in the troupe. 'After the tragedy', she reports, 'they all began dancing with the greatest glee'. Each was finely dressed and the King depicted Henry IV of France, while some of the others, she was told, were 'Tippo Saib's children'. Henry IV of France had been assassinated in 1610, while Tipu (Tippo Saib) 'the Tiger of Mysore' was a muslim leader killed by the British in India in 1799, just two years before Nugent's description.

The principal characters had changed sides on a number of occasions during their lives. Henry IV had supported the French Protestant cause, then became a Catholic (1593)

and King of France (1594). Subsequently he granted toleration to Protestants with the Edict of Nantes (1598), although he later allowed Jesuits to reopen colleges in Paris (1603). Tipu signed peace with the British in India (1784) but continued to fight them. His final confrontation was identified by the British with Napoleon's plan to conquer India, that had begun with the Egyptian campaign in 1798. These facts may have significance in association with the mumming, although they do not explain the presence of the 'children' of 'Tippo Saib'. The latter might, however, be a symbolical allusion to the British view of the 'fickle' characters of both Henry IV and Tipu and the defencelessness of their subjects.⁴⁸

Underlying this is the presence of a combatant representing power (in this instance a turncoat), who performs a ritual 'slaying', followed by a resurrection of those killed, and a dance by all the participants. Similar components appear in British mumming plays and, it seems likely, also in elements of African carnivalesque, although this has not been pursued. Another symbolical reading of this mumming by black slaves might be to see the king as the enslaver, the children as the slaves, and their resurrection as an escape from bondage, despite the tyranny of their situation.

The De La Beche description of an Easter mumming, based on Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*, which he implies was also performed at Christmas, has been summarised earlier. Its components are of interest, however, in that they are similar to those of the hero-combat ceremony in British mumming, although the characters are Shakesperian, rather than 'traditional'. It was performed 'much in the same manner as our mummers'. The same is the case with Gardner's mention of a Christmas performance based on *Richard the Third*, leading to the suspicion that his retrospective is a summary of De La Beche's writing on the subject. Specifically authentic, however, is Alexander Barclay's description of *Richard the Third* performed by 'Joncanoe-men' during Christmas celebrations at a Jamaican plantation in 1823. He notes: 'The Joncanoe-men, disrobed of part of their paraphernalia, were the two heroes, and fought, not for a kingdom but a queen, whom the victor carried off in triumph. Richard calling out "A horse! a horse!" &c. was

laughable enough'. Again, this is similar to the hero-combat ceremony in British mumming plays.⁴⁹

The researches of Richardson Wright show that Shakespeare's *Richard the Third* was performed in the theatre in Jamaica in 1781 and 1782 (twice), but he did not find documentation for later stagings, before 1838. The introduction of this play to slave culture probably came from several sources, including plantation owners and missionaries. Such mummings were sustained after Emancipation, and adaptations from tragedies by Shakespeare, and British playwrights from the eighteenth century, form components in a pattern of similar enactments in certain islands in the English-speaking West Indies to the present. As with the early Jamaican examples, most of these small bands of mummers were accompanied by music, including percussion.⁵⁰

While Shakespeare's *Richard the Third* seems to have been a favoured model for mumming players in Jamaica, Matthew Gregory Lewis witnessed similar entertainments based on two eighteenth-century British plays. They were performed by a small group associated with the Blue Set, whom he encountered on his arrival at Black River, Jamaica on 1 January 1816.

'A play was now proposed to us, and, of course, accepted. Three men and a girl accordingly made their appearance; the men dressed like the tumblers at Astley's, the lady very tastefully in white and silver, and all with their faces concealed by masks of thin blue silk; and they proceeded to perform the quarrel between Douglas and Glenalvon, and the fourth act of *The Fair Penitent*. They were all quite perfect and had no need of a prompter. As to Lothario, he was by far the most comical dog that I ever saw in my life, and his dying scene exceeded all description; Mr. Coates himself might have taken hints from him! As soon as Lothario was fairly dead, and Calista had made her exit in distraction, they all began dancing reels like so many mad people...'

Lewis's description indicates that these two enactments are based on textual authenticity as well as a degree of conventional theatrical precision in presentation. Some hint of mumming is apparent, however, in the masquing of the performers and their dancing at the end of the proceedings. *Douglas*, by John Home, was first performed in Edinburgh in 1756; and *The Fair Penitent*, by Nicholas Rowe, at Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, in 1703. Each tragedy had also featured on the Jamaican stage during the same century: *Douglas* on six occasions, and *The Fair Penitent* on one. In addition, *Douglas*

had been revived in Kingston in 1812, four years prior to 'Monk' Lewis's arrival. His comments, such as the reference to Robert Coates (1772-1848), relate to the London stage. Lewis was subsequently less than complimentary about legitimate stage performances that he saw in the surroundings of Jamaican theatres.⁵¹

Writing captions for his two lithographs of *Koo-koo*, or *Actor Boy*, drawn during Christmas 1836, but not published until 1838. I.M. Belisario provides a contemporary summary of the evolution of the mumming component in Jonkonnu masquerade.

'...Ten or twelve years back, several companies of these self-styled Performers, envious of each other's abilities, strolled through the streets, habited in varied costumes, considered by them, however, as having been in strict accordance with the characters they were called upon to sustain - for be it known, they dared to perpetrate "murder most foul" even on the plays of Shakespeare.

'Of late years, this class of *John Canoe* has found but little inducement for the exercise of his talent, wanting that grand stimulant to energy - Competition - candidates for *Dramatic* fame among his brethren, having generally decreased in numbers, leaving the field open to a few only of these heroes of the *Sock and Buskin* who, from having once figured prominently in the *higher walks of their art*, now descend from their pedestals and content themselves annually with the public exhibition of their finery, and the performance of certain unmeaning pantomimic actions, which are also repeated at private dwellings, - whereby they contrive to draw largely on the bounty of the parties inviting them.'

The *sock and buskin* is a reference to comedy and tragedy and, or, the theatrical profession as a whole. Fortuitously, Belisario goes on to explain something of the way in which these groups of actors/mummers learned their parts, and enacted their plays.

'In order to qualify themselves for the representations above alluded to, a negro who could *read*, and instruct them in committing their parts to memory, was pressed into service for the purpose - *that portion* of his Pupil's education, having been *unfortunately omitted* - a remunerating sum was paid for him for the four or five weeks so occupied, previous to the Christmas Holidays, at which period, the effect of his labours was manifested to a wandering and admiring audience.'

Noting the popularity of Shakespeare's *Richard the Third*, he draws attention to the apparently random way in which '*selections* only were made from it, without paying the slightest regard to the *order* in which the "Bard of Avon" had deemed it proper to arrange its subject'. Another tragedy, identified only by Belisario as one of the 'stock pieces' used by these actors, was *Pizarro*. The latter was first staged at Drury Lane Theatre, in London, in 1799, and was prepared by Richard Brinsley Sheridan from a translation of Kotzebue's *Spaniards In Peru*. Richardson Wright notes *Pizarro* was acted at the theatre in Spanish Town, Jamaica, on 24 July 1813.

Belisario continues, unknowingly, with a partial resolution of the problem he poses on the random way that selections were made from these stage plays; which relates to the hero-combat ceremony in mumming.

'...but whatever might have been the performance, a Combat and Death invariably ensued, when a ludicrous contrast was produced between the smiling mask, and the actions of the dying man. At this Tragical point, there was always a general call for music - and dancing immediately commenced - this proved too great a provocative usually to be resisted even by the slain, and he accordingly became resuscitated, and joined the merry throng...'

By 1836, probably because of a decline in sponsorship by the white elite, the role of Actor Boy had changed. Originally a participant in group mummings it became an individual masque. Elaborately costumed Actor Boys competed for praise, without remuneration, in the main thoroughfare, outside principal taverns in Kingston. Belisario describes occasional physical combats between opponents on the failure of one gaining approval over the other. The destruction of the other's costume was the aim of each Actor Boy in these broils. In this, the elaborate nature of their costumes, and the use of the whip to clear the street as they paraded to the accompaniment of fife and drum, they appear in some respects to be a precursor of the Pierrot in Trinidad Carnival, whose role will be discussed subsequently.⁵²

In addition to mumming, Jonkonnu parades in the Set-Girl era sometimes featured a vegetal creation that British-born observers described as Jack-in-the-Green. This is defined, in the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary* as 'A man or boy enclosed in a wooden or wicker pyramidal framework covered with leaves in the May-day sport of chimney sweeps etc.' The first *Dictionary* reference to this representation in British context dates from 1801. The researches of Roy Judge show, however, that the term was in use some six years earlier, in the caption to an engraving, possibly by Isaac Cruikshank, published by Laurie and Whittle in 1795. Judge traces the British ancestry of this disguise: through the Milk-maid with garland (1600s); the Bunter with garland (1700s); and the Chimney Sweep with, or without, garland (1700s); to the emergence of Jack-in-the-Green in the late 1700s. The heyday of the masque in Britain lasted until the mid 1800s. As will be seen from this timescale, the latter period coincides with the Set-Girl era in Jamaica.

The first of three references to Jack-in-the-Green in Jamaica comes from the writings of Michael Scott (1806-1822) in which he describes the procession of the Gardners in the Christmas carnival. They came, in his words 'nearest of anything I had seen before to the Mayday boys in London, with this advantage, that their Jack-in-the-Green was incomparably more beautiful, from the superior bloom of the large flowers used in composing it.'

As has been mentioned, Jack-in-the-Green is identified by H.T. De La Beche in the context of Easter and, by implication, Christmas (1825), but the most significant representation of this disguise in Jamaica is its inclusion in one of Belisario's colour lithographs, from 1837: 'The Red Set-Girls and Jack-in-the-Green'. Included in his descriptive caption are Belisario's estimation of the disguise in relation to its British equivalent, and its position in the procession of the Red Set-Girls.

'The Jack-in-the-Green of Jamaica differs in very few points from the same description of personage who accompanies the chimney-sweepers on the 1st May in England - they both travel *in cog*. The covering of the former is composed of portions of the leaves of the coca-nut tree, attached to hoops, diminishing in circumference at the top, which is crowned by a large bow, with the addition of a couple of flags.

ORDER OF PROCESSION OF THE SET GIRLS

<u>Adjutant</u> <u>bearing</u> <u>Flag</u> <u>Set-Girls</u> <u>in equal</u> <u>numbers</u>	Hand-drum, Triangle,	Singer*, Tambourine,	Tambourine, Maam,	Violin, Queen Hand-drum,	<u>Adjutant</u> <u>bearing</u> <u>Flag</u> <u>Set-Girls</u> <u>in equal</u> <u>numbers</u>
			<u>Commodore**</u>		
			<u>Jack-in-the-Green</u>		

* Or leader of the chorus, the set-girls always singing some unconnected ditty - the specimen given will convey a just idea of these compositions.

** A very stout woman is usually chosen to fill this post of honour, but no satisfactory reason has ever been assigned, for the jumble of naval, military, and other distinctions, bestowed on these commanders.

SONG

"There is a Regiment of the 64th, we expect from home,
From London to Scotland away they must go,
There was one among them, that I really love well,
With his bonny Scotch plaid, and his bayonet so shining,
Now pray my noble King, if you really love me well,
Disband us from slavery and set us at large."
CHORUS:- La la la, la la la.

...

'These songs are chanted at the top of their voice, with an accompaniment of instruments, for the most part out of tune, and played by musicians, *rather* carelessly dressed.'

The shape of Belisario's Jack-in-the-Green differs from its British equivalent, and few clues are given as to its masquerade function. The disguise expresses solidarity with the Gardners (presumably an occupational band) in Scott's description and also the Red Set, in Belisario's lithograph and caption. In both instances the device is used as a component in a carnival band, in the latter case guarding the rear of the Set.

The song of this Set is of interest in that it records the black view of Apprenticeship, following Emancipation in 1834, as an equivalent of slavery.⁵³

Leaders (or commanders) of the Set, Belisario implies, were assigned particular 'distinctions' of white power and this leads to the final category in this brief discussion of European nomenclature: masqued emulation of people in Britain with power, (that may also have been perceived by blacks as parodies of that power). It was usual for each set to be led by a Queen.

Partly because the theme of 'homage to great one' is an important component in carnivalesque (whether of an obsequious or satirical nature, or a joint expression of both sentiments), it is likely this element was an early part of the Jonkonnu repertoire. Certainly, the Blue and Red Sets observed by 'Monk' Lewis when he disembarked at Black River on 1 January 1816 indicate this pattern. They had been 'sponsored by several gentlemen in the neighbourhood'. 'The Blue Girls of Waterloo' had the motto 'Britannia rules the day!' and the Red's responded with 'Red girls for ever!' The Blues were in the ascendant for that year and marched with 'Britannia' at their head, followed by a 'band of music' (drums and fiddle players), the Blue King (in a British Admiral's uniform) and Queen, 'Nelson's car' (with the words Trafalgar on its front), and numerous 'Blue grandees' (Princes, Princesses, Dukes and Duchesses). At some stage, Lewis reports the Red Set had represented the English party, and the Blue Set those of Scottish persuasion, although this was obviously not the case in 1816.

At the ceremony during Christmas 1837 and New Year 1838, following the death of William IV but prior to the crowning of Queen Victoria, this type of affiliation continued among the Reds and Blues in towns on the north side of the island. Describing

this celebration, and noting the practice of sponsorship by the whites, Major Alan Chambre mentions the rival factions represented 'all the great personages of the day, and their attendants'. The processions included characterisations of royalty - in particular the late King (William IV), and the fledgling Queen (Victoria), with a reproduction of her crown carried before her, because her coronation had not yet taken place. There were also masques depicting celebrated politicians, many holding, or having held high office, and the late leading abolitionist William Wilberforce (who had died in 1833). Admiral Nelson (who had been killed at Trafalgar in 1805) remained a popular masquerade figure, and religion was represented by a depiction of the Archbishop of Canterbury (then William Howley).⁵⁴

On the basis of the evidence presented, it is clear that use of European nomenclature does not indicate that the carnivalesque described was of straight forward European origin - even with the mummings of the Actor Boys. Whilst they appear to have centred the actions of their plays on hero-combat confrontations - whether between historical personalities (Maria Nugent's account), or using selected passages from published British plays, - significantly, there is no mention of a 'wonder worker'. The latter ressurects the dead in British mummings of this type. In the Jamaican descriptions, resurrection appears to have been spontaneous, once a mock death had occurred.

In respect of such similarities and differences, it is also of interest that several common elements in Jamaican reports from the Set-Girl era, were perceived in observations by Robert Dirks of similar Christmas celebrations (called also Jonkonnu) among the Black Caribs in Belize in 1974. These include the possible presence of an Antics man, costume (including mask and headress), dancing and dance style (including male dancer), drumming, female chorus, house-to-house progress, and money collection, sword and martial manner, and transvestism.⁵⁵

Using the Jamaican accounts alone, to these can be added other features common to Jonkonnu festivals in this era. They incorporate those discussed earlier in this section: African bands (nations), competition (between individuals and, or, bands), feasting (Dirk's identifies only drinking), hierarchical organisation of bands, music (played on a variety of

African-derived or European instruments), European nomenclature, occupational masques (bands), processions marching to music, the set girls, singing (in call-and-response, or, European style), white sponsorship of bands, and town, or, country locations for performances.

Many of these elements form the basis of the Carnival in Trinidad, especially following the ending of Apprenticeship in 1838. This will be considered in due course. Before assessing the development of Jonkonnu in Jamaica in the same post-Apprenticeship period, brief mention must be made of non-Jamaican historical references for this form of masquerade.

Three other regions where blacks have settled in the New World use, or have used, this terminology for their Christmas celebrations: the Bahamas, Belize, and the state of North Carolina, in the U.S.A. Only in Belize, however, can the term be shown to have been in use in the 1820s, where it 'was said to have been "recently introduced from Jamaica"' in a Methodist Missionary Society document, dated 1829. While evidence for Christmas festivities in the Bahamas has been dated to 1801 (although the source is not noted), the first available direct reference to the celebration comes from the *Nassau Guardian* for 26 December 1849, in which 'John Canoe came forth on stilts' - an association with this masquerade character that has been previously identified in a c.1920s Belize photograph. In North Carolina, although slave Christmas ceremonies are reported from the 1820s, 'John Kooner' is not mentioned directly in the available literature until the late 1840s - early 1850s.⁵⁶ All this suggests that the term may have transferred to these areas from Jamaica, and forms another series of migration links outside the scope of this research.

This is probably true also for the introduction of 'John-canoe' to describe a dance and dancers among the Miskito Indians along the Central American coastline, seen at Cape Gracias á Dios in 1839-40. The dance took place at a wake celebration (*seekroe*) witnessed by the British explorer Thomas Young. He describes the actions and costumes of the dancers, noting that they 'were attired something like our Jacks-in-the-Green'. The Miskito's, Young recalled, had been used effectively by the British in their wars against

the Maroons in Jamaica, and it seems possible that they adopted the terminology and other aspects of the ceremony during their time in that island.⁵⁷

(iii) The post-Emancipation period, 1838-[1952]

In this third period, Cheryl Ryman sees the social upheaval following the abolition of Apprenticeship as influencing the development of black culture in Jamaica towards a 'European ideal'. This is contrary to Pearse's model for the Eastern Caribbean. On the surface, her suggestion seems possible, but it is much more likely that black traditions in Jamaica remained vibrant. They were withheld, however, from the view of outside white observers. Post-Emancipation cultural developments in Jamaica are, therefore, much harder to trace than, for example, in Trinidad, where social circumstances were different.

Ryman notes also the influx of non-African and non-European migrants 'who exerted their own influence on the creole Black', and also of '"free" Africans' whom she believes 'served to reinforce and reintroduce African models in Jonkonnu and the rest of Jamaican culture'.⁵⁸ The degree of cultural development would have been conditioned by the status of particular Jamaican social institutions and would have varied accordingly. As has been shown, this is true for other territories in the British Caribbean at this time.

The history of Jonkonnu in the post-Emancipation period is difficult to trace, particularly in the later-nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries when, as Bettelheim observes, there is a dearth of eyewitness documentation. It is possible, however, to sketch something of the festival's development from the data available remembering, again as noted by Bettelheim, that it became a rural rather than an urban celebration.⁵⁹ This is in contrast to Trinidad, where the Shrovetide Carnival remained an urban occasion, alongside parallel rural events and, sometimes, including rural participation.

For the immediate post-Emancipation period, this survey will rely principally on secondary sources. It can be divided into two calendar events - Christmas-New Year, and Emancipation Day - at which Jonkonnu was celebrated. They will be discussed concurrently. The research of B.W. Higman on Emancipation Day in Jamaica, mentioned earlier, provides the basis for analysis in the mid-nineteenth century.⁶⁰

Higman found no record of Jonkonnu being celebrated at the time of the ending of Apprenticeship on 1 August 1838. Events, however, organised by churches (led by white clergy) and others with whom the ruling white elite had a degree of confidence, were postponed by the mayor of Kingston, on the basis that they would 'lead to "licentiousness and riot"'. Modified, recreations were held a day later and, as with elsewhere in towns on the island, no difficulties concerning law and order were experienced. Despite threats, even a dance at a sugar estate begun a week prior to 1 August was disbanded peacefully by police. 'Loose and disorderly people from all quarters' had gathered, 'whose singing and drumming and dancing disturbed the whole neighbourhood'. The organiser was arrested following an intervention by the Reverend Hope Masterton Waddell.⁶¹

In 1839 it appears Jonkonnu continued unimpeded at Christmas in Kingston. In 1840, however, the festival became the focus for a power struggle in the Kingston Common Council between Daniel Hart (champion of the less well off and unfranchised blacks) and Hector Mitchell, mayor of Kingston (who represented conservative elements). Both were elected members of the Council (Mitchell on the basis of his mayoralty) which also qualified them as magistrates. In December, Mitchell endeavoured to stop Jonkonnu without prior warning to 'his Colleagues in the Magistracy'. He failed, owing to popular reaction against his measures. The island's Governor Sir Charles Metcalfe did not support the mayor's approach. Although he conceded that the annual festivities should cease in the long term, he advised the mayor in writing that its demise should be 'gradual' rather 'than that any attempt should be made to abolish long established and cherished amusements by force'.⁶²

In 1841, Higman notes, the appearance of Jonkonnu parades during Emancipation Day celebrations, and that 'attempts to interrupt this "unmeaning Tomfoolery" were met with violence'.⁶³ This was probably a result of the continuing struggle between the factions represented by Hart and Mitchell, and their respective supporters. The history of the political confrontations between these two protagonists and the participation of the populace on the side of Hart has been discussed in detail by Swithin Wilmot. One result of

the confrontations was Mitchell's decision to disregard Metcalfe's advice from 1840 and, again attempt to suppress Jonkonnu in Kingston at Christmas in 1841. A riot ensued.

Metcalfe's report on the riot to the Colonial Secretary, Lord Stanley, provides a useful summary of the pre- and post-slavery views of the ruling elite towards these Christmas-New Year celebrations.

'In the time of slavery it was customary to indulge the Slaves in a sort of Saturnalia at this Season. They used to go about the Towns masquerading and dancing singing and drumming. Their Masters encouraged those amusements and were glad to see their slaves engaged in them, for it was the season at which plots and insurrections were apprehended. Since the abolition of Slavery the same reason for approving these revels has not existed, and as they are noisy and inconvenient to those not engaged in them, they are by many disliked and discouraged. The Ministers of Religion also endeavour to dissuade the people from them, and the practice has considerably diminished and was gradually falling into disuse, the respectable portion of the people having abandoned it.'

Calling Mitchell a 'wrong headed Man', Metcalfe noted how the mayor possessed 'uncontrolled authority' in Kingston and in disregard of the Governor's letter, following the 1840 confrontation, 'he pursued the same course this season' by issuing 'orders to the Police to stop all "Drumming and Noisy Disturbances" in the Streets'. An account in the *Jamaica Almanac For The Year 1846*, summarises succinctly the ensuing events on the evening of 27 December 1841.

'The police, on attempting to secure some drums, were assaulted by the mob with stones, brickbats and broken bottles: the riot act was read, and the military called out, and on the mob refusing to disperse, the order was given to fire; two men were shot, and several other persons wounded, one a woman. The militia were ordered out, and put on duty in several parts of the city. The military force (militia and regulars) were placed under the command of major-general Sir William Gomme, the commander of her majesty's forces, by whose promptitude and skilful dispositions tranquility was ultimately restored to the city.'

Metcalfe's dispatches noted that the mayor was stoned, injured, and almost killed by the mob - he retreated to a boat in the harbour - and, that it was the police who opened fire on the protesters. In addition he cautioned 'several circumstances give room to suppose that the outbreak on the part of the Mob was premeditated'. He also contrasted his own experience in Spanish Town (then the seat of government in the island)

'Where the People were allowed by the Magistrates with the entire concurrence of the Governor to enjoy their usual amusements within reasonable bounds. There all was Peace and Good Humour. The People were happy, and the ordinary Authorities were respected whenever their interference was necessary to prevent disorder or excess beyond a moderate indulgence.'

Metcalfe goes on to complain of his lack of jurisdiction over the 'Mayor and Corporation of Kingston' that had undermined his position, and allowed the prohibition of 'all "Drumming and Noisy Disturbances"' in that city, without reference to 'The Supreme Executive Authority of the Land'.⁶⁴ It seems likely, however, that these events served to unite authorities in Jamaica to take action to control Jonkonnu parades. The military occupied Kingston for a period, and there was great fear of further disturbance among the plantocracy. Eight months later, attempts to stop 'unmeaning Tomfoolery' during Emancipation Day celebrations again met with violent opposition. Probably as a result of this, local legislation was passed to curtail such events. In 1842, Higman notes, two acts became law that had this effect. The first was to impose fines 'for riding or driving furiously, for shell blowing, drum beating, kite flying and the use of firearms or fireworks'. The second allowed that 'any "street-musician, juggler, dancer, actor, or showman" could be fined if he ignored a householder's request to depart'. Despite the implementation of this legislation, from 1843, the same confrontation between paraders and the authorities was still being reported for Emancipation Day celebrations in 1846 (*Falmouth Post*, 4 August).

Higman provides a graphic newspaper description of Emancipation Day in 1847, as celebrated by labourers in Trelawney parish. They traversed:

'from one estate to another, drumming, fifing, dancing and john-canooing, in the demi-savage spirit of the olden time. To make things worse, an attempt is made to give a religious character to the processions - the name of the late reverend William Knibb is repeated over and over again, mixed up with a few words sung in a lamentable tone, and hymns are also sung, after the manner of the Myalists...whenever the rival "sets" have met angry words and blows have been freely indulged in' (*Falmouth Post*, 6 August 1847)

Myalism is an early form of African-European-Jamaican religious belief, associated with obeah (or magic).

In a subsequent *Falmouth Post* report, further violence is described, in which a parish magistrate was assaulted on trying to stop the 'illegal revelry' of 'John-canoeing, dancing and licentious behaviour' (20 August).⁶⁵

While elements of the pre-Emancipation Jonkonnu celebrations are apparent in the earlier of these two 1847 accounts, changes are also observable. First an open taunting of

white sensibilities (especially those of the Protestant missionaries) and, second, the rural orientation of the reports. In this, it seems that the event, whether held at Christmas or on Emancipation Day, was already receding in the towns, and becoming centred on the villages of, amongst others, a newly developing self-sufficient small-holding class of free blacks. With increasing economic difficulties and changes in market regulations, that led to suspicions of white intentions, Emancipation Day was hardly celebrated 'in the western parishes' in 1848. The *Falmouth Post* reported that no *gumbay* or *tumboo* (drums, and styles of drumming) were heard.

From this time, with a few exceptions this appears to have become the pattern with respect to individuals or groups of masqueraders parading in the streets of towns, at either of the seasonal occasions when Jonkonnu was held traditionally. For example, the *Daily Advertiser* (Kingston) noted in 1853 that the first of August had 'passed "without the savage yellings and disgraceful mummeries of former years"'; while in 1855, the *Falmouth Post* reported 'an attempted revival of John Canooism' in that town, was 'entirely confined to the vagabond portion of the community'. At the end of 1856, according to the 'Packet Summary' of news from Jamaica, taken from the *Jamaica Standard* (26 January 1857) and published in Trinidad by the *Port of Spain Gazette*:

'The Christmas holidays throughout the island passed off with extreme quiet. All the savage amusements of former days appear to have been abandoned by the negro population, and a more civilised order of things have supervened. There was less of drunken revelry and fewer instances of public immorality than we ever remember to have observed at this season.'⁶⁶

One year later it was believed that the 'disgraceful origies' of 'the August and Christmas holidays have in great measure disappeared'. Rather, in the case of Emancipation Day, at least, they were replaced by events outwith direct observation. Earlier in the same year, Higman notes that the *Falmouth Post* identified 'shameful dances' called "Breakings" [or Bruckins] being held in Kingston where 'blacks "meet together night after night, howling like fiends and stamping like furies"'. If not at this point, these became associated with Emancipation Day festivities.⁶⁷

Fancy costume parades on Emancipation Day in the following year were not held because 'the "People"' preferred 'delaying their great "turn out" until the Christmas

holidays when they expect to meet with liberal encouragement', reported the *Falmouth Post* (3 August 1858). This suggests that in some towns, at least, Jonkonnu parades continued to be held at the end-of-the-year season with financial supports from whites, as had happened prior to Emancipation. By about 1859, William G. Sewell, however, confirms the general trend towards rural rather than urban Jonkonnu celebrations at Christmas (see Table XX) with the components of music, dancing, masquerading, and psalm singing.⁶⁸ Between 1860 and 1871, Higman has only three newspaper accounts of Emancipation Day celebrations, all from the *Falmouth Post*. Each shows that Jonkonnu was no longer celebrated in towns, although the third hints that the masquing had, in essence, gone underground in opposition to elitist Euro-centric attitudes. Thus, 'in 1871 a Spanish Town correspondent could report only a single case of "African John Canoeing" on 1 August, and that "in the mountain district of Old Harbour which is not quite up to civilization"' (15 August).⁶⁹

The only late-nineteenth-century reference to Jonkonnu traced in this research is in the title of a book by Violet Heaven: *Jamaica Proverbs and John Canoe Alphabet*, which was published in Kingston in 1896. Unfortunately the book has not been located. A bibliographical annotation indicates it is a collection of texts, and its exact relevance is not known.⁷⁰

The first available twentieth-century report of Jonkonnu appears in a chapter on 'The People' by Frank Cundall, in his *Jamaica In 1905*; published as 'a handbook of information for intending settlers and visitors'. Comparing early nineteenth-century accounts with present activities Cundall, who was 'Secretary and Librarian to the Institute of Jamaica', observed that the Christmas 'festivities have almost fallen into disuse'. Contemporary popular recreations, he indicated, were 'picnics and such-like gatherings and rides on tram cars'; demonstrating his town-orientated approach. In superior fashion, he attributed the decline in the old-time carnival 'to the negroes' fear of ridicule', rather than the concerted efforts of a virtually united white hierarchy, who had driven the street parades from urban areas. For Herbert De Lisser, writing on 'The Amusements of Jamaica' in the same decade, the celebration of Christmas began with the races, which

included betting, eating, bad-man stick flourishing and fighting, and all-night parties. He makes no mention of other activities. In country districts, however, it is evident that Jonkonnu masqueraders were still performing. For example Walter Jekyll prints a *John Canoe dance* in his *Jamaican Song And Story*, published in 1907, noting that 'the "John Canoe" are masked dancers very agile in their movements....' Jekyll also prints an Emancipation Day song - described as a *2nd figure Quadrille*, - explaining that first-of-August festivities went on 'for a week or longer' and that 'the goat-skin drum is pitted for the thumping it gets...' when accompanying dancers at this time.⁷¹

The only systematic study of Jonkonnu prior to the 1970s, took place between 1919 and 1924, and formed part of the survey of black folklore in Jamaica undertaken by Martha Warren Beckwith. Examination of her observations, and those of her associate, Helen Hartness Roberts, give an indication of the diversity of the festival, and some evidence for the development of its constituents. Their carnivalesque findings can be divided into two distantly related social institutions: Tea Meetings, and Jonkonnu itself. The latter is further divided into four distinct types of presentation, reflecting geographical and social diversity within the genre. Evidence from Beckwith, Roberts, and other sources, shows that both Tea Meetings, and, or Jonkonnu parades were held at Christmas, and Emancipation Day during this period.⁷²

The Tea Meeting, according to Beckwith, was in decline, although it has still been reported by Olive Lewin in 1970 and, in certain components, by Cheryl Ryman in 1980 - *Brag, Bruckins'* and *Queen Party*; (for some of these, see Table VII).⁷³ As Beckwith's description of this form of entertainment occurs in her earliest published Jamaican research, it will be considered prior to the information on Jonkonnu, gathered at the same time.

Jamaican Tea Meetings, according to Beckwith's informants, were held at a specially prepared location, called a booth. To offset the cost of holding the gathering, a fee for entry was sometimes charged. Young women attending would dress uniformly, stemming, perhaps, from the tradition of the Set Girls in pre-Emancipation Jonkonnu. The evening event was divided into three parts. First, under the auspices of a Chairman,

assisted by a President, and a Secretary, there would be recitations and speeches (toasts, etc.) in the form of competitive word play. This culminated in the crowning, by the Chairman, of the most effective speaker. It appears that singing (perhaps competitively) may also have been a feature of this part of the occasion.

The second phase of the proceedings involved the unveiling of an elaborately dressed beautiful woman (whose identity was secret until that time). Called a Queen, her title may also date from the Set-Girl era. As a means of raising funds, a 'peep' at the veiled Queen was organised, and an auction held for her unveiling. This also applied to a special large fancily decorated cake, or a collection of exquisite small cakes (show, or crown bread). Preview 'peeps' (on payment), and bidding for portions were usual, before feasting on the cake(s) and other refreshments commenced, once the Queen had been unveiled. Finally, games and dancing followed. Balls, and feasts, had also been a feature of Set-Girl events.⁷⁴

Whilst the relationship between Tea Meetings and the organisation and function of Sets in the pre-Emancipation period can be only tentative, the continuing existence of masquerade bands in country districts called 'John Canoe', discovered by Beckwith and Roberts, provide a much firmer link with the past. The bands, however, also reflected the dynamics of evolution in time, resulting from geographical dispersal from towns, as well as more local changes.

Beckwith's findings (including correspondence with Edith Clarke), as has been stated, identified four distinct types of Jonkonnu groups; although her research cannot be considered exhaustive (Table XXI). In her compass, performers of one type (iii) were no longer active.

As will be observed, some of the elements in these performances can be seen to have been part of the large-scale Christmas-New Year celebrations in the Set-Girl era (Table XX). In addition some, such as the 'Speak-acting' and 'Masquerade' companies, had, or still relied on local white sponsorship, and their enactments reflected this. In the 'Horse-head' and 'John-Canoe' companies Beckwith studied in 'Lacovia, Prospect, and the Cockpit section of St. Elizabeth', however, she found evidence of myalism in the

preparations and presentations of the maskers; although 'fear' was not the purpose of the event.⁷⁵

Fear, or more likely Christian and class sentiments, had only 'recently', according to Beckwith, 'finally banished' the 'antics' of 'Horse and Ox-head dancers' begging 'for money at Christmas-time in the streets of Kingston and other large centres'; the 'appearance of the Ox-head dancer' having been 'forbidden by law'. This indicates a far longer time span for Jonkonnu in towns than is evident from Higman's article. Beckwith also reports that 'a special license has to be obtained from the government in order to take a John Canoe company out upon the road' and that 'the time of performances is strictly limited to a period beginning on the night before Christmas and ending sometime during the first week of January'. As will be shown subsequently in the development of Trinidad Carnival, such evidence suggests that further information, leading to a greater understanding as to when, and the means by which Jonkonnu was controlled, await discovery in Jamaican legal documents.⁷⁶

Beckwith found that in the Jonkonnu companies where singing formed a significant part of performances, new songs were composed annually and practised together with older items. These provided a large repertoire for each season. Such songs were reserved exclusively for Jonkonnu presentations. Their subject matter included the Jonkonnu company itself, wars between sets (lyrics perhaps dating from the previous century), everyday and past events (including the 1914-18 war), satire, folk religion, and magic. In addition, Helen Hartness Roberts commented that one of 'the most noticeable differences' she and Beckwith had observed in Jamaica was 'in the John Canoe ceremonies as practised in various parts, with the kinds of songs sung'. She also expressed surprise that 'with the exception of some John Canoe songs and...the songs called Koromanti by the Maroons' few emphasised the 'minor intervals' musically in a collection of about five hundred items.⁷⁷

There are a small number of reports available from the 1920s and 1930s that provide further examples of the different types of Jonkonnu. Leslie Thompson, born 1901, who made a musical career for himself in Britain from 1929, recalled 'horse-head'

Jonkonnu in Kingston. Stating that it was 'hardly a festival', he mistakenly associated this with children's toy hobby horses being 'projected into the adults' who 'had dancing and singing' in a localised neighbourhood.⁷⁸

Another type of Jonkonnu, held on Emancipation Day in August Town in the late 1920s, is described by the broadcaster George Spence. He remembered 'the procession was led by a man in a multi-coloured costume walking on stilts representing the legendary liberated slave, John Kanu'. Musical accompaniment was by drums, guitars, and bamboo flutes, and songs celebrating Emancipation were sung by the crowds. This is the earliest report of a masquer on stilts appearing in Jamaica and, interestingly, he is named Jonkonnu; as with the similar description from Nassau, Bahamas, in 1849.⁷⁹

The perceptive and deservedly recognised black American folklorist Zora Neale Hurston made a field trip to Jamaica between April and September in 1936, during which time she sought out a great deal of black Jamaican culture. This she recounted in her book *Tell My Horse*, published in 1938. She attended a specially arranged Curry Goat Feed that, together with a wedding celebration, which she also observed, comprised elements of the Tea Meeting. Of Jonkonnu proper she wrote regarding the legend of the Three-legged horse:

'Girls [men] said were afraid of it, but it was not dangerous. He appeared around Christmas time to enjoy himself. When the country people masque with the horse and cow head for the parades, the three-legged-Horse wrapped himself up in a sheet and went along with them in disguise. But if one looked close he could be distinguished from the people in masques, because he was two legs in front and one behind. His gait is a jump and leap that sounds "Te-coom-tum! Te-coom-tum!" In some parts of Jamaica he is called "The Three-legged Aurelia" and they, the people, dance in the road with the expectation that the spirit horse will come before seven o'clock at night, and pass the night revelling in masquerade. Two main singers and dancers lead the rest in this outdoor ceremony and it is all quite happy.'

Vividly, she draws attention to the magical and sexual symbolism of the creature in a male orientated society in which the masquerade had been one means of sustaining ideals of masculinity that had evolved from slave culture.⁸⁰

Jonkonnu, however, remained relegated to country districts so that Richardson Wright, who had wintered in Jamaica for about twenty years, could write in 1937: 'Today one occasionally finds some of the young boys trying to keep the custom alive, but they are

usually in out-of-the-way districts. Jamaica now hangs up imitation holly wreaths and goes to the movies'. Such appears to have been the case until the early 1950s when the *Gleaner*, Jamaica's principal newspaper, began organising competitions aimed at publically resuscitating the tradition. That this was alive and well in rural areas is testified by a report, published in 1952, by Madeline Kerr. She observed secular dances much in the style of 'Masquerade' seen by Edith Clarke some twenty-five years earlier.⁸¹ This was the era in which mass migration from Jamaica to Britain was gaining rapid momentum and, therefore, is an appropriate point at which to close this survey of the festival's development.

Having considered the evolution of Jonkonnu in Jamaica, and its relation to aspects of other festivals in the English-speaking Caribbean, this analysis provides a necessary focal point for comparison with the development of the most sophisticated of all the calendar festivals in the region: Trinidad Carnival.

In direct relation to the island's cosmopolitan history, Carnival in Trinidad provides the most comprehensive example of the formation of an open cumulative social institution of the type under consideration. This includes the evolution of its popular song form, known since 1900 as calypso, which in itself has exerted a widespread influence throughout the English-speaking world, and beyond. These Trinidad developments are, therefore, the subject of the next chapter.

- 1 Bibliographical details can be found in Appendix 1.
- 2 Bibliographical details can be found in Appendix 4.
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- 4 Day, *Five Years*, Vol.I, p.314 has the Trinidad Carnival description.
- 5..F.W.N. Bayley, *Four Years' Residence In The West Indies*, London, William Kidd, 1833, pp.479-482.
- 6 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.248-249 (Sample No.70, Appendix 1); op.cit. p.277.
- 7 Day, op.cit., Vol.2, p.123; J.H. Collens, *A Guide To Trinidad*, 2nd ed., London, Elliot Stock, 1888, p.47.
- 8 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., p.277; Bayley, op.cit., p.439.
- 9 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., p.318 (Sample No.9, Appendix 1).
- 10 ibid., p.83 (Sample Nos.32 and 33, Appendix 1).
- 11 anon., *Marly*, p.46, in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.53.
- 12 Carmichael, op.cit., Vol.I, p.293 (Sample No.48, Appendix 1).
- 13 anon. (John Brumell), *British Guiana After Fifteen Years of Freedom*, London, T. Bosworth, 1853, p.41; Rev. J.S. Scholes, *Sketches of African and Indian Life in British Guiana*, Demarara, 1885, p.31.
- 14 B.W. Higman, 'Slavery Remembered: The Celebration of Emancipation in Jamaica', *Journal of Caribbean History*, Vol.12, 1979, pp.55-74; Bridget Brereton, 'The Birthday of Our Race: A Social History of Emancipation Day in Trinidad 1838-88', in B.W. Higman, ed., *Trade Government and Society in Caribbean History 1700-1920*, London, Heinemann, 1983, pp.69-83.
- 15 Higman, 'Slavery', p.56.
- 16 Thomas Young, op.cit., pp.131-133.
- 17 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.241-243 (Sample No.68, Appendix 1).
- 18 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.295-296 (Sample No.23, Appendix 1); and pp.245-246.
- 19 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., p.317 (Sample No.80, Appendix 1).
- 20 Daniel J. Crowley, 'La Rose and La Marguerite Societies In St. Lucia', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.71, No.282, Oct-Dec 1958., pp.541-542.
- 21 Henry H. Breen, *St. Lucia: Historical, Statistical and Descriptive*, London, Frank Cass, 1970 (first published London, 1844), pp.190-200, 202-203.
- 22 The same description is in Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.263-268, 84-85.
- 23 Breen, op.cit., pp.196-197; and Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.265-266 (Sample Nos. 40 and 41, Appendix 1).

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- 24 Breen, op.cit., p.191.
- 25 'Calendrier Des Coutumes', [Guadeloupe and Martinique] *Parellèles*, No.31, 1969 - Fêtes Patronales', p.64; 'Patronal Feasts', p.65.
- 26 Michael M. Horowitz, *Morne-Paysan: Peasant Village in Martinique*, New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967, pp.83-85.
- 27 Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.313-317 (Sample No. 83, Appendix 1).
- 28 The full text is in Day, Vol.I, pp.85-87.
- 29 Alfred M. Williams, op.cit., p.117.
- 30 Dorothy Harding, 'Mystery Plays in the West Indies', *Wide World Magazine*, Vol.VII, No.38, May 1901, pp.189-191.
- 31 Errol Hill, 'Traditional Figures In Carnival: Their Preservation, Development And Interpretation', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.31, No.2, June 1985, p.30; *Mirror* 27 February 1900, p.10; 7 March 1905, p.13; D.E.R., 'Carnival - Then & Now', *Clarion*, February 1954, p.3; *Trinidad Carnival*, 1988, plate 8, following p.132, and Nunley and Bettelheim, op.cit., fig.68, p.93; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', p.198.
- 32 Beckwith, 'Christmas Mumming', in her *Jamaica Folklore*, pp.48-49; *ibid* and plate 6, preceding article.
- 33 *Daily Argosy*, 5 January 1936, p.7; Nunley and Bettelheim, op.cit., fig. 20, p.44; Judith Bettelheim, 'Jamaican Jonkonnu And Related Caribbean Festivals', in Crahan and Knight, eds., op.cit., p.89; Roger D. Abrahams, 'The Cowboy in the British West Indies', in Mody C. Boatright, Wilson M. Hudson and Allen Maxwell, eds., *A Good Tale And A Bonny Tune*, Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1964, p.170; Frank L. Mills, S.B. Jones-Hendrickson, Bertram Eugene, *Christmas Sports In St. Kitts-Nevis: Our Neglected Heritage*, [Fredricksted VI, Eastern Caribbean Institute, 1984], pp.47-48.
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- 35 'H.M. the Queen vs. Augustus Girod' [13th March 1846], *POSG* 17 March 1846, p.2.
- 36 See: for example, Howard Johnson, 'Barbadian Immigrants in Trinidad 1870-1897', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol.13, No.3, October 1973, pp.5-30; and Marianne D. Ramesar, 'Patterns of Regional Settlement and Economic Activity by Immigrant Groups in Trinidad: 1851-1900', *Social And Economic Studies*, Vol.25, No.3, 1976, pp.187-215.
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47 For the sake of brevity the quotations of word meanings are from the *Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*. The Jonkonnu descriptions are in Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., p.233 (anon., 1797); p.236 (Scott); p.241 (Lewis); and Belisario, No.1, sketches 3 and 4, 1837. For a fuller discussion of *Jack-Pudding* and *Merry-Andrew* in Britain see Sandra Billington, *A Social History of the Fool*, Brighton, Harvester Press, 1984.

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63 Higman, 'Slavery Remembered', op.cit., p.59.

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65 Higman, 'Slavery Remembered', op.cit., pp.59-60.

66 *POSG*, 14/2/1857, p.3.

67 Higman, 'Slavery Remembered', op.cit., pp.60-62, 71. For further background on 'Bruckins' see Ryman, 'Jamaican Heritage', p.8; Adina Henry, 'Bruckins Party', *Jamaica Journal*, Vol.17, No.3, August-October 1984, p.25; Olive Lewin, 'Emancipation Songs and Festivities', *Jamaica Journal*, Vol.17, No.3, August-October 1984, pp.18-21, 23; Carty, op.cit., pp.58-63.

68 Higman, 'Slavery Remembered', op.cit., p.60; Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.271-272.

69 Higman, 'Slavery Remembered', op.cit., pp.61-62.

70 Szwed and Abrahams, op.cit., Vol.II, p.446.

71 Frank Cundall, *Jamaica In 1905*, Kingston, The Gleaner Co. Ltd., 1905, p.30; H.G. De Lisser, op.cit., pp.105-106; Jekyll, op.cit., pp.262-263; 259-260.

72 Sources consulted: (i) *Tea Meetings* - Beckwith, 'Folk Games', pp.6-7; *Jamaica Folk-Lore*, 'Addenda' to 'Folk Games', pp.93-95 (Tea Meeting Songs); *Black Roadways*, p.192, 204; Claude McKay, *Banana Bottom*, New York, Harper & Row, 1933, pp.48-86 (fictional account of a 'Tea Meeting', on Emancipation Day, early 1900s); (ii) *Jonkonnu* - Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings'; Roberts, 'Some Drums'; 'A Study of Folk Song Variants', p.150, 168-169, 193, 205, 207, 210-212; E.A. Clarke, op.cit.; Beckwith, *Jamaica Folk-Lore* 'Addenda' to 'Christmas Mummings', pp.47-67; *Black Roadways*, pp.149-156; Edward Pilkington, *Beyond The Mother Country*, London, I.B. Tauris, 1988, p.13 (Jonkonnu on Emancipation Day, late 1920s, from unpublished memoirs of George Spence).

73 Lewin, 'Folk Music of Jamaica', op.cit., p.68; Ryman, 'Jamaican Heritage', p.8, 13.

74 Beckwith, 'Folk Games', pp.6-7; *Jamaica Folk-Lore*, 'Addenda' to 'Folk Games', pp.93-95; *Black Roadways*, p.192, 204. Balls and feasts in the Set-Girl era: Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.251-252 (Williams); Belisario, No.1, the notes following sketch 2. Abrahams notes differences between Tea Meetings in Jamaica and elsewhere in the English-speaking West Indies: Abrahams 'West Indian Tea Meeting', p.186. His article places these events in the wider perspective of black-English-speaking West Indian culture in general.

75 Beckwith, *Jamaica Folk-Lore*, 'Addenda' to 'Christmas Mummings', p.50.

76 Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', p.9, 17.

77 *ibid.*, pp.17-18; Roberts, 'A Study of Folk Song Variants', p.150, 193.

78 Leslie Thompson, *Leslie Thompson: An Autobiography as told to Jeffrey P. Green*, Crawley, Rabbit Press, 1985, p.19.

79 Spence's unpublished memoirs quoted in Pilkington, op.cit., p.13. For the Bahamas, *supra* fn.56.

80 On Hurston's trip to Jamaica see Robert E. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1977, pp.227-230; and Hurston's *Tell My Horse*, pp.13-81. The Curry Goat Feed is described pp.22-25; the wedding, pp.23-27. Martha Warren Beckwith also describes wedding ceremonies in her 'Folk Games', pp.7-8. On Jonkonnu, Hurston's description in *Tell My Horse* is on pp.39-40.

81 Wright, op.cit., p.247; on the *Gleaner's* competitions, Calvin Bowen, 'Jamaica's John Canoe', *Caribbean Commission Monthly Information Bulletin*, Vol.8, No.1, August 1954,

pp.10-12; Madeline Kerr, *Personality And Conflict In Jamaica*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1952, pp.143-144; Edith Clarke was involved in the direction of Madeline Kerr's research, p.xii.

IV CARNIVAL AND SECULAR BLACK MUSIC IN TRINIDAD - 1783-1869

1 A Symptomatic Framework For Carnival And Black Music

(i) Historical background

Discovered by Columbus in 1498 (he respectfully named the island for the Christian Holy Trinity), Trinidad was ruled by Spain for virtually 300 years. In this time, it remained one of her most 'underdeveloped' American possessions. Only in the 1770s, with the 'Bourbon reforms' of Charles III - designed to rejuvenate flagging colonial efficiency - did the Spanish crown pay attention to this thinly-populated, almost uncultivated, Caribbean island. A *Cédula* issued by the Spanish monarch in 1776, highlighted the island's neglected state. With no European Spaniards available for emigration, it invited West Indian French Catholics to settle in Trinidad, and was aimed at many who were dissatisfied with Britain's takeover of French-speaking islands such as Dominica, Grenada and St Vincent. Planters were encouraged by land grants to set up agricultural units under their own management and to transfer slaves in quantity to work on these estates.

Influenced by France but also set on maintaining Spanish control and the Roman Catholic faith in his American colonies, Charles III extended this provision in 1783 by issuing a further *Cédula de Población*. This allowed any Catholic to settle in Trinidad providing he agreed to stipulated immigration conditions, including a loyalty oath to the Spanish crown.

At this point, the island's population was very small. It comprised Spanish- and French-speaking whites, coloureds, black slaves, and the remnants of the Native American community, whose forebears had inhabited Iere (their name for the island) at the time of its discovery by Columbus.

Over the next fourteen years, due to the political conditions in the Caribbean, a great number of French planters grasped the opportunity to settle in Trinidad, bringing

their slaves with them, and escaping the maraudings of the British in the Napoleonic wars. In consequence, when Britain took Trinidad itself in 1797, there was a significantly French-speaking and mainly Creole population. The French whites had established themselves as a landed aristocracy and, using the labour of their black slaves, had created flourishing plantations growing tobacco, sugar, cotton and coffee.

A large and speedy increase in population followed this 'capitulation', with migrants coming in particular from the Spanish Main, North America, Africa and the British West Indian islands. There was also some French emigration. Despite this, the French community remained in control of the island's economic core and, thus, were able to stamp their cultural characteristics on its development, including Carnival.¹

With virtually all of the early slave population having 'been born in the French islands', black culture also reflected this African-French-Caribbean bias, including the establishment of patois (Caribbean French Creole) as a lingua franca.

The arrival of new slaves did not change this pattern for, as B.W. Higman notes 'distinct African ethnic/tribal groups lost their identity almost immediately as a result of extensive intermarriage.' Even those who did manage to preserve some reflection of their African past would have come under this African-French-Caribbean influence, which was also the heritage of the free coloured community.²

This unusual French character of late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Trinidad was observed throughout the period, and later. Thus, in his important memorandum to the Colonial Office on the 'History of the origin of the Carnival' (1881), L.M. Fraser notes 'that in an island which never belonged to France even for a single day the French element...largely predominates.'³ In order, therefore, to understand the place of Carnival in Trinidad society, the origins and traditions of Carnival in southern Europe must be taken into account, as well as the African masquerade tradition, and their creole blending in the Caribbean.

(ii) An interpretation of Christmas and Carnival

The general assumption on the origin of Carnival in Europe, founded on the work of J.G.Fraser, has been that it is based on the New Year Roman festival of the Kalends of January, described in Chapter II. As has been mentioned, such end-of-the-year and new year pre-Christian festivals (including the Kalends) were adopted by the Catholic church - witness the days of Christian celebration between All Souls Day (2 November) and Candlemas (2 February). The Christmas festival is sometimes said to extend across this period and, by some, even to the time of Shrovetide. The Carnival, held at this point, marks the division between indulgence and abstinence, signalled by Lent in the Christian calendar. More often than not, in early modern Europe the festive season was sustained until Shrove Tuesday (when sins were shriven, or confessed). The Spanish adopted this time scale and it was maintained by the eighteenth-century French settlers in Trinidad.⁴

Although he accepts that 'no Carnival was like any other Carnival', Peter Burke's discussion of the place of such festivities in early modern Europe points up common elements in these celebrations. Burke identifies four 'less formally structured events which went on intermittently throughout the carnival season' -

- (i) eating/feasting
- (ii) drinking
- (iii) singing and dancing in the streets
- (iv) masks and fancy dress: including 'men dressed as women, women as men' and popular costumes depicting 'clerics, devils, fools, wild men, and wild animals.'

Additionally, he distinguishes three more elements which usually occurred in the Carnivals themselves:

- (i) a procession with floats carrying individuals dressed as mythical figures
- (ii) popular competitions (often of an aggressive nature)
- (iii) the performance of some kind of play, normally in farce.

Underlying these were three major themes, both real and symbolic in their enactment: 'food, sex and violence.' The last named included the license of verbal

aggression, where 'maskers were allowed to insult individuals [and] to criticise the authorities.'⁵

If these elements were usual throughout the Carnival period and, in particular, at the Shrovetide event itself, the reasons for their seasonal occurrence must be examined. Perhaps the most satisfactory explanation for the focal point of festivals when 'the world is turned up upside down' is the *rites de passage* model conceived by the French folklorist Arnold van Gennep to describe the key ceremonial stages in the life of an individual or individuals. Each rite is delineated by three phases (sometimes not in this order):

- (i) preliminal (separation from what went before)
- (ii) liminal (threshold)
- (iii) post liminal (aggregation into the new state).

In the case of Carnival, these are paralleled by three types of ritual behaviour: 'masquerade, role reversal and formalities.' These rituals can be seen to operate as a series of binary opposites. As has been pointed out, Shrovetide is the opposite of austere Lent in the Christian calendar, and its rituals can be said to be antithetical both to the spiritual values of Christianity and its Lenten period of rigorous fasting. The reasons Carnival or other similar seasonal rites should have been and continue to be such a focal point for communal 'misrule' are perhaps not so easily defined for, as Peter Burke points out, 'What is clear is that Carnival was polysemous, meaning different things to different people.'⁶

The functionalist view of Carnival is that it serves as a safety valve in a politically repressive society - in other words, it is a part of a system of social control. On the surface, and in given circumstances, this argument seems to provide the most satisfactory explanation. Carnival was probably allowed on these grounds by hierarchies in early modern Europe and it appears that in the West Indies the ruling white elite took a similar attitude. As has been shown, Jonkonnu, the elaborate Christmas Carnival in Jamaica, was supported for this purpose only until the immediate post-Emancipation period. Others, however, saw Carnival as a time when social change might be effected or at the very least, influenced. For early modern Europe this has been demonstrated by Emmanuel Roy

Ladurie, and Robert Dirks has made a case for the ritual expression of conflict in British West Indian slave plantations at Christmas, a period he calls the 'Black Saturnalia'. Needless to say, Dirks views pre-Emancipation Jonkonnu in Jamaica in this light. Roger D. Abrahams and Richard Bauman express another view of such festivities, based on studies of two differing twentieth-century communities - the West Indian island of St. Vincent [Carnival] and the Le Harve Islands, Nova Scotia [Christmas belsnickling (mumming)]. They observe that:

'far from constituting events that have hostility and conflict as their organising principle, carnival and belsnickling appear to us to draw together opposing elements in the two societies in which they occur, and to draw them together more closely and harmoniously than at any time in the year.'⁷

St Vincent, British prior to its Independence, is one of the islands in the Caribbean that was at one time ruled by the French. In this respect, Roger D. Abrahams has examined the traditional black festive celebrations in the English-speaking Caribbean, contrasting those territories which were greatly influenced by Roman Catholic perceptions and those where Protestantism was the principal Christian religious model. His observations provide a background not only to the events described in the previous chapter but also to the place of Christmas and Carnival in Trinidad.

He notes in his study of the two festivals in St Vincent:

'In the eastern Caribbean where there was little influence from the Catholic (French and Spanish) islands, Christmas was the traditional time of freedom and licence for the slaves - so much so that their other major holiday, Easter, was called "Pickininny Christmas". Thus on islands like Jamaica, Nevis, St Kitts, Antigua, and Barbados, the formal and licentious types of ceremonies were commingled in the observation of the Christmas season, though revelry certainly was the more important activity. In the more southern islands, most of which were at some time under French rule, Carnival is also played, thus creating the situation where motives of formality and decorousness could be attached to one celebration, "nonsense" and revelry the other.'⁸

These 'polysemous', but interrelated, approaches to the interpretation of carnivalesque in the English-speaking Caribbean will be demonstrated by examining the history of the largest and most influential of these festivals in the region, Trinidad Carnival.⁹

A reliable basis for understanding the development of Carnival and its relationship to the evolution of black music in Trinidad can be found in the work of Andrew Pearse.

The structure of his analyses, therefore, will be identified prior to discussing aspects of these evolutions in chronological perspective.

(iii) Carnival in historical context

Pearse divides his survey of 'Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad' into four periods that classify dynamic changes in Trinidad society and their relationship to the annual Carnival as the century progressed. Commencing with the *Cédula de Población*, the periods are:

The Planters Carnival	[1783 - 1833]
The Post Emancipation Carnival	[1834 - 1869]
The Jamette Carnival	[1870 - 1890s]
The Incorporated Carnival	[1890s -] ¹⁰

The reason for the first two of these designations are self explanatory, the other two will be defined subsequently. It must be noted, however, that while there is a good case for starting the Post Emancipation period in 1834, an equally strong argument exists for signalling its commencement in 1839; an adjustment that has been made for this study. In addition the year for the beginning of the 'Incorporated Carnival' has been pinpointed as 1897.

(iv) Music and social institutions

The African Creole music defined by Pearse in 1955 can be grouped into three principal (though not exclusive) categories, indicating cultural forms, kinds of music, and institutions in which they are contained: Table XXII, Categories of African-Creole Music in Trinidad.

Used in conjunction with Tables VI and VIII, this abstraction from Pearse's findings provides a measure against which the development of black music in Trinidad can be gauged. The evolution of the *Belair* and *Kalenda* drum dances has been described

previously. Mention has been made also of some of the other kinds of music in this listing that can be traced by name and, or occasionally by function, to the nineteenth century, if not before. As Pearse explains, the dynamics of each social institution have shaped the way in which each of these kinds of music have evolved, or have sometimes been displaced. Some of these developments are in the historical record, and where they have been traced and impinge on the evolution of Carnival and Carnival music, they will be identified in this and the next three chapters.

2. The Planters Carnival And Other Events 1783-1838

In his discussion on the evolution of the Carnival, Andrew Pearse points out that because there is no concrete evidence for the existence of an annual Shrovetide festival before the influx of French Creole planters with their slaves, 1783 is a convenient neutral starting point for considering the development of the celebration.

Writing of Trinidad in this period, leading up to and including the 'capitulation', Pierre Gustave-Louis Borde paints a picture of the social whirl of the white plantation elite:

'The pleasures of meals at the dining table and picnics were added to those of music and dancing. There followed nothing but concerts and balls. There were lunches and dinners, hunting parties and expeditions on the river, as well as Carnival which lasted from Christmas time until Ash Wednesday. It was nothing but a long period of feasts and pleasures. Naturally all these amusements were held in an atmosphere of general gaiety, and each one made a special effort to display a spirit of amiability.'

Borde also notes that free 'blacks and people of colour formed themselves into a second society on parallel lines' who celebrated the same 'customs and manners' as the white plantocracy.¹¹

While, as Pearse indicates this may reflect a rather romanticised view of the times, Borde's description of 'nothing but concerts and balls' conforms with the type of divertissements enjoyed by the white and quadroon [coloured] French Creole population during a similar period in another of their enclaves in the New World: New Orleans, Louisiana. Carnival, also was a principal feature of New Orleans society at this time, and balls were held most frequently between Twelfth Night and Shrove Tuesday.¹²

In New Orleans, also, there is evidence for participation by blacks in Carnival from the early 1800s. Black fiddle players are noted as a feature of the public Carnival balls in 1802. A *bamboula* and *contre-danse* performed side by side by two groups of blacks (by inference, slaves) are reported on Carnival Tuesday (Mardi Gras) 3 March 1808.¹³

Such direct slave activity during the Carnival, especially dancing *en masse*, does not appear to have been the case in Trinidad in this era, at least after the takeover of the island by the British in 1797. The latter endeavoured to impose the system of popular control they had developed in their Protestant-orientated islands. In this, as has been shown, Christmas-New Year was the primary time allowed for slave revelry. An extended period of celebration, lasting until Shrovetide, was not part of this pattern, especially with regard to either free, or enslaved blacks. The British treated free blacks and 'people of colour' as a threat both to themselves and their authority over the black slave community. They, therefore, endeavoured to impose constraints on the former, to emphasise an inferior view of their social position. Thus, as Andrew Pearse points out, while 'Carnival was an important institution for whites and free coloureds, especially in the towns' prior to Britain's conquest of Trinidad, their communal involvement was changed gradually from the time of the 'capitulation'. Firstly, there was progressive discrimination against the free coloureds, and secondly there was an endeavour to emphasise Christmas over and above the celebration of Carnival.¹⁴ In the long term, the latter endeavour did not succeed, but in this early period of Trinidad's existence as a British colony, it was one of a number of different, quite often contradictory pressures, that soon became apparent in this cosmopolitan island. By virtue of the differing traditions represented in its make-up - various strands of European, African and creole-American cultures, to which were later added attitudes from the Orient - the complexity of the island's population ensured that there were a multitude of social ideals, some working in opposition to one another, and some in general accord.

As in other Caribbean islands, black slaves were quick to recognise any weakness in the white social order that might be exploited to their advantage, and this included the

celebration of Christmas. According to one report, 'noise, mirth, revelry and inebriety' were a prime feature of white society at this season.¹⁵ It is probably not surprising, therefore, that one of the principal so-called slave revolts, in Trinidad's very short period as a slave colony, took place just prior to Christmas 1805.

The Shand Estate Revolt, Christmas 1805

Writing in 1838, the Trinidad historian E.L. Joseph summarised succinctly the general facts surrounding this supposed revolt and pointed out 'the principal evidence in the case' came from 'a mad woman!' The Governor and planters, however, were convinced of the authenticity of the plot to murder 'all the whites and free coloured inhabitants'.

Joseph reported:

'Towards the end of the year, namely, in December, a plot, or something resembling one, was discovered, or believed to be discovered, among the negroes of Trinidad. A revolt was to have commenced on Shand's estate. The conspirators, it is said, meditated the destruction of all the white men, and the dishonour of all the white women of the island. It seemed to have originated with some French and African negroes. I have inspected the papers of the courts-martial held on these people, and fully believe that their *judges* were convinced of their guilt. The result was, four slaves were executed, many were disgustingly mutilated, and a few were ordered to be flogged and banished.'¹⁶

The importance of the event in this analysis is not simply that, before it was apprehended, the supposed uprising was to have taken place on Christmas Day but also the way in which black slaves had organised themselves in the island at that time.

Slave 'societies for the purpose of *dancing* and *innocent amusement*' were common throughout the island. They were known generally as *Convois* but had recently adopted the name *Regiments*, each having a distinguishing name and location. L.M. Fraser notes, in the first of his two volume history of Trinidad, that they were concentrated 'especially in Maraval, Diego Martin and Carenage (districts which were chiefly inhabited by French settlers)'.

According to the 'Minutes of His Majesty's Council' held in Trinidad on 20 December 1805, four of the *Regiments*, based chiefly in Carenage, were principals in the

'plot'. These were: the *Cocorite* (probably Cockerels) from Port of Spain and its environs; the *Macacque* (Monkey) from Carenage; the *St. George* with branches in Carenage and Port of Spain; and the *Sans-peur* (Dreadnoughts), again with branches in Carenage and Port of Spain. In addition, a list of those punished, or to be punished, published in the *Barbados Mercury and Bridgetown Gazette* (1 February 1806) shows that the *Regiment Danois* (Danish, known also as *Marine*), were also implicated in the supposed evidence. Other similar societies mentioned in this report were the *Guadaloupe*, *La Fantasia* (Fancy) and the *Martinique*. Some of these names probably reflect the islands of origin for the slaves. The 'Danish Regiment', for instance, is likely to have been founded by blacks transported from St. Thomas, or St. Croix.

The *Regiments* were organised hierarchically. In addition to ordinary members, the *Barbados Mercury* identifies some seventeen different officials, including 'royal' leadership by Kings, Queens and a Dauphin (or Prince), 'royal' households, and political, legal and military personnel - Ambassadors, a Prime Minister, Grand Judges, an Admiral, Colonels, Generals, Majors, Alguazils (police), etc.

Fraser qualifies dramatically the background to these societies and their function:

'As these associations could not exist unnoticed, they had an avowed object harmless enough in a political sense, though scarcely so from a moral point of view. They professed merely for indulgence in those dances of which the African races are so inordinately fond. The witnesses stated, probably with truth, that by far the greater number of the members of these Bands were kept in entire ignorance of their real object. If, however, the rest of their statements were correct, the chiefs had formed a diabolical plot which, had it not been most opportunely discovered, would have formed a terrible epoch in the history of the Colony.'

Joseph, however, referring to a pamphlet by G. Dickson, seems to have thought it most likely that the blacks 'only meant to have one of their African dances', pointing out how readily this would 'be understood by those acquainted with the manner of our West India slaves of the period'.¹⁷

In many respects this 'manner' has been described in previous chapters of this study. Hierarchical groups (usually elected), that functioned in carnivalesque parades and gatherings, involving dressing, singing and dancing, as well as marching to music, were common throughout the English-speaking West Indies in both the slavery- and post-slavery

periods. In the historical record these groups had widespread distribution. They have their parallels in the black 'Kings and Governors' of election days in eighteenth-century New England, and the annually elected 'King of the Zulus' in New Orleans Mardi Gras parades in the United States, as well as West Indian examples demonstrated in Chapter III, and others from Latin America not considered here.¹⁸

Flags and uniforms (probably cast-offs from the European military) were part of the paraphernalia of the Trinidad groups in 1805. They used these both as symbols of parody and of power. With the same purpose they also adopted and adapted aspects of Christian religious rituals and allied them to religious and magical perceptions that had their origin in Africa.

It was a song in this vein, said to have been 'in common use amongst the labourers for some months previous to the detection of the plot' that was the most significant evidence in the case brought against these dancing societies. Sung in French Creole, it had the recent and significantly successful slave rebellion in San Domingo and the Christian sacrament as its theme. One couplet and its refrain are reported by Frazer. It is probably the earliest song that can be dated specifically in the history of Trinidad music.

*'Pain nous ka mangé
C'est viande beké*

'The bread we eat
Is the white man's flesh

*Di vin nous ka bone
C'est sang beké*

The wine we drink
Is the white man's blood

*Hé, St Domingo,
songé St Domingo'*

Hé St Domingo, remember St
Domingo'

As far as Fraser was concerned:

'there was little difficulty in understanding these allusions, and their connection with the plot was rendered equally clear by the evidence of other witnesses who stated that four times in each year the adepts of the society went through a profane and blasphemous parody of the Christian Sacrament, when the Grand Judge administered bread and wine to them with this exhortation:

*"Songé, pain z'autes ka mangé, c'est viande beké; di vin z'autes ka boué
c'est sang beké".*

"Remember, the bread you are eating is white man's flesh; the wine you are drinking is white man's blood".

While the latter almost certainly signifies a religious, as well as a recreational function for these institutions at that time, it is not absolute proof of rebellious intent. The

song and ceremony might be seen as an imitative homage to the Christian religious sacrament. This seems unlikely, however, in the light of the magical powers ascribed to one of those executed, King Sampson, of the *Regiment Macaque*. He reportedly appeared an old and foolish African, of Ibo descent, but had a hidden reputation as a powerful obeahman.

Membership of these black dancing societies was spread between separate and mixed groups whose creole origin had been elsewhere in the Caribbean - for example, Martinique, Guadeloupe, or Grenada. Participants also included slaves who had arrived in Trinidad direct from Africa, and free blacks. Many members were given titles (and, presumably, functions) and there were structured ceremonial and disciplinary formalities.¹⁹

The main purpose of these organisations was probably that described by Borde, regarding 'feasts and rejoicings' by slaves in Trinidad at the time of the 'capitulation'.

'On Saturday evenings and on Sundays after Mass, they gave vent to their passions for dancing and music. For long hours and without rest they performed the dances called the *calinda*, and the *jhouba*, which had come down from their ancestors, and also the dance *bel air* which was their own invention. All these were carried out to the sound of their voices and the African drum'.²⁰

As has been shown in Chapters II and III this fits the general pattern for the Caribbean as a whole, and the French-speaking West Indies in particular.

It is almost certainly via the latter tradition that a direct rapport between black songsters and their white masters was fostered in Trinidad. This is apparent in the oral history stories and songs relating to improvisatory singers employed by, among others, the influential French Creole planter St.Hilaire Begorrat. He had come to Trinidad from Martinique in 1784 and his attitudes symptomised a singular love-hate relationship between slave and master. He sustained particular black chantwells, or lead singers, for their skill at spontaneous composition, but was also instrumental in meting out macabre punishments to slaves who were believed to have transgressed. Begorrat was heavily involved in the 1805 trial and the mutilations inflicted on those found guilty. His knowledge of black culture meant that he was very familiar with the way in which blacks organised their

dancing societies and the motives that underlay their music. For him, it appears, fear was the principal means of maintaining control over the slave community.²¹

The laws in Trinidad governing the holding of dances by both free coloureds and slaves in this pre-Emancipation period require further research. It is possible, however, to give an indication as to how such events were regulated and dancing societies etc., kept under general supervision.

Spanish law remained in operation in Trinidad until the 1830s, but Police Regulations, published two, or three months, after the British took the island strictly controlled dancing activities in the free coloured and slave communities. In essence, for coloureds to hold dances, entertainments or wakes after eight o'clock at night required a permit; slaves were allowed to dance, where licenced, only until eight o'clock at night.

Further regulation followed in 1801, with the 'prohibition of negro dances in towns', and from 1807, it appears that 'people of colour' were permitted to 'hold balls and assemblies subject to a donation to paupers of 16 dollars'.²²

Andrew Pearse reports an even more stringent discriminatory control over the free coloureds which was known (presumably euphemistically) as the 'Fandango licence'. Dating, perhaps, from the same time, or possibly later in the era, this required '"any free coloured proprietor wishing to give a dancing party in the night" to "first obtain permission to do so from the Commandant of the Quarter" and at the same time they were "forbidden under penalty of a fine of \$25 to admit any slave to the party"'.²³

Christmas and Carnival 1810s - 1820s

While it is difficult to overemphasise the harsh regime of slavery and the persecution of the free coloureds (once the British began to use them as scapegoats for their policy towards blacks in general), this does not mean that controls were not exerted on whites and their forms of entertainment.

Probably from the establishment of the Militia, by proclamation on 29 November 1800, it was general practice to declare Martial Law at Christmas, although the earliest

reference traced in this research dates from 1806. It states, however, 'The usual Martial Law at the end of the year proclaimed, 20th December 1806, to last till 6th January 1807'.

One of the reasons for the introduction of Martial Law at this point in the calendar has been indicated already - control of the abandon of the white community. In addition to 'noise, mirth, revelry and inebrity' at this season a further serious problem became that of honour between aggrieved parties and consequent death, or serious injury, by duelling.

Before the appointment of Sir Ralph Woodford as Governor (he took up the post on 14 June 1813), duelling was commonplace in Trinidad. E.L. Joseph reports that at one time every strata of society was affected and notes a case involving a house slave. Woodford determined to scourge the island of this 'pernicious custom' and 'used his own almost unlimited power and the severe enactments of the Spanish laws against duellists'. The initial effect of this was to concentrate such encounters in the Christmas Martial Law period, when Civil Courts were closed. Service in the Militia was compulsory at this time and, to some extent, this and courts martial limited individual confrontations among whites. In order to control them further, however, Woodford used the Court of Royal Audience (that remained open to him) to punish offenders.²⁴

In the white community, something of the juxtaposition between compulsory military service (including discipline by courts martial) and luxurious ceremony, can be gauged by reports of the 1820 - 1821 Christmas-New Year season. Proclaimed on 23 December 1820, Martial Law was to have terminated on 2 January 1821, but remained in force until the following Monday (8 January). This was because of the 'assembly of the General Court Martial...and the duties which crowded upon it', Woodford advised, in a statement published in the *Trinidad Gazette* of 13 January. In the same period, however, the swearing in of the 'Illustrious Board of the Cabildo' of Port of Spain had taken place with great pomp and circumstance, followed by a Levee at Government House. Subsequently, various companies of the West India Regiment and the Militia were reviewed by the Governor, who provided refreshments for onlookers on these occasions. In addition, he had hosted 'an elegant Ball and entertainment' on *Twelfth Night*. (In this instance, the night of the twelfth day after Christmas).²⁵

By 1824, Woodford's Christmas disciplinary measures had altered considerably the way in which the festival was celebrated. Contrasting past laxity with the present, the *Trinidad Gazette* commented:

'The times since then have changed. The noise, the mirth, the revelry, and the inebrity are now found chiefly among the slaves and lowest orders.'²⁶

The descriptions of slave Christmas festivities in Trinidad published by Mrs Carmichael in 1833 (Table XIX), almost certainly date from this period, and give an indication of the way in which blacks took part in the season's vivacity. Her accounts confirm the pattern of role reversals common in the English-speaking Caribbean. During her first Christmas at Laurel Hill, the plantation where she lived, she was invited to a ball given by slaves from St Vincent, who had recently moved with her and her husband to the new island. The dance was in favour of slaves they had acquired in Trinidad. On Christmas Day afternoon, food, wine and the plantation house kitchen were given over to the slaves. In the evening, Mrs Carmichael visited the dance, where the participants had paid great attention to their dress and decorum; there was no drinking or fighting. Four female singers provided the music, accompanied by a drum, and three women playing shac-shacs.

At a later Christmas she and her husband were awoken at daybreak by a party of their slaves complimenting the season. They quickly arose, dressed and reciprocated, after which several slaves made speeches expressing good wishes. 'Songs and dances followed', she reported; 'the songs of their own composition and full of good wishes for a good crop and good sugar.'

Another feature of Christmas was 'the giving out of the Christmas allowances', described by her as a 'very merry scene'. The slaves floured 'each other's black faces and curly hair' calling out '"look at he white face! and he white wig!"' in fun, but emphasising skin-colour and class role reversals that became a feature of post-Emancipation Carnivals.

There were also Christmas and New Year waits:

'About eleven in the morning, a party of negroes from Paradise, the adjoining estate, came to wish us a good Christmas. They had two fiddlers, whose hats and fiddles were decorated with many-coloured ribbons. They said they wished to come and play good Christmas to the "young misses". They were very nicely dressed, in clean white shirts, trowsers and jackets. We told them to come back and see us on New Year's Day; as we wished now to be quiet, and read the service for Christmas-day. They went away very good-humouredly, and returned on New Year's Day; and pleased and entertained us with their songs and merriment.'

On the evening of Christmas Day the estate slaves partook of a special supper. This was followed by another ball, for which the participants had made special preparation, paying particular attention to dress. Mrs Carmichael again attended:

'The drum and the song were soon distinct: and we shortly reached C's house, where, before her door, a large space was left clear for the dancers, surrounded on three sides by seats of all kinds. The musicians were at one end. They were engaged in a dance of eight persons when we reached the spot; it was similar to a French quadrille, and they were dancing to the air of "Garçon Volage." Each grown person paid C. half a dollar for coming to this dance; and for this they had refreshments and supper....Many dances of all kinds were performed; among the most interesting, a *pas de deux* by the two oldest negroes present - the driver and his wife. During this dance there was the profoundest attention and the deepest silence. The supper took place at a late hour and they danced till sunrise.'

Carmichael goes on to describe the concentrated exertions of the two drummers, noting how much it was 'considered a first-rate accomplishment to beat the drum well,' and complementing this with the playing of the fiddle in Europe.²⁷

The references to French Creole dances in this description sustain the view that the mainstream of black traditions in Trinidad in this period was Franco-African. Another supposed plan for a slave rebellion, discovered in the autumn of 1823, adds weight to this assertion. It confirms black dancing societies, like those identified in 1805, continued to flourish in the same area of Trinidad.

Plans, for what was believed to be a slave insurrection in the plantations between Carenage and Diego Martin, were discovered on 25 October 1823. The revolt was to coincide with the Feast of All Saints (1 November) when the slaves had a holiday. An official inquiry into the circumstances quickly discovered, however, that the sacrifice of a cock and the sprinkling of its blood over the drums, used to provide the music for dancing, were part of an Ibo (or Igbo) ritual of purification. This practice was usual prior to a dance of religious significance. Eight slaves who had been arrested were acquitted of 'intention to revolt'. Judge L.F.C. Johnston found, on 21 November, 'that "various

societies or meetings of slaves for dancing...are referred to [as]... 'Regiments',....synonymously with or for the word 'party' or 'society'...as to be used on the occasion of Dances or Holy days...." The slaves had been overheard talking about a 'regiment' and a revolutionary purpose had been wrongly assumed in their intentions.²⁸

On the basis of circumstantial evidence, however, it may be that a song heard by Mrs Carmichael 'soon after coming to Laurel Hill, and subsequently to the meditated insurrection in Trinidad' has some connection with these events, or at least the same period²⁹:

'I heard some of the young negroes singing, as I thought, rather a singular song. I asked J. to sing it for me; he hesitated and said, "Misses, it no good song." Why do you sing it then? "Cause, misses, it a funny song, and me no mean bad by it." At last I prevailed on J. not only to sing the song (which turned out to be an insurrectionary song), but to explain it. The words are these -

Fire in da mountain,
Nobody for out him,
Take me daddy's bo tick (dandy stick)
And make a monkey out him.

(Chorus):

Poor John! Nobody for out him, &c.

Go to de King's goal,
You'll find a doubloon dey;
Go to de king's goal,
You'll find a doubloon dey.

(Chorus):

Poor John! Nobody for out him, &c.

'The explanation of this song is, that when the bad negroes wanted to do evil, they made for a sign a fire on the hill-sides, to burn down the canes. There is nobody up there, to put out the fire; but as a sort of satire, the song goes on to say, "take me daddy's bo tick", (daddy is a mere term of civility), take some one's dandy stick, and tell the monkeys to help to put out the fire among the canes for John; (meaning John Bull). The chorus means, that poor John has nobody to put out the fire in the canes for him. Then when the canes are burning, go to the goal [*sic*], and seize the money. The tune to which this is sung, is said to be negro music; it is on a minor key, and singularly resembles an incorrect edition of an old Scotch tune, the name of which I do not recollect.'³⁰

This is the second song available that can be dated with any certainty in the history of black Trinidad music and unlike the first (quoted earlier) is in the English language. The interpretation by Mrs Carmichael seems, in part, questionable; for instance 'make a monkey out him', may be idiomatic for foolish (as at present), and it is likely that 'goal' is a misspelling of gaol. It is interesting to note, however, that 'satire' is identified as a

lyrical theme at this point in the history of the music. The reference to the tune being in the minor key is a consistent observation regarding black music in the Americas, as is the possible influence of Scottish music. It is unlikely, however, that a more complete understanding can be reconstructed so long after the period of the song's composition.

The burning of (sugar) canes, in French *cannes brûlées*, in the first verse of this song - whether accidental, or premeditated - serves to introduce another component in the evolution of Trinidad festivals. At the time of a plantation fire, *bandes* from different estates, each with its whip-carrying slave driver, were assembled, by the blaring of horns, to deal with the emergency. The *negres jardins* (or field slaves), who comprised the *bandes*, carried torches (for night-time illumination) and drums (for rhythmic accompaniment to their work songs). 'In such cases', recalled 'X' in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1881, 'the gangs of the neighbouring Estates proceeded alternately, accompanied with torches at night, to the Estate which had suffered, to assist in grinding the burnt cases before they became sour. The work went on night and day until all the canes were manufactured into sugar.'

In addition, the burning of canes from the edges of a rodent-infested field was used 'to trap and kill an entire rat population'. A similar emergency harvest would have been required in these circumstances and this may account for an association of the term 'Canboulay' (the Creole form of the word) with the cane rat, reported in Trinidad in 1912. The same method of working (without the firing of canes) would almost certainly have been adopted at the time of a conventional sugar harvest.³¹ Sometimes the cane stubs were burnt after cutting, both to control pests and fertilise the soil prior to replanting.

Cannes brûlées, therefore, seems to have acquired several meanings, each of which has subsequently become associated with Carnival in certain of the Caribbean islands. All of the meanings probably originated in feasts celebrating the completion of concentrated-manual-cropwork, such as Cropover.³² Almost certainly this relationship with the plantation work cycle is the way in which Canboulay became attached to these Carnival celebrations. It is surprising, however, that in Trinidad, at least, this occurred in the pre-Emancipation era.

Trinidad Carnival at this time, as has been explained, was virtually a prerogative of the white elite. Fraser, in his 1881 memorandum on the origin of the event, provides a good summary of the way in which the festival was celebrated in this period.

'In former days and down to the period of the emancipation of the slaves the Carnival was kept up with much spirit by the upper classes. There are many persons still living who remember the Masked Balls given at St. Ann's by the Governor, Sir Ralph Woodford and also that the leading Members of Society used in the days of the Carnival to drive through the streets of Port of Spain masked, and in the evenings go from house to house which were all thrown open for the occasion.

'It is necessary to observe that in those days the population of the Colony was divided into the following categories, whites, free persons of Colour, Indians and Slaves.

* * * *

'The free persons of Colour were subjected to very stringent Regulations and although not forbidden to mask, were yet compelled to keep to themselves and never presume to join in the amusements of the privileged class. The Indians kept entirely aloof, and the slaves, except as onlookers ... or by special favour when required to take part had no share in the Carnival which was confined exclusively to the upper class of the community.'³³

With these entrenched positions of race and class, it is not surprising, therefore, that in the upside-down world of Carnival the white elite chose to enact a parody in masquerade of the procedures for *cannes brûlées* that they enforced on their black slaves. Thus, 'X', writing in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1881, noted that in the days when 'the elite of our society took an active part in the carnival. The favourite costume of our mothers and grandmothers was the graceful and costly one of the "Mulatresse" of the time, whilst the gentlemen adopted that of the "Negre de Jardin" or in creole *Négue jadin*, that is to say, the costume of the field labourers...' He also recalled that 'These pretended *Négues jadin* were wont to unite in *bandes* representing the gangs of different Estates, and with torches and drums to represent what did actually take place in the cane districts when a fire occurred on the plantations.'

Further particulars are in a letter written by Censor to the *Trinidad Chronicle* a few days earlier. They were obtained from an old man who remembered 'Canboulay was played [in the streets?] during slavery by many members of the middle and in some cases the upper classes'. He noted 'that it was intended to "take off" slave life on a plantation,

and hence' the masquerade included 'the driver with a whip pretending to drive the people before him to extinguish a night-fire in the cane-piece' and 'the slaves tramping in time and singing a rude refrain, to a small negro-drum and carrying torches to light their way along the road'.

Later in the letter, the writer emphasised the old man's recollection that the masqueraders 'came from the principal houses of the Town in an orderly way, bent on amusing themselves in a harmless manner and at the same time amusing others; in fact', he states that 'the whole thing was done as a lark to laugh over afterwards. It was a laughable burlesque, and the performers respectable people....'

Alongside these enactments, as had been stated in Chapter II, 'X' also reported that the white elite similarly chose to perform black drum dances during the Carnival, such as the *bamboula*, *belair*, *calinda* and *ghouba*.³⁴

The imitation by whites, in symbolic inversion, of activities by their black slaves was, however, only one feature of the masquerades during the Carnival season. In parallel with New Orleans (where, interestingly, duelling was also common), there were numerous masked balls and other entertainments. The latter would probably have included the puppetry of Jack Bowell, a slave whose escape in January 1826 was advertised in the *Port of Spain Gazette* early in February, the Carnival season. Bowell, Andrew Pearse discovered, was remembered in oral history sources.³⁵ Theatrical performances, under the Governor's licence and patronage, seem also to have become popular in the 1820s. Dramas were staged during the Carnival period, such as 'The Tragedy of the Orphan' followed by 'the French FARCE of "George Daudin"' advertised for performance at the Amateur Theatre, St. James Street, on 21 February, 1827. In the event 'Masking and all other Public Entertainments' were cancelled that year, on news reaching Trinidad of the death of Frederick, Duke of York, in Britain on 5 January. The Carnival, however, was not abandoned altogether and was allowed by Sir Ralph Woodford to take place later in the year, at Easter. A notice published by the Police Office in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 4 April reads:

THE Public having been deprived of their usual Entertainment at the Carnival, in consequence of the late General Mourning, MASKING will be permitted on Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday, under the usual Regulations.

It is signed by the Chief of Police, James Meany.

The source for these powers was probably Spanish Law. The statutes operating in Trinidad had been translated into English by Judge Lewis F.C. Johnston in 1825; he dedicated his work to Sir Ralph Woodford. Johnston's translation, for example, specifies under 'MASKS' that:

Plebeians are prohibited with masks under pain of one hundred stripes; and nobles under pain of banishment or transportation for six months; and it being in the night time, the punishment is doubled.

This, the 1827 Carnival notices, and the Governor's authority in the same year for the staging of 'The Tragedy of the Orphan', etc. at the Amateur Theatre, show that the white elite's participation in such activities was strictly controlled in the pre-Emancipation period; a point that has not usually been identified in discussions of this subject.³⁶

The effect of these controls, however, do not appear to have muted the celebration of Carnival by the planter class. The 1827 Carnival at Easter (one of the few in the period for which contemporary reports contain a modicum of detail) provides a useful sample of their activities.

Major W--., a British army officer wrote to his compatriot F.W.N. Bayley, on 4 May:

'I wish, Bayley, you had been here in the time of the carnival; you have no idea of the gaiety of the place during that season. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* were nothing compared to the changes that took place in the persons of the Catholics of Trinidad. High and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned, all found masking suits for the carnival.'

Describing the town, on 17 April, as 'alive with gaiety and amusement' the *Trinidad Guardian*, however, thought that the 'energy' and 'spirit' of Shrovetide were lacking in this Easter celebration. They noted, nevertheless, that 'Colonel and Mrs Mallet were at home to their friends', and that this residence provided a sparkling focal point for the social elite. Another was the saloon, which 'was crowded to excess and in which was seen all the Beauty and Grace for which our island is so eminently conspicuous'. There were numerous masks 'and the parties active in the performance of their several parts'.

One group, identified by the British major, was 'a party of ladies' who 'converted themselves into a party of brigands and 'assailed' him in his 'quarters'.³⁷

A retrospective on Carnivals from this period taken from the *Guardian* (by inference a San Fernando newspaper) and republished in the *Trinidad Sentinel*, in 1860, provides a few more details of the masquerade, including the *negre jardin* personifications:

'We remember the time when the princes and lords of the land did not disdain to parade in the open streets in the sooty disguise of the *negre jardin* and when the respectable upstart joined without reservation the convivial bands of man-o-war's men, and clownish *Pierrots*, which once made so great a figure in the days of yore - when indeed the princely balls given at the Governor's residence did not disdain to admit its aristocratic guests in all the varied and ludicrous disguises which the imagination could conceive on the good times procure'.

While it would be beneficial to the understanding of the evolution of Carnival to have more details of such events in this period, it is evident from these descriptions that Sir Ralph Woodford had achieved a successful social mix among both Catholic and Protestant whites in Trinidad, whether rich or poor. Major W--.'s letter lauded his praises, as did Mrs Carmichael, and Colonel Capadore in their comments on the same period, and his regime was subsequently viewed with nostalgia by French Creole residents.³⁸ By the late 1820s, therefore, Carnival had become a celebration bringing together these elements in the island's community. It was to continue in this way, following Woodford's death in 1828, changing only gradually in the prelude to Emancipation (from 1833 to 1838) and, still maintaining something of its homogenous quality into the 1840s.

Carnival 1831 - 1834

The principal Carnival event reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1831 was a 'Masquerade Ball' at Mrs Bruce's Hotel. Announced originally for Carnival Tuesday (15 February), it was brought forward to Carnival Monday 'By particular request of the Ladies'. An account of this ball provides some extra evidence of the types of disguises and festive occasions favoured by the white elite in this period.

In what appears to have been a rather lack-lustre Carnival season, the newspaper's reporter had expected a reflection of local apathy towards this ball, but was agreeably

surprised by its success. The recent arrival of the 'Admiral and his squadron', allowing, presumably, for a presence of naval officers at the ball, had galvanised the community and all 'the beauty and fashion of Port of Spain' attended. As well as 'elegantly dressed ladies', some in disguise as 'lovely Swiss damsels', the male contingent came in a variety of masques including 'French marquises, English noblemen, grooms, postillions, priests and friars'. The reporter attended in guise of the inquisitive Paul Pry. He was pleased to announce 'hilarity and good humour outlived the night' and praised Mrs Bruce for the sedulity of her arrangements.

From 1831, there is evidence in the diary of Frederick Urich (a merchant's clerk who worked in Port of Spain) that blacks had begun to participate in Carnival. On Shrove Sunday he 'went to see the negroes dance'. On the Monday, he followed 'various masked bands', commenting that 'the dances are usually African dances, and the enthusiasm of the negroes and negresses amuse us very much, for these dances are stupendous'. The ball at Mrs. Bruce's Hotel was viewed from the street. Masked bands continued to parade on Shrove Tuesday (15 February).

In 1832 he saw fewer masks. There was another ball at Mrs Bruce's on Shrove Monday. On the Tuesday (6 March) he again 'went to see the masks'. In this he noted that 'nearly all were coloured people'. Urich also provides early evidence for a Carnival tradition common in the French-speaking West Indies. A group of 'acquaintances and our negroes [slaves] had organised a funeral procession to mark the end of the carnival'.³⁹

The early 1830s was a period of great change in the status of government, and of black slaves in Trinidad. From outside the colony there was increasing pressure to reduce the powers of the slave owners. This was to culminate in the British legislation of 1833 and 1838 that succeeded in ending slavery in her colonies. In Trinidad itself a new form of government was introduced in 1831. An Executive Council and a nominated Legislative Council was established and, from 1832, they began to produce laws in the English language. Their first Ordinance (No. 1 of 1832), passed on 12 May, was '*For defining Offences committed by Slaves; and for punishing the same*'; it became obsolete, however, when slavery was abolished in 1834.⁴⁰

There was a slave 'insurrection' in May 1832 at Plien Palais estate Point-a-Pierre, when slaves withdrew their labour in a dispute over working conditions. Negotiations between striking slaves, the Protector of slaves, and the Governor, are known to have taken place - a sign of the changing attitudes towards the slaves. By repute the 'insurrection' was eventually put down by force and a song, *Ambas pons Marabella* commemorates this:

Ambas pons Marabella
C'est la meme moen perdi
gangan moen
C'est la meme moen perdi
gangan moen
C'est la meme yo blesse
mun one moen
Ambas pons Marabella
C'est la meme moen perdi
gangan moen

Under the Marabella bridge
 It's there I lost my
 grandmother
 It's there I lost my
 grandmother
 It's there they wounded my
 uncle⁴¹

It is evident that slaves began to question openly both their working conditions and their social position. This is reflected in the celebration of Carnival. Black creoles who, by inference, may have been slaves, featured in a report of premature masking in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 22 January 1833:

On Sunday afternoon an attempt was made by Mr Peake (Assistant to the Chief of Police) to check the shameful violation of the Sabbath by the lower order of the population, who are accustomed about this time of the year to mask themselves and create disturbances on a Sunday. He arrested two persons who were in masks, and lodged them in the Cage. On his return from performing this necessary duty, his house was assaulted by a large concourse of rabble who broke all the windows, and attacking Mr Peake, pelted, beat, and otherwise ill-treated this officer.

Commenting on this occurrence, the report continues with a contextual résumé of the way in which Carnival was celebrated in Trinidad at that time.

In reference to the above affair, it may be as well to remark, that the custom of commencing the Carnival several weeks before Ash Wednesday, is contrary in Spanish custom as well as law. In Spain, and in all Spanish Colonies and *cidevant* Spanish Possessions, the Carnival is kept up but three days; the custom of extending Bacchanal diversions for the space of a month or two, is Italian, and was introduced by foreigners. This has of late become a great nuisance in this Island, as the most criminal and indecent events occur during the extended Carnival, which the local Magistrates do well in endeavouring to suppress.

In conclusion, attention is drawn to the section dealing with 'Masks' in 'Johnston's Law of Spain', or rather Lewis F.C. Johnston's translation of the *Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain*, which has been quoted previously.

The authorities acted swiftly in reaction to this confrontation and issued a notice from the Police Office, on 21 January, stating:

THE Public are hereby informed, that
M A S K S
are strictly prohibited in the Streets until the 18th February
next. Any person being found Masked in the Streets, will be
immediately arrested and dealt with according to Law.

Signator was James Meany, Chief of Police, and the announcement appeared in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 25 January.⁴²

The association of violence with Carnival (and the pre-Carnival season) is, as has been pointed out by Peter Burke, a longstanding component in its European history and, without doubt, elsewhere. The response of the 'rabble' to the incarceration in the 'cage' of the two premature maskers is in keeping with this tradition. In addition, the use of a 'cage' to confine these prisoners adds weight to the supposition that they were blacks and probably slaves. Such devices were employed when punishing blacks to emphasise their chattel status and thereby maintain their separation from whites; the latter were usually confined to the gaol.

In many respects, as Andrew Pearse has indicated, the 1833 Carnival was the last that the white hierarchy were able to sustain almost exclusively to themselves. This was due to the passing, on 28 August, of the Act in the British parliament that abolished slavery and introduced Apprenticeship. It will be remembered that the latter was to commence on 1 August the year following. In Trinidad, where the effects of slavery had been ameliorated by improving local conditions, slaves were probably less inhibited than in other British Caribbean islands. With a confirmation of their freedom on the horizon, therefore, and a white plantocracy depressed by the imminent loss of their slaves, black participation in Carnival came of age in February 1834. Although Carnival was reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* there was, as Pearse observes, 'a complete change of tone' in the account. From an 'unctuous self-congratulation', that had characterised descriptions up

to 1833, this altered to an 'apprehensive expectation of disgust tempered by condescension in case of disappointment'. Making a contrast with the past, the report begins:

Nothing can more decidedly mark the great change which has taken place within this Colony than the want of spirit, and we might add, deficiency of elegant bustle, which was to be seen during the Carnival week in olden times. We have traversed the town at all hours during the two days allowed for the exercise of fun and frolic, and with the exception of witnessing a large crowd of idle negroes and little people, accompanying a party intending to represent the Artillery, we met no other in character deserving a moment's notice.

The writer describes, therefore, the members of this masquerade band:

The Artillery party with their mock Commandant was not badly got up; their Chief, however, was but an indifferent representative of the portly original. The Lieutenant Colonel was also a most sorry figure, and the Adjutant a very bad copy. But we cannot withhold praise of the two jolly Subs, who were done to life - the spectacles of one were admirable, whilst the bold strut of the other was inimitable. We were sorry, however, to observe that the mock detachment were so defective in their wheelings and marchings, much more ought to have been expected from their two weeks drill by Major Expediency.

At this he took mild, but qualified, offence:

The mockery of the best Militia Band that has ever been embodied in the West was in very bad taste - and if intended to ridicule, must have missed its aim; but we are rather inclined to believe that this was not the case, and that the whole was got up by the Masquers in the same spirit with which it was received by the Public - viz, in good humour and as a mere piece of fun.

On a somewhat supercilious note, he ended with the comment that the Carnival had passed 'without the slightest outrage'.⁴³

The imitation by blacks of the Militia appears to have struck a raw nerve, which may well have been intended, in that it symbolised the power of the white hierarchy.

Although their parades and other activities had been the subject of a farce written by E.L. Joseph, published the previous August, white Trinidadians took great pride in their Militia. Joseph himself commented on its quality in his *History of Trinidad* and this praise was echoed by other contemporary observers. As had been explained, the force had been honed to a high standard of readiness by Sir Ralph Woodford and it maintained this tradition following his death.⁴⁴ The services of the Militia were utilised at the beginning of August 1834, on and immediately after Emancipation Day, when former slaves protested that they were not at liberty but Apprenticed for from four to six years.

Emancipation Day 1834

As with the supposed slave revolt in 1805, E.L. Joseph provides a concise summary of the events in Trinidad on and immediately following Emancipation Day, 1 August, 1834:

The negroes of Trinidad on this occasion behaved less riotously than those of some of the neighbouring colonies. The greatest difficulty was in making them comprehend the difference between slavery and what is called praedial and non-praedial apprenticeship; they showed much resistance, but this in most cases, was of a passive nature. The use of the cat-o-nine-tails convinced some of the most refractory that they were in the wrong, and the rest returned to their duty, patiently to await the four or six years probation. Contrary to the desire of many, martial law was not proclaimed; no life was lost, save that of one negro, who was shot at Band de l'Est; his murderer escaped to the opposite coast of Columbia.

While this account describes the rudiments of the occasion, several other factors are of relevance to this study. These revolve around the protestations of the apprentices, on learning that their new status had left them less than free.

According to the *Port of Spain Gazette*, even before Emancipation Day, slaves had not been prepared to accept the Apprenticeship provisions. 'It was decided by them', the newspaper reported 'that the King had freed them right out and that the apprenticeship was a job got up between their masters and the Governor. Their masters were "dam tief" the Governor an "Old Rogue" and the King not such a Fool as to buy them half free when he was rich enough to pay for them altogether.'

Apparent in this is a traditional belief in the impartiality of Kingship - of the King as an arbiter of justice - as well as a perceptive understanding that Apprenticeship was not full Emancipation. Some in the white hierarchy, therefore, were alarmed at the attitude of the slaves, and four companies of the Militia were placed in readiness for duty in Port of Spain, should there be disturbances on Emancipation Day itself.

The *Port of Spain Gazette* took the view that there was a distinct threat of violence at the outset, when former slaves gathered to enquire their status on 1 August. The recollection of Henry Capadose, a military officer also present, however, inclines to a peaceful interpretation of the intentions of the crowd. They 'appeared to be a deputation from a few French Estates' and comprised 'for the most part very old men, old women,

and children' with a younger man as spokesman 'probably selected because he spoke the French language well'.

On being told by the Governor the terms of their Apprenticeship they 'vociferated "*pas de six ans, point de six ans*"'. On the advancement of the same message by different representatives of the administration, the protest was repeated, culminating in the ex-slaves exclaiming: '*Pas de six ans, nous ne voulous pas de six ans, nous sommes libres, le Roi nous a donné la liberté.*'

Despite exhortations to withdraw, and heavy rain, the crowd stood their ground, none of them 'even having a stick in their hands'. A point that was also made by the *Port of Spain Gazette* in its description of this and similar protestations during the next two or three days. The crowds were cleared by the Police at night with Hardy, the Lieutenant Colonel in charge of the military, astutely declining the wishes of the planters for Martial Law.

Capadose recalled driving through Port of Spain with Hardy in his gig, passing the militia 'as if prepared for a fierce encounter' on the night of the first of August. 'As the gig rolled on', he noted, 'a number of girls danced about it in the streets, singing French *arriettes* of, probably, their own composition on the goodness of King William in granting them freedom'. At this, Hardy commented in humour to Capadose that it "'looked mightily like insurrection"'.⁴⁵

This account exemplifies the French character of black culture in Trinidad at this time, as well as their subtle tactic of unarmed protest, a tactic recognised by Hardy and to which he responded in the same measure with 'English diplomacy' (in the words of 1930s calypsonians).

It is also clear that the beau stick (or 'bo tick' in Mrs Carmichael's insurrectionary song, quoted previously) was sometimes carried by blacks; indeed, as early as 1810 an Order by the Cabildo (on 12 September) was passed in this respect:

Negroes are forbidden to carry bludgeons or other weapons on pain of a month's imprisonment and being worked in the chain gang.

Such evidence implies that some form of stickfighting was already a recognised activity among black slaves in the pre-Emancipation period, as it has been shown to have been between English-speaking and French-speaking slaves in Dominica, and among black slaves elsewhere in the New World.⁴⁶

In addition, the dancing in the streets and singing of short songs in French - *ariettes* is the usual spelling - indicate something of the black musical heritage extant in Trinidad at that time. The emphasis of the slaves on the British monarch as the ultimate authority for their freedom suggests a belief in the role of Kingship that may well have been inherited from Africa.

Carnival and Emancipation Day 1835 - 1838

The Carnival of 1834 had been limited to two days by Police Order. Presumably because of the good behaviour of the masquers in that year, and the controls exercised over former slaves through Apprenticeship, the period was extended for the Carnivals held in the next four years. Orders published in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* show that the masqueraders were allowed six days for their festivities in 1835, four days in 1836, four days in 1837, and four days in 1838.⁴⁷ In 1835 an Ordinance '*For establishing an effective system of Police within the town of Port of Spain*' was passed, which specified police powers allowing masking. These provisions were extended to the environs of the town in another Ordinance passed in 1837. The same laws also restricted the locations and time of day various musical instruments could be played: namely 'any drum, gong tambour, bangee, or chac-chac'. The exact meaning of 'bangee' is not certain, as no eighteenth- or nineteenth-century descriptive quotations have been traced in this research. All newspaper references found are to the 'bangee drum'. Andrew Pearse has suggested that this might be a form of sanza (or mbira), while others believe bangee to be another word for the banjo.⁴⁸

It is unlikely that there were special celebrations for Emancipation Day in the 1835-1837 period. In the same time span, the Carnival appears to have continued much as in

earlier years, on the scant evidence available. In 1838, however, perhaps as a reflection of dissatisfaction with Apprenticeship, the black presence in Carnival made its first significant mark of protest with the white establishment.

As with a number of later confrontations, one of the principal issues at stake was the relationship of Carnival to Christian worship on the Sunday before Shrove Tuesday. For white colonists of strict protestant persuasion, this was of particular consequence. The issue for them, and for others, when it was politically expedient, was between Paganism and Christianity - symbolising Africa and Europe respectively. To this effect, following the Carnival, 'A Scotchman' harangued the authorities in a letter to the *Port of Spain Gazette*. Fortuitously, this prompted the earliest report of the event with any detail of the participation of black masqueraders.

Defending the plantocracy against the 'lower order', warning of the consequences of the ending of Apprenticeship on 1 August 1840, and heightening criticism by half declining to describe 'the outrageous desecration of the Sabbath which took place "by Authority" last Sunday' the report is both disdainful and desperate in its tone:

We will not dwell on all the disgusting and indecent scenes that were enacted in our Streets - we will not say how many we saw in a state so nearly approaching to nudity, as to outrage decency and shock modesty - we will not particularly describe the African custom of carrying a stuffed figure of a woman on a pole, which was followed by hundreds of negroes yelling out a savage Guinea song, (we regret to say nine tenths of these people were Creoles) - we will not describe the ferocious fight between the "Damas" and "Wartloos" which resulted from this mummering - but we will say at once that the custom of keeping 'Carnival, by allowing the lower order of society to run about the Streets in wretched masquerade, belongs to other days and ought to be abolished in our own.⁴⁹

Despite the histrionic language, certain aspects of what was to become the structure of the nineteenth-century Carnival are apparent, or can be deduced, from this description. First, however, the contextual bias, that started to become apparent in 1834, must again be stressed. The sensational, and thereby threatening, actions of the black masqueraders on the days when role reversals are permitted, become the scapegoat for the plantocracy (and subscribers to the newspaper). The celebrations of this group (whatever the complexion of their skin) are ignored, however, or treated separately. This was to become the pattern for the majority of subsequent nineteenth-century newspaper accounts. The structure of

the event (and, therefore, the society in which it took place) was far more complicated than most newspapers were prepared to accept (especially the dogmatic line adopted by editors of the *Port of Spain Gazette*).

With this in mind, the content of the 1838 description can be better understood.

- (i) African custom is stressed - the carrying of a stuffed woman on a pole. Such totems were not identified in later accounts of Carnival;
- (ii) fighting (or other competition) between masquerade bands is featured;
- (iii) the names of these bands probably distinguish African-French-speaking and African-English-speaking Creole groups. The *Damas* are likely to have been the former, and the *Wartloos* the latter;
- (iv) the greatest proportion of the masqueraders were black Creoles (i.e. had had no direct contact with Africa);
- (v) near nudity in costume;
- (vi) parades and individual masquers running 'about the streets';
- (vii) yelling (or singing) of a 'savage Guinea song' in chorus (again, the African coast of Guinea was not identified in later accounts of singing in Carnival).

Even the European traditions of 'buffonery and 'mummery' are equated with the brutalisation of 'the faculty of society's lower order', or rather they are portrayed as the antithesis of the pretended 'civilisation' of the European hierarchy. It was this hierarchy, however, or rather the proportion of Spanish- and French-speaking Roman Catholics, who had introduced Carnival to the island. In their resistance to the Protestant English (and Scottish) colonists and the sometimes separate British colonial administration, it was these Catholics who also were the most determined in defending the continued annual celebration of Carnival, when threatened by others from the elite.

On occasion the linguistic and religious split in the white hierarchy allowed for alliances between differing factions and those in the black population. The polyglot nature of Trinidad society, which became even more complicated as the nineteenth century progressed, means that further considerations are also likely to have come into play as events unfolded in the island's social history. The Carnival can be taken as one measure of this complexity and its evolution will sometimes be viewed as such here. Use of this method, however, is not without difficulties. The names of the two principal bands of black Creoles who fought one another in 1838 provide a good example of problems of interpretation.

Donald Wood shows that later in 1838 'a group of Dama people from Port of Spain presented a thanksgiving petition to the Governor...on the ending of apprenticeship'. In this they can be classed as an African nation - 'an eastern Nigritic tribe' from the Cameroons, according to Wood. Although possible, it seems unlikely in the context of the *Port of Spain Gazette* description, that the band of black creoles called Damas in the Carnival simply represented this group. It is much more probable that they were a more general aggregation of blacks aligned also with French sentiments. Thus the Wartloos were almost certainly named after the victorious British at the battle of Waterloo - as can be shown for equivalent carnivalesque organisations in Jamaica, and St. Lucia. Neither of these explanations are certain. What is evident, is despite the general French (and some English) influence on black creoles, associations that identified their African origin persisted in Trinidad at this time. Wood, for example, notes a similar petition to the Governor by the Mokos (from Benin), and a report in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1900 shows that the Yoruba Friendly Society was also founded in 1838. It should be mentioned that the latter was allied to the Roman Catholic Church.⁵⁰

The circumstances surrounding the truncation of Apprenticeship, so that it ended on 1 August 1838, are not the direct concern of this investigation. They include 'An Act to amend the Act for the Abolition of Slavery in the *British Colonies*' that received the Royal Assent on 11 April 1838. This, among blacks, in the British West Indies, popularly associated the ending of slavery with Queen Victoria, who sanctioned the Act in the second year of her reign.

While there was plantocracy opposition in Trinidad to the 1 August 1838 date, this was swept aside by circumstances outside their control. Thus, when the time came, the *Port of Spain Gazette* was happy to report there was no 'excitement of any kind' and, in Port of Spain, 'the different churches were tolerably well attended by the Labourers, the Roman Catholic particularly so, as the greater number of them belong[ed] to that Religion'. Bridget Brereton has shown that a pattern of limited celebration appears to have continued in subsequent years, or rather, if festivities took place, only the most formal attracted the attention of the newspapers'.⁵¹

Despite the scanty evidence, more popular celebrations seem likely in the light of retrospective accounts. The most concrete example, as both Brereton and Errol Hill point out, is recorded by a French Dominican priest who describes the celebration of Emancipation Day by ex-slaves in the village of Carenage in the 1870s-80s. This fits the carnivalesque pattern under discussion and, by implication, had its origins in the immediate post-slavery period. The abbé recalls that there was an elected King who held court in a bamboo hut (named the palace). He 'was responsible for collecting money, buying food, issuing invitations, offering the holy bread [during the 'high mass', with which the feast began], and opening the dance'. These '*orgies sans nou, souvenirs de la vie africaine*' were accompanied by the '*horrible tambour africaine*'. By its description, this may have been a form of the *Belair* drum dance. In addition, Fraser, in his 1881 memorandum, reported that the 'canboulay' ceremony was enacted annually by blacks on Emancipation Day.

After Emancipation the negroes began to represent this scene as a kind of commemoration of the change in their condition, and the procession of '*cannes brûlées*' used to take place on the night of the 1st August, the date of their emancipation, and it was kept up much for the same reason as the John Canoe dance in Jamaica.

Later, he notes, 'the day was changed, and for many years the Carnival days have been inaugurated by the "*Cannes Brûlées*".' 'X' writing in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in the same year ascribes the *cannes brûlées* (performed by newly emancipated blacks), as having become the starting point for Carnival at the time the authorities limited the festival to two days.⁵²

As with the dual celebration of 'John Canoe' in Jamaica, it is possible, therefore, that blacks in Trinidad enacted 'Canboulay' both on Emancipation Day and during Carnival. Indeed, it may be that elements of this ceremony were already present in the Carnival of 1838. For example, 'near nudity' the yelling of songs, and ferocious fighting between bands, were undoubted components of the event as it was performed in the third quarter of the century. With its lack of further detail, however, the report in the *Port of Spain Gazette* does not provide conclusive evidence. It must be remembered, also, that

these particular features were hardly mentioned, if at all, in accounts of the Carnival during the next decade.

3. The Post-Emancipation Carnival And Other Events 1838-1869

It has not been possible to define the exact point at which the Carnival was limited to two days, although further research might provide a finite answer. In 1881 the official account was that:

'Previous to 1849 the Carnival extended over several days, but by Ordinance No. 6 of that year, appearing masked except at such times as might be allowed by public notice from the police was made illegal, and upon the issue of this Ordinance the period was restricted to two days.'

It has been shown, however, that the police had powers to limit Carnival long before 1849, both in Spanish law, and in the Ordinances passed by the British administration in 1835 and 1837. As has been noted, these Ordinances were confined only to Port of Spain (1835), or, in and near the same town (1837), and this may account for the 1881 statement. Whatever the reason, a police notice published in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* on 5 February 1839, restricted Carnival to two days in that year (11 and 12 February). Nothing more has been located in contemporary literature about this, the first post-Emancipation Carnival.⁵³

Carnival and Christmas in the 1840s

The next notice that has been traced in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* dates from 1844 (when Carnival was allowed on only two days - 19 and 20 February). Bridget Brereton, however, reports that the permanent limitation of Carnival to two days was in 1841, while Andrew Pearse gives the year as 1843. These dates may, or may not, be accurate but circumstantial evidence suggests that Pearse could be correct.

On the basis of the ending of Apprenticeship in August and the Carnival disturbances earlier in 1838, a logical date for a fearful and sometimes puritanical

administration to limit the Carnival to two days, appears to be 1839. A letter to the Editor of the *Trinidad Standard*, published on 7 February 1842, indicates that masking had indeed been restricted 'for the last two or three years' and the practice had 'appeared on the decline' because of these limitations. The writer, who signed himself 'A Subscriber' complained, however, of the 'wanton desecration of the Sabbath Day' by maskers in that year. This he put down to lack of 'such judicious measures' and, more particularly to the sanction of official patronage in the holding of a masked ball that evening (Carnival Monday) by the Governor, Sir Henry McLeod.

The paper defended 'the reveling of maskers in the streets on Sunday' on the grounds that 'to the majority of the population (The Catholics) recreation is as much permitted on that day as any other'. They also noted that they could not 'flatter our correspondent that the lower orders will be tempted by these revelries from the path of virtue' and continued 'we should rather wager it tended to keep them from vices of a darker character, not that we intend to impute anything very bad to them'.

This spells out the Protestant versus Catholic split in the hierarchy over the holding of Carnival and, almost certainly, implies that black participation in the festival was not perceived as a threat at this time. Later reports of the celebration in the 1840s are also generally tolerant of the role of blacks.

The *Standard* was highly critical of their 'Subscriber's' views on the Governor's ball, believing that his 'squeamishness' would 'only be laughed at by at least the 500 or 600 people' expected to attend. 'Vive la Bagatelle' said the *Standard*, and the report of the ball in the *Port of Spain Gazette* (8 February) maintains this happy vivacity. They noted 'the costumes were various and of all nations pearly - Greeks, Turks, Germans, Spaniards, French', and that the event compared favourably with similar balls held by Sir Ralph Woodford. The paper was even moved to report 'that never within our memory has the conduct of all classes of the people been so correct - so free from any sort of offensive demeanour or licence, as during the present Carnival'.⁵⁴

Such upper class masked dances remained a feature of the Carnival in this period. They probably continued to be held annually at this season throughout the century,

although not always reported in the press. In 1844 the *Port of Spain Gazette* carried an account of a ball in St Ann's (location for the elite residences in Port of Spain) and Donald Wood notes a similar bulletin in the *Trinidad Standard* the following year. From the same edition of this newspaper (5 February) Wood prints a description of Carnival that serves as a reference for considering the street festival during the 1840s.

The streets are thronged by parties and individuals in every variety of national and fanciful costume, and in every possible contortion and expression of 'the human face divine'. Some are gay and noble - some are as ignoble as rags and uncouth habiliments can make them. Some are marching to the sound of well-played music - the violin, the guitar, the castinet, the drum, and the tambourine strike the ear in every direction. Some delight themselves in the emission and production of sounds of the wildest, most barbarous, and most unearthly description imaginable, and their instruments are as extraordinary as the sounds they make. Now we observe the Swiss peasant, in holiday trim, accompanied by his fair Dulcima - now companies of Spanish, Italians and Brazilians glide along in varied steps and graceful dance...But what see we now? - goblins and ghosts, fiends, beasts and frightful birds - wild men - wild Indians and wilder Africans. Pandemonium and the savage wilds of our mundane orb are pouring forth their terrific occupants. It would seem as though the folly and madness and fitful vagaries of the year had been accumulated in science and solitude to burst forth their exuberant measures and concentrated force in the fantastic revels of the Carnival.⁵⁵

The content of this description will be examined subsequently.

While the celebration of Christmas in Trinidad has not been pursued systematically in this research, one of two accounts available from the 1840s was published in the *Trinidad Spectator* on 27 December 1845. This complained of 'Christmas Nuisances', and the exhibition of 'a scene anything but becoming a civilised country'. In common with the protest of 'An Unitarian' about 'the Sabbath' in Arouca, published one month previous in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, the *Spectator* notes that 'the wild banjee drum abounded'. It was 'accompanied with sounds the most unmusical and grating'. Fireworks were also set off, and to mark the beginning of Christmas Day, 'the bells of Trinity Church commenced a furious peal' at midnight.⁵⁶

As well as 'uncivilised' being associated with the 'banjee drum' (and, thereby, 'savage' Africa), the Catholic-Protestant antagonisms identified in the *Standard* during the Carnival in 1842, probably underlie these criticisms. In addition, there appears to have been a change of mood in the colony, a tension that was to reach a climax at the time of the ensuing Carnival.

On 17 February 1846 'A Proclamation' and 'Notice' were issued by the Colonial Secretary that affected the Carnival in that year. The 'Proclamation' related to the dry weather, and required Port of Spain citizens to keep 'a hogshead of water' at their abode because of frequent fires - it emerged an arsonist was at large. The 'Notice', which restricted masking, appears in part to have been another measure against the fire raiser, but was seized upon as an opportunity to stamp out the Carnival by those opposed to its celebration. 'We trust this will prove a final, instead of a temporary, stop to the orgies which are indulged in by the dissolute of the Town, at this season of the year, under the pretence of Masking' was the stance of the *Port of Spain Gazette*, on the same day. The 'Notice' read:

WHEREAS the practice of MASKING in the open streets has frequently led of late years to the disturbance of the Public Peace, NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN that MASKING in the open streets will not hereafter be permitted; and that all persons found so Masked in the open streets, in the Town of Port of Spain, or any other Town or Village, will be apprehended by the Police as idle and disorderly persons and dealt with accordingly.

Two days later (19 February) the *Trinidad Standard* explained that the Governor was 'anxious to prevent what might be resorted to by the incendiary as a cloak for his evil purpose' and hoped that, in the circumstances, the prohibition of masking would be 'perfectly understood and appreciated'. In addition, the *Port of Spain Gazette* (20 February) decided to shift their position slightly, following a representation to the Governor to rescind the ban. His rumoured favourable response was denied, but whilst the line taken by the *Standard* was reiterated, it was pointed out that masking was prohibited '*only in the streets*'. There was no objection, the *Gazette* said to 'parties dressing in such apparel as they may see fit, and on arriving at any of their friends' houses putting on the masks they may carry with them, and there enjoying themselves as much as they choose'. The elite's pro-Carnival lobby appear to have won a small but significant victory in this change in the official line, one that seems also to have encouraged a degree of tolerance towards other maskers, judging by a report of the first day of the festival published in the *Standard* (23 February). A comment in this bulletin also hints that

usually the commencement of the celebration had begun to incorporate something resembling the Canboulay ceremony:

This morning, that is from midnight until daybreak, the hour at which last year and former years the wildest uproar imaginable prevailed from one end of the town to the other, was remarkably quiet.

Special Constables patrolled the town, and a detachment of the 23rd Regiment were bivouaced at the Town Hall to dissuade the fire-raiser(s) and ensure the regulations against masking were enforced. There was some latitude, however, as the *Standard* explained:

It was rather late in the morning before the votaries of the Carnival ventured to show themselves. But they gradually crept forth in their fancy dresses, and have continued their antics with growing confidence, as they find the proclamation has reference only to the use of the mask. They appear, however, to feel themselves shorn of their chief delight in not being able to conceal their faces, and some of them have endeavoured to compensate this deprivation by other substitutes as spectacles, beards, and even paint and chalk.

Despite occasional heavy handedness by the police, the Carnival appears to have been celebrated along these lines without disturbance and, at its conclusion, the *Trinidad Spectator* (25 February) praised the populace for conducting 'themselves with great propriety', as had the *Standard* in their Monday résumé. The *Spectator*, however, was against the wearing of masks on any occasion. Their stance stands as a measure of the anti-Carnival lobby in this period, and indicates that a principal element in their objections to the festival was fear.

Formerly, at this season, we were left to our own guidance, which in all conscience was wayward enough: indeed, a large number of the inhabitants used to act more like the liberated inmates of a madhouse than sane beings. The order prohibiting the wearing of masks was a rational and wise measure. Moral honesty and the safety of society require that all should exhibit their *native face*, however fantastically they may bedeck or disfigure the remaining portions of their corporiety. No Government should allow man woman or child to appear in public with a *false face*. There is already in every human being too much falsity under the skin, and in the original features. The tolerance of *masking* is a disgrace to an enlightened government, and happy we are that our Governor has, at last, wiped off this disgrace; at least as far as Port of Spain is concerned. It may be true that circumstances prompted him to prohibit the practice; but, be that as it may, we are grateful for the prohibition, and sincerely trust that *masking* will never again be tolerated by the rulers of Trinidad.⁵⁷

The advice of the *Spectator* was not heeded and the Carnival continued annually, the 1847 event being witnessed by Charles William Day. His description has been much

quoted as an indication of the festival in this period and will be considered in due course, alongside the *Standard's* 1845 report.⁵⁸

Day was also in Trinidad for the Christmas celebrations of 1847. His account, more graphic than that in the *Spectator* for 1845, shows Christmas had already become something of a mini-Carnival. It incorporated elements of 'lower class' celebration, to which attention would be drawn in descriptions of Carnival from then until the twentieth century.

On Christmas Eve, it seemed as if, under the guise of religion, all Pandemonium had been let loose. At intervals during the night, bands of execrable music paraded the streets, and bad fireworks filled the atmosphere. Drunkenness bursting forth in yells and bacchanalian orgies, was universal amongst the blacks; and fiddles, fifes and harmonicons resounded on every side, making night hideous. Sleep was quite out of the question in the midst of such a disgusting and fiendish saturnalia. One band which came forth at two o'clock on the morning of Saturday merits particular notice. It seemed to be composed of an enormous *tambour*, a thousand times louder than the drum of a *fantoccini* and banged with a maniacal violence: a fiddle or two, a triangle, and an infinity of cow-horns! The musicians were attended by a multitude of drunken people of both sexes, the women being of the lowest class; and all dancing, screaming and clapping their hands, like so many demons. All this was the effect of the "midnight mass", ending, as all such masses do, in every species of depravity. Of course the priests encourage this, as it serves to keep up their influence over their flock.⁵⁹

In addition to his antagonistic attitude, especially towards the musical instruments and a particular band of men and women (the descriptions of which would not have seemed out of place in the newspapers of the 1870s-80s), Day also appears to have been against the Roman Catholic church, or, rather, his report implies his opposition to this creed.

Similar antagonism, in this instance a continuing deprecation of Carnival, and Catholicism, is evident in the *Trinidad Spectator's* brief account of the festival on 8 March 1848. Referring to the event as a 'relic of barbarism - nursery of vice - and fostered imp of a superstitious faith', the newspaper believed the Carnival to be on the wane. This was not the case, however, as can be seen by a report published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on Carnival Tuesday 1849 (20 February). Celebrated for its description of 'bands of music' this bulletin provides a point for assessing the Carnivals of the previous decade.

Since midnight on Sunday, this Festival has broken the slumbers of our peaceable citizens with its usual noisy revelry and uproarious hilarity. Bands of music (*soi disant*), including those "elegant" instruments the tin kettle and salt box, the banjee and shack-shack, have paraded the town in all parts, and at all hours of the day and night. Still, although "the fun grew fast and furious", but slight infractions of the

peace have taken place, and exhausted by the incessant dancing and antics, the greater portion of the noisy groups have already retired to their houses.⁶⁰

Abstractions from Charles William Day's 1847 Carnival description will be incorporated in the assessment, which can be divided into two principal categories of exotica - civilised and primitive - using the terminology of the time. This dichotomy in turn corresponds with divisions of 'sense' and 'nonsense' and other similar opposites identified by Roger D. Abrahams in his essay on 'Symbolic Language and Expressive Events' in black West Indian culture. In this instance, it must be remembered that the dichotomy in newspaper and other accounts is generally but not exclusively between the black and white participants. A recall of Carnival in the 1840s, published in *Fair Play and Trinidad News* on 6 March 1879, provides a necessary overview for comparison with contemporary reports.⁶¹

Perhaps one of the most significant statements in the recollection is that 'people of all classes enjoyed themselves and commerce was extensive - benefitted by the lavish expenditure of those easy monetary times'. Thus, it appears that a principal reason for the degree of tolerance between masqueraders in the 1840s rested on financial stability and a willingness to share both wealth and the ceremony between different sectors of the community. Inevitably, *Fair Play* concentrates on the 'civilised' aspects of the festival; it also notes, however, that 'anything of an objectionable character was exceptional and confined to the purlieu of the town'. The masked balls are confirmed, as are 'rich and characteristic costumes' (including 'kings and queens' in 'chateaux drawn by numerous horses'). There were 'bands of musicians' (who accompanied the 'kings and queens'); 'cavalcades of gentlemen finely dressed up in character'; specialised 'living caricatures'; and 'a thousand and one personal characters' (including 'jesters' and 'tumblers'). In all this, the satire was both 'cutting' and 'wholesome' and provided 'a magnificent and masked *abandon*'.

Allowing for nostalgic romanticism the résumé is remarkably accurate in the light of the two substantial accounts available from the 1840s. In the 'civilised' category the *Trinidad Standard* (1845) reported 'gay and noble' masqueraders that fit this pattern (including Brazilians, Italians and Spanish, as well as the Swiss Peasant and his fair

Dulcima). The 'bands of musicians' (1879) are equivalent to the 'sound of well-played music'. These are equated with 'the violin, the guitar, the castinet, the drum and the tambourine'. Charles William Day (1847) was not impressed by any of the musicians that he heard but recalled two grand processions representing 'triumphal "wans"' (or wains), one of which featured a canopy and was in homage to Queen Victoria and her consort Prince Albert (married in 1840). The other represented a recently-married high-law officer and his bride. Day also mentions what appear to have been 'sets' of black women dressed in 'bodices of the same colour' (similar to Jamaican 'John Canoe' bands of several years previous) and 'little girls dressed *à la jupe*, in the *vrai* creole negro costume'

Virtually the only reference to the primitive exotica of 1840s Carnival in *Fair Play* is to 'all the conceits and peculiarities of human and even sometimes animal life', although they also drew attention to the presence of 'Indians with bows and arrows'. The latter were mentioned by the *Standard* in 1845 (wild Indians) and Day describes 'the Indians of South America' as having been 'the best embodiments' in the Carnival of 1847. 'Personified by Spanish peons from the Main, themselves half Indian,' he notes that they were 'daubed with red ochre' and many 'had real Indian quivers and bows, as well as baskets'.

In line with *Fair Play*, the *Standard* mentions 'fiends, beasts and frightful birds' and in addition, wild Africans, other wild men, goblins and ghosts. The ghosts can be equated with 'Death', seen by Day in 1847. Together with the Pirates and Turks, also personified at that time, each of these masks represents an incursive force threatening social life, as Pearse has pointed out. Day also saw a 'ludicrous caricature' of a Highlander, and many blacks masking as Pulinchinello (described as a 'continental Jack-pudding') or, 'fool' in British masquerade terminology.

There were also maskers 'ignoble as rags and uncouth habiliments can make them', in the words of the *Standard* in 1845, who may have been similar to the 'primitives' observed by Day. These were 'bedaubed with black varnish' and 'nearly as naked as might be'. From his description, this band could have been participating in a version of

the 'Canboulay' ceremony, for they included a man in chains, symbolising perhaps a prisoner or, more likely, slavery.

Day mentions that each band of blacks carried sticks (in defensive-offensive symbolism) but this appears not to have been perceived as a threat by blacks in other bands or by whites. Indeed, racial role reversals, with blacks wearing white masks and whites wearing black masks, were the order of the day in 1847.

The 'sounds of the wildest most barbarous and most unearthly description' (1845) or 'bands of execrable music' making 'a tremendous uproar' (1847) were probably synonymous with the 'bands of music (*soi disant*)' that included 'those "elegant" instruments the tin kettle and salt box, the banjee drum, and shack-shack' (1849).

It is likely that the musical instruments Day heard, on Christmas Day in 1847, were also featured in black Carnival processions in this period - 'an enormous *tambour*...a fiddle or two, a triangle, and an infinity of cow horns'. It seems possible that the *tambour* he describes was the banjee drum, but this is conjecture. These instruments, however, together with the 'dancing, screaming, and clapping of hands like so many demons' perhaps provides a link with the Carnival description of 1838 and the 'yelling' of 'a savage Guinea song'. Also in common with 1838 and the 1840s was the near nudity of costume, parades of competing bands and individual masquers in the streets, and reference to Africa.⁶²

In addition to 'wild Africans' in Carnival parades, other migrant groups are identified. The Spanish were the original European settlers, but the Spanish-speaking African-Amerindians from Venezuela were recent arrivals. As has been noted, the Scots formed part of the wave of British settlers, while the 'little girls dressed *à la jupe*, in the *vrai creole negro costume*' probably reflect the origin of many of the French-speaking ex-slaves in Martinique and Guadeloupe.

Migrants and Music 1840s - 1850s

The 1840s and 1850s saw a flow of migrants to Trinidad, amongst them French and German settlers from Europe, and indentured labour from Africa, China and India. There was also migration by black creoles from the Caribbean, from English-speaking islands such as Antigua and St Kitts, and French-speaking islands such as Guadeloupe and Martinique. Thus, as had been noted in Chapter III, 'the yard where the Martinequans dance' is mentioned in a court case in 1846 and is identified with the 'Society of the Rose' (or St. Rose). One way or another all these emigrants contributed to Trinidad's cultural development, including the Carnival.

In 1849 black Creole migrants were seen as having been instrumental in a riot about prison conditions that took place on 1 October. Also present were 'all the rabble of Port of Spain', among whom were 'a large number of loose women including the vilest of their class, girls, boys and little imported Africans, etc.' Many of the 'mob' were armed with 'sticks and stones'. In this, the *Port of Spain Gazette* found scapegoats among outsiders, or the marginalised in Trinidad's colonially stratified society. The Martiniquans were particularly suspect with their French republican inheritance. In an attack on their presence after the riot the *Gazette* described each of them as:

...strutting through the streets of Port of Spain as if they belonged to him, exciting our quiet population with stories of shooting and relating the "*sacres colons*" of the Islands he came from, and *endoctrinaire*-ing our loyal Creoles with the outrageous notions imbibed by himself, at second hand, of equality and republicanism, and rights to be enforced by cries of "*aux armes*", "*au feu*", and other sounds, strangers to Trinidad ears, which were pretty plentiful in the French side of the town on Monday afternoon last.

If black French Creole migrants had imbued the population with republican sentiments, in the words of Donald Wood, once 'the fuss died down...little is heard of a revolution in the French style'. The cries '*aux armes*' and '*au feu*', however, were echoed by stickfighting bands in the 1870s, and sticks had been carried in the riot.⁶³ More pertinent is the flow of kith and kin from Martinique, that reinforced the French Creole character of black music and the Carnival in Trinidad. This is true in particular of

the '*Bel Air*', first identified in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1838 as the 'half licentious, half unmeaning songs' of slaves.

Martinique is named as the source of a *belair* reported in the *Trinidad Sentinel* in 1841, traced by Andrew Pearse:

"There was a pretty little *belair* recently imported here, he understood, from Martinique...A *belair* was a sort of song - a Creole tune with a few verses attached, generally in the French patois. This *belair* has become very popular with the lower orders. It was called, he believed, 'Coq-d 'Inde ponde'". [He asks the Chief Justice to sing it, being assured that he knew it].

Remembering that the *belair* (or *bele*) has been shown to be a generic name for a drum dance and its associated song form in the French-speaking Caribbean, it is not surprising that the words to these songs circulated orally. In some instances stanzas spread from island to island, while others remained exclusive to a particular location, because they related to subjects not of general interest. Trinidad '*Bel Airs*' from the immediate post-slavery period, recalled in 1950 by Andre P.T. Ambard (ex-editor of the *Port of Spain Gazette*), are: *Pigeons ka pigeonner!* and *Quels vilains mannièrs!*; but the texts of these appear not to have been taken down. Two lines from a satirical *bel-air* from 1852-53, however, were printed by José M. Bodu in 1890. They relate to a failed attempt by Numa Dessources to found a settlement of Trinidadians in Venezuela:

Creoles chariez bois (ter)
*Pour nous bruler Papa Dessources.*⁶⁴

While these reports lay emphasis on the *belair* it should be recalled that this was not the only old Creole drum dance accompanied by singing. As has been pointed out, the black Trinidad scholar J.J. Thomas compiled his famous *Theory and Practice of Creole Grammar* (1869) from the words to songs of three different types: '*bellairs, calendas and joubas*'. Each of these were usually accompanied by drumming, but may also have existed independent of this musical instrumentation. Reports of drum dances and singing in the slavery and post-Emancipation period, therefore, have to be considered with these variables in mind.

A retrospective description of old-time drum dancing published in *Fair Play and Trinidad News* in 1883 provides a succinct summary of such occasions. With its emphasis

on the presence of a 'King' and 'Queen' overseeing the dance this was probably a *belair* - in the light of Andrew Pearce's 1955 classification, and for example, a recall of 'Bel air' dances held on Emancipation Day, published by E.M. Encinas in 1927.

These entertainments were held in neatly built edifices, thatched and enclosed with coconut branches and ornamental festoons of fruit and flowers. There was an elevated platform at one end where the King, with his gorgeously appressed Queen, sat surrounded by her almost equally highly-dressed attendants. The drum players, sometimes many in number, who sat in front of them, were well dressed and wore white kid gloves. Whilst the Chorus and Dancers, all gaily dressed females with bright coloured head dresses and sparkling with jewellery, sang in cadence or danced in a way which, if designed by their dangerous gracefulness to excite the lascivious passions of adults, were at all events free from that bestial obscenity which now prevails at ordinary drum dances...

The changing social conditions of the 1870s-80s occasioned this last comment. Resemblance between the locations for, and organisation of, early-twentieth century Carnival bands will be discussed subsequently.

Similar dances were witnessed by Charles William Day in Trinidad in the late 1840s. The first he saw he described as 'a negro *ladies*' ball'. It was held in 'a spacious shed, rudely thatched with palm branches; from the joists of which hung a clumsy wooden chandelier, and at intervals, stuck upon high poles, serving as candelabras, were large tallow candles, casting a fitful glare over the place.'

Although Day saw no 'King' and 'Queen' (his condescending attitude towards blacks met with a necessary stonewalling to his questioning), virtually all the other elements in his account tally with the 1883 recall in *Fair Play*. There were five male drummers accompanied by twenty females singing the chorus. About twelve women, all highly dressed and adorned with jewellery, performed the dance - each had paid a subscription in order to participate. On this occasion they were 'chiefly servants and laundresses'. Their costumes appear to have been in the Martinique fashion favoured for this type of performance. At the other dances in this style attended by Day he notes that each woman played 'a "shock-shock"'. This he describes as 'a little calabash filled with peas, by which a rattling is produced in cadence with the *tambours*'. It is mentioned in many other descriptions of black music in the Caribbean (including Trinidad Carnival in

1849, quoted previously), and known more commonly in Europe as maraca (a pair being maracas).

Day also saw another type of dance, held in a private yard, the function of which is unclear, although his description hints at ritual, rather than recreation. There were two drums ('tum-tums'), a chorus of 'young negro females' and dancing by 'old women'. Tallow candles, held by boys, provided the light.⁶⁵

While Day was opposed to black culture on principle, he was also fascinated by it and, it seems, compelled to relate in detail his dislikes. Thus paradoxically, despite his antagonism, his descriptions provide numerous useful insights for establishing the integrity of black music in the Caribbean. In many respects Day's opposition to West Indian blacks was founded in an affected 'British upper-class' snobbery, including a Victorian perception of 'savage' Africa. He notes, for example, 'an infinity of African customs can be traced in the West Indies' and singles out 'the drumming on the abominably monotonous tum-tum' and the 'singing in chorus, accompanied by the simultaneous clapping of the hands'. In addition, he describes how blacks circumvented the legislation restricting the times when drums could be played.

The noisy tum-tum being prohibited after eight o'clock at night, to evade the regulations they begin at eleven o'clock and keep drumming all Saturday night until broad daylight on Sunday morning, and that without the slightest interruption from the police who, being chiefly negroes, are readily bribed by a glass of rum to wink at any illegal proceedings.

As has been pointed out in Chapter II, black musicians who had mastered European instruments and formal dance music were also castigated by Day for not being prepared to play for whites. Essentially, he had met his match, but on no account was he prepared to accept black West Indian equality, let alone superiority! He had little time, also, for West Indian whites. A final quotation from his *Five Years in the West Indies* provides both a further example of his condescension and also indicates the variety of European musical instruments played by blacks in Port of Spain, during the late 1840s:

Another nuisance is the barbarous music of that dark season [night]. The guitar, flute or violin, played by the coloured people and negroes, salute the ear in excruciating strains; whilst in the principal street of Port of Spain (Frederick Street), almost every house resounds with musical efforts.

One coloured lady in my neighbourhood used to fill half the street with her stentorian lungs. Nearly opposite, two young "gents" indulged in fierce blasts on the cornet-à-piston, or some equally diabolical instrument. Two doors beyond resided a crazy flute, filling up the measure of my torments.⁶⁶

Further torment, for those who had no tolerance, were the wakes, the celebration of which varied in line with the religious affiliation of the mourners. They were, however, an integral part of black culture in the English-speaking Caribbean.

In January 1847 the *Trinidad Spectator* criticised: 'Wakes as generally conducted, are crying violations of the social compact'.

They asked:

"Is there propriety in holding a revel beside the dead body of a friend or neighbour? Is piety promoted by singing hymns, &c. during the "*live long night*" around or near the mortal remains of a fellow creature?"

and answered:

"Such a practice is at once dishonouring to God and injurious to man. Yet it is common in this community, even among those who pretend to not a little piety and enlightenment. Wakes as conducted are a nuisance - a breach of the peace -and ought not to be tolerated."

It emerges from the report that as well as the singing of hymns, the *Spectator's* complaint lay with the 'unbecoming and inane mirth and revelry' that had accompanied a recent death and disturbed local residents. It notes, also, that 'dancing and howling' were usual on these occasions.

The institutional pattern of this wake appears similar to that described by Pearse for 'Bongo' music in Trinidad in 1955, although changes undoubtedly took place in a time span of over a century. Pearse defines 'Bongo' in Trinidad as :

Music for competitive male dance and games in the yard at a wake whilst hymns are (being sung) in the House. Nine or Forty Nights wake [songs,etc.] carrying social commentary.

He also noted two other 'Kinds of Music' performed at wakes in Trinidad that are relevant institutionally.

Pass Play : Music for pleasure and passing the time by adults at Wake [including the playing of games];

Sings : Music to punctuate tales told to pass the time at Wakes, and to maintain participation of audience.

Similar institutional patterns can be observed in a wake described in a letter to the *Port of Spain Gazette* published in 1848. Without the permission of his landlady, this event took place in the yard of the lodgings of the writer who signed himself C.W.D. (presumably Charles William Day!) He noted:

"The relations of the deceased are Methodists of the lower class - his lady cousin being my washerwoman;

and continued with (as usual) a tirade full of detailed observation establishing further aspects of the evolution of black culture in the Caribbean.

At 7 o'clock in the evening the riot began by psalm singing over the corpse, and at 9 o'clock at night the yard was literally crammed with women and girls of very doubtful character, a band of drunken sailors and all the lawless ruffians of Port of Spain - yelling in chorus, dancing in circles, and clapping their hands until the uproar was fearful - the saturnalian orgies being further enlivened by every variety of swearing and profane language. To such a height at last were these hellish revels carried that, at the desire of the landlady, the police were sent for, but were utterly unable to quell the disturbance and the psalm singing was thoroughly overpowered by a fearful din that ensued - in fact the original purpose of the meeting was but a pretext for the assembling of the most lawless characters of both sexes that infest Port of Spain to the annoyance of the whole neighbourhood, from which sleep was effectually banished, and an absolute breach of the Queen's peace. This riot did not terminate until four o'clock the next morning. The police were defied, the landlady grossly insulted, and myself threatened to be beaten with sticks by the fiendish ruffians who pre-dominated - instigated by the natural son of a former proprietor.

As can be seen, as well as being an example of the assimilation of European Christian religious music into the corpus of the Trinidad musical experience, this particular wake also represents the traditions of carnivalesque. The revelry of its upside down world stands alongside the celebration of Carnival in this respect.

An editorial in the same edition of the newspaper pointed out that this was a regular custom of longstanding, and recommended legal constraints. None, however, were introduced specifically until the early twentieth century.⁶⁷

Lack of particular legal restraint against wakes, following the passing of an Ordinance '*To consolidate and amend the Laws relative to the Police*' - the previously mentioned No. 6 of 1849 - can be said to be the principal reason for the failure of a prosecution brought against the 'Congo Society' in 1853. The clause from the Ordinance selected, therefore, concerned the imposition of a 'Penalty on persons keeping disorderly

houses, &c'. The case provides a final example in this discussion of migration and musical activities related, but extra, to the Carnival in the 1840s-1850s.

Proceedings were heard before Mr Justice Cadiz in the Police Court, Port of Spain on 7 November, and reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 12 November 1853. The opening paragraphs of this account place the case in the context of this discussion.

Joseph Allen appeared to answer an information laid against him by Mr F.C. Bowen under the "26 Clause of the Police Ordinance".

It appeared from the evidence, that the defendant, Allen, is a trustee of certain persons, Africans of the Congo nation, who have associated themselves together as "the Congo Society", and who have purchased certain premises in Charlotte Street, known at The Congo Yard, where three or four nights every week they hold public dances, to the music of the banjee drum and shack-shack until the hour of 10.p.m. - and often much later - that when any of the society die, whether in the town or environs, the dead body is brought to this yard to be "waked" as it is termed; on which occasion the whole neighbourhood are obliged to pass a sleepless night. An occasion of this kind formed the subject of the present complaint. According to the deposition of the witnesses - on Wednesday night last a 'wake' was held in the yard in question; it commenced at 8.p.m., and only finished at 6.a.m. the next morning; during the whole of which time, a crowd of upwards of fifty persons, male and female, were bellowing out at the utmost pitch of their voices - the noise becoming greater as the hours got later - *not* hymns, or canticles, or any other kind of devotional exercises, but French Chansons de Societé - having forfeits attached to the omission to join in at certain periods, with certain words - any forfeit imposed for such neglect being announced with yells of laughter, and shouts and vociferations audible several streets off, and entirely destroying the sleep of all in the immediate neighbourhood.

The report contains additional cultural information, principally that stones were beaten together in accompaniment to the songs at intervals during the proceedings (a custom attributed to Africa), and 'coffee and syrup and water were served round to the asssembled company'. The latter was the primary evidence in the case of the complainants, who endeavoured to prove that the private yard of the Congo Society was a public hostelry where disreputables were entertained. This was rejected by the judge.

Although the Congo Society had no Christian religious component in their wake ceremony, it can be seen that there are several elements in common between this, the earlier descriptions from 1847, and 1848, and Andrew Pearse's 1955 classifications and observations. Whilst the Congos did not sing hymns or psalms over the corpse, Pearse obtained a pertinent recollection from 'an old Trinidadian, son of a Congo' that has been quoted in Chapter I because of its reference to the sanza. His informant remembered that

old Africans (who had migrated as indentured labour) would sit in the house of the dead singing songs about the deceased and playing the 'banja' (sanza) 'while the younger people danced the Bongo outside'. In this, as has been shown for Jamaica (Chapter II), the word Bongo probably has Congolese significance. Pearse also indicates that Bongo contributed to the musical content of the Calypso in the twentieth century.

In addition to direct African association there were, of course, signs of French Creole influence in the 1853 wake of the Congo Society. In particular the *Chansons de Société* sung 'in the French language'. As was pointed out in the *Port of Spain Gazette*, the defending lawyer had made play of the African nature of the 'hymns of mourning'! It is important, however, to place this institution alongside the Yoruba Friendly Society and other organisations representing African 'nations' mentioned earlier.

Such associations existed for both secular and religious purposes - in 1955 Pearse notes drum accompanied 'Congo' music that had become almost defunct. This was once played 'for wedding and christening dances held by groups of persons of Congo descent and [had been] financed by contributions of [the] group'. Some of the other dances held by the Congo Society in its Charlotte Street yard probably had this function. There is also a possible link between Congo and the old-creole *juba* dance, although evidence for this is very uncertain. What is much more definite is the direct participation of societies representing African nations in the nineteenth-century Carnival. For example, Mitto Sampson's oral history research mentions a Carnival band called the Congo Jackos in the post-Emancipation period, and Maureen Warner presents oral evidence for a Rada group that participated in Carnival during the late nineteenth century. Her research suggests other similar African masquerade groupings in the last century.⁶⁸ This is likely also for related migrant affiliations, such as the Martinique-orientated Society of St. Rose, mentioned earlier.

Carnival in the 1850s - attempted suppression of the 'people's festival'

Consolidation of the Police laws in 1849 restated (in a new order of words) restrictions on playing and dancing to particular forms of musical accompaniment at specific times and, on appearing masked in the streets of towns (except at times allowed in notices issued by the police). A clause not in previous Police Ordinances concerned the singing of profane or obscene songs or ballads. While this does not necessarily mean Carnival songs, the implication of this restriction suggests that certain songs had begun to be perceived as a threat by the hierarchy, probably including the wake songs discussed previously.

It is evident also that songs of social comment had begun to make their mark in public. This is witnessed by a letter from 'A Friend Of Social Order' published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* following the Carnival of 1851. The writer identifies a Church scandal that had become the subject of a Carnival personification and songs:

When an individual whose immoral conduct has led to his personification and exposure to the scorn and derision of the multitude during the last two days of "Pagan revelry" ventures, whilst the names of his victims are being sullied in the streets, and made the subject of the ribald songs and jests of the people, to take his seat as a member of the Roman Catholic Vestry, and assume a conspicuous part in matters in which the interests of religion are concerned, it is high time that he should be made to understand the disgust his conduct excites.

The letter writer continues with his moral stance and notes the effect of the Carnival satire with advice to the perpetrator:

It is currently reported that two of this individual's victims, a young couple, have left the island, unable to, face the unenviable notoriety which he has cast upon their fair fame; let him, their evil spirit, so far follow their example, as to retire from public observation.

In conclusion, he threatens that if his letter produces no result the cleric will 'hear again from A Friend Of Social Order'.⁶⁹

This is a very early example of the popular power of Trinidad Carnival burlesques and is doubly important in that it shows associated satirical songs were also part of the masquerade tradition at this time; performing a function similar to that of the calypso in the twentieth century.

With a few exceptions, such as the *belairs* mentioned previously, evidence for the subject matter of songs from this era is very difficult to discover. The full shape of the Carnival is similarly elusive, although sporadic accounts in the newspapers provide a more complete picture, especially in the light of a growing hierarchical antagonism towards the event. Two letters from 'A Friend to Mirth but an Enemy to Folly' published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1856, are the next available documents in this respect. The first was printed on 30 January, before the Carnival, and the second on 6 February after the event.

Complaining in his initial letter of the issue by the police of the annual proclamation allowing masking (limited to two days as usual), 'A Friend to Mirth' is at 'a loss to know why this *barbarous* custom has not long been put a stop to'. He declares that 'none but the lowest of the low, and vilest of the vile now think of appearing in masks in the public streets at this season' and calls for the abolition of Carnival (although this is not mentioned by name). He is assured that the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy are opposed to the festival as well as all 'well thinking people in the community'. He asks, therefore, for a second proclamation in line with his views. In this, however, the 'Enemy to Folly' was disappointed.

Following the revelry, the same writer is incensed by a pro-Carnival report published by the *Trinidad Reporter* and castigates 'all hands connected with it, from the Editor down to the Printer's Devil'. At the core of his criticisms is the behaviour of '"the Majority"(!) during the night of Sunday and morning of Monday last'. This appears to be a reference to 'Canboulay' for the 'Friend to Mirth' scorns the masqueraders, describing them as 'such out-and-out devils as filled the streets of Port of Spain from half-past 10 o'clock Sunday to 3.a.m. on Monday last'. He believes that they (and the staff of the *Trinidad Reporter*) 'would disgrace a community of *savages*'.

If it was the 'Canboulay' procession, the 'savages' that 'filled the streets' were recalled by 'an old lady' in 1881, who had seen 'a Canboulay some thirty years before' and 'described it in a way which suggested the idea of it being a representation of the slave driver and his slaves'. In this 'she spoke of the "Negres Jardins" with their baskets, and of a man with a long whip, who pretended to drive them on to work and flog them when

they refused'.⁷⁰ Accompanied by the noise of drumming and the singing and cries of the participants, this accentuated reminder of slavery was almost certainly too close to the reality of the past for the comfort of a guilty (and fearful) plantocracy. Those who had previously mimicked 'Canboulay' when the Carnival was their prerogative. Yet, there was no single reason for objections to the Carnival (including its opening Canboulay ceremony). For example, the Canboulay procession might be seen as a vindication of the fight against slavery, not simply by the ex-slave but also by the white abolitionist. From subsequent evidence, it is also clear that the festival had its supporters in the white elite (abolitionists or not) whose influence was augmented by an increasingly articulate black (and 'coloured') population.

The *Port of Spain Gazette* continued its anti-Carnival stance in 1857, in a comment prior to the festival that also indicates some of the external influences on entertainment in the island introduced by travelling showmen:

We continue to be well furnished with amusements. A Conjuror, and a Company of Acrobats have been doing their best to afford us recreation; and a less harmless pastime, that annual noisy nuisance of masking, seems to be preparing to make a prominent exhibition this year.

In the same issue of this newspaper (7 February), the arrival of a new Governor, Robert William Keate, was reported. His attitude towards the Carnival in the next two years was to have a profound effect on the festival.⁷¹

It was Fraser's belief, according to his 1881 memorandum, that 'in 1857 the Carnival was dying out'. This was a sentiment often expressed, but never resolved throughout the nineteenth century. A revival of cross-sectional interest appears to have been triggered by the negative attitude of Governor Keate in 1858. It seems that those who were against masking had the ear of the Governor - it appears he was advised by the then Chief Justice - although, as has been indicated, there were always others in the elite who were opposed to any interference with the celebration.

Following the Governor's holding of 'a Fancy Dress Ball' in honour of the Queen (complained the *Trinidad Sentinel* on 25 February), the anti-masqueraders had their way

and a proclamation 'forbidding all persons to wear masks' at Shrovetide, was issued one month before.

That this was unlikely to have the desired effect is evinced by a letter from 'Duty', published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 3 February, soon after the announcement of the prohibition. This complained of excessive pre-Shrovetide revelry, comprising 'noise', 'tumult' and 'barbarian mirth' that was 'certainly beyond anything [he] had experienced hitherto'. The correspondent asks fiercely: 'If the "Police Law" can prohibit "Masking", or rather I should say wearing a "Mask", one can be masking without the "paper face", can not the same law prohibit unnerving noise such as *howling*, *yelling* and other *savage signs* of mirth, now to be heard every night from 6.p.m. to 12.p.m?' The police are criticised for doing little to quell the disturbances, but shopkeepers are commended for not selling masks pending the Carnival.

As Pearse has noted, a letter published in the *Gazette* after the festival provides further evidence that the celebration of Canboulay opened the Carnival in this period:

commencing the orgies on Sunday night we have the fearful howling of a parcel of semi-savages, emerging from God knows where from, exhibiting hellish scenes and the most demonical representations of the days of slavery as they were forty years ago;

and goes on to complain of other features of the festival:

then using the mask the following two days as a mere cloak for every species of barbarism and crime.

These included 'innumerable petty robberies in broad day and to insult and assault everyone whom cowardly malice could not reach under other circumstances'.

Like previous letters, from which quotations have been taken in this period, the sobriquet of the signator (in this instance 'Pax') is in the carnivalesque tradition, as are the characteristics of the festival about which he complains - the latter appear to refer to activities that later became known as 'Ol' Mas'. Behind the cloak of anonymity these letter writers generally expressed stereotypical white elitist attitudes towards race and class, a subject that was to come into the open in editorial exchanges (and letters to the editor), between the *Sentinel* and the *Gazette* in the aftermath of Keate's Carnival measures. This is discussed by Pearse.

Philopolis, writing in the *Sentinel*, on 4 March, explained the pro-Carnival position regarding the violence that accompanied the attempt to control masking in 1858:

Some days before Carnival, we saw posted up in the corner of our streets a bill forbidding all persons to wear masks, and intended to prevent those masquerades, that, since the days of Columbus, have been the entertainment of our people in this island. The people resented, murmured a little, and obeyed the cruel enjoinder: *the masks were dropped*. But, by way of compensation, they betook themselves to fancy dresses, and in droll accoutrements led many processions through the streets. The Police was immediately set on movement, and some of the gay fellows were *arrested, prosecuted and fined*.

Now, we would ask, were these orders and harsh measures just or prudent? Were they not provoking and mischievous? They may be judged of by their results and the sad events that followed, will answer for us. The people, excited by these last provocations, would not submit; they assembled in different bands, set the Police at defiance, paraded with or without masks, hissed or hooted the Policemen, attacked them in their stronghold, beat and knocked them down, wounded some of them, and presented such boisterous scenes as we had never witnessed before.

Heavy handedness by the police on Shrove Tuesday, especially in the so-called 'French Streets' of Port of Spain, in which many who were 'dressed up, but not masked' were 'dragged' to the police station, appears to have incited this confrontation.

In the light of this, according to the *Gazette*, the police 'wavered in the performance of their disagreeable duty' and in consequence 'the force was called in and the whole town left free to the rabble to do as it chose'. Thus, sensing their victory, a large band of black people paraded before the police station and gave 'a derisive shout of triumphant defiance', but soon after 'every vestige of the immense crowd of...maskers and mummers' dispersed at the arrival of armed troops [redcoats], on the behest of the Government.

In addition to the issues of race and class, that came to the surface in the wake of what can be best termed as a stalemate between the masqueraders and the authorities, there was also the question of 'custom'. In this the competition between French-speaking and English-speaking Trinidadians was predominant. The clashes between the police and the populace in the 'French Streets' (to the east of Henry Street, on the eastern side of Port of Spain) almost certainly reflect this further consideration in the attempt to stop masking.

The *Sentinel* (owned by a group of black people, and with French Creole sentiments) identified this issue squarely in its editorial on 25 February:

It is sought, say the advocates of this iniquitous and silly proceedings, to make this Colony English in its manners, habits and customs. The absurdity of this assertion appears upon its face, and requires no keenness of perception to discover it. As well might our ruler desire to make this community English in habits of thought, nay in language, or better still in religion. Is he likely to succeed in such an attempt - yes, just as likely to succeed as in changing our habits and customs.⁷²

Without direct reference to the French-English rivalry, Fraser picks up this point in his memorandum when he described the effect of Keate's actions in 1858, noting that the ban produced:

another far more serious consequence which had not been foreseen. Many persons who had noticed with much satisfaction the gradual decline of the Carnival, thought it a very high-handed act to endeavour to put down by armed force that which, however absurd and objectionable, could scarcely be called illegal and which had the sanction of immemorial custom.

The result was that new life and vigour was given to the almost defunct Carnival and in 1859 preparations were made to carrying it out on a more extended scale than had been the case for years.

Keate appears to have wavered slightly in his attitude towards the Carnival in 1859. This was presumably in the light of the overt opposition and his experience the year previous, or rather this is the impression given by a post-Carnival report in the *Port of Spain Gazette* (19 March). They note that 'at first it was stated that no interference with the mummers would be made - that they were to be allowed the full licence they claimed; then the orders given to the Police were far from exact - not to say intentionally equivocal - then the assistance of the Military was obtained in an irregular and inefficient fashion'. The report in the *Trinidad Sentinel* (10 March), however, indicates that special preparations were made to constrain the Carnival - soldiers were posted at key positions, and the police force was strengthened. There was also police interference with the masquers from early on Monday morning 'until a band of about one thousand persons forced them to retreat'.

The police appear to have had little contact with the masquers for the rest of the day but on Shrove Tuesday became very active in making arrests and other measures such as one highlighted in the *Sentinel*, where a man who had painted his face with red ochre was compelled to wash off the colouring. In addition 'a large canoe on wheels was taken away from a certain band, and a canopy viciously destroyed'. The constabulary also

endeavoured to enter the 'French Streets', but were driven back as in the year before. At this 'another detachment of soldiers was sent for' who 'soon after marched into Town'.

Veterans of the Crimean War, some with decorations for bravery, these troops had dissipated the masqueraders in 1858 by virtue of their arms. In 1859, however, they were dispatched without weapons. This led to their ignominious downfall for, in the words of the *Sentinel* 'like fiends [they] commenced an attack on the people of Corbeau Town who, to their praise, be it said, drove the heroes of Sebastopol like chaff before the wind'. Fraser gives the location for this confrontation as the 'Western end of Lower Prince Street' (in the 'English' part of Port of Spain), and 'stones and bottles' as the missiles of the defenders of Corbeau Town.

After this the populace 'had their pleasure without molestation' and the satisfaction of having obtained a symbolic victory over the Executive that had been achieved only in part the year before. At the same time a similar attempt to put down masking in San Fernando also ended with the police 'shamefully beaten and put to flight'. Needless to say, this brought strong criticism in the press, especially from the *Port of Spain Gazette*, and the *Sentinel* confessed that they had 'no confidence in, nor respect for, the Governor'.

While, in 1858, it is likely that organised opposition to the actions of the authorities had been concentrated among French and French-creole speakers, the overt resistance to the military by an English-speaking district of Port of Spain in 1859 suggests that linguistic barriers had been put to one side among representatives of all sectors of the community. Issues of race and class had merged with the sentiment of the French-speaking elite, opposed to the attack on 'custom', and the disdain of the English-speaking elite for an ineffectual administration. Symptomatic of this is a comparison in the *Sentinel* between the celebration of Carnival and the festivals of the exclusive group of indentured East Indians. These migrants, they observed, were 'allowed anniversarily to have their fêtes without molestation', despite the fact that 'they generally fight, and on the last occasion even a murder was perpetrated'. 'Yet', said the *Sentinel*, 'no Police, no Military Force, is put in requisition to prevent them from enjoying themselves'. The latter is presumably a

reference to the 'Muharram' or 'Hosien' festival which has a parallel history to Carnival in this period and in which blacks also began to participate on occasion.⁷³

Carnival in the 1860s - the rise of the *jamettes*

For those opposed to Carnival, 1858 (rather than 1859) is generally seen as a turning point in what they saw as an increasing decline into degeneracy. Fraser reported, however, that the festival 'went on much as before' until the late 1860s. The events of 1858-59 had their repercussions in 1860. According to Donald Wood, in January 'there were rumours that Keate was planning to ban Carnival completely'. As he observes, 'it was impossible to foresee the consequences of so drastic a step' and, he notes, the *Trinidad Free Press* argued 'to let Carnival die a natural death would be a safer procedure'. In consequence, a circular was sent to merchants to obtain their views and, in the light of their pecuniary interests, they supported a continuation. Commerce, therefore, had as early as 1860, come to be a mainstay of the event, for Keate acquiesced and allowed the Carnival to take place.

Without the politics of confrontation with the authorities to influence its views, there was also a change in attitude towards the Carnival by the *Trinidad Sentinel*. While they maintained that 'the people have a *prescriptive right* to mask', in their report of 23 February, they also wished to see the festival 'modernised' by the influence of 'civilisation'. This was a theme worthy of their erstwhile opponents, the *Port of Spain Gazette*, who often repeated similar views throughout the nineteenth century and later. The *Sentinel's* attitude appears to have been influenced by what they also saw as 'savagism' for in their account of the proceedings they were 'sorry to have to state that several skirmishes ensued - not with the Police, for there was no interference on that score - but among the maskers themselves. One man (report says) lost his life; another was severely wounded by a weapon and others came off with broken heads, &c.'⁷⁴

This may suggest that battles between rival bands (parallel to the confrontation between Corbeau Town and the soldiers in 1859) had already become a feature of the

Carnival at this time. They may have included stickfighting, although there is insufficient evidence to be positive in this respect until the 1870s.

In 1861, the *Port of Spain Gazette* drew attention to the fact that there were no restrictions on the wearing of masques and this had deterred those who had previously participated in the Carnival as a protest against the attitude of the Executive. They reported therefore, that 'the display fell again entirely into the hands of the idle and vagrant' and were unimpressed by what they saw. The majority of masquing seems to have taken place in a particular section of Charlotte Street (one of the 'French Streets') which they described as 'continental'. Presumably, it was here that the three masques which they identified were seen. These were: 'the usual ostentatious promenades of those ladies whose existence is usually ignored or accepted as a necessary evil...; the usual fantastic mummers who represent the continental *Pierrots*;' and a smaller number than before 'of unclad creatures who sometimes take advantage of the general laxity to outrage public decency'. In other streets 'a distant Babel of discordant noises' was heard and, occasionally a small band passed by. Unlike 1860, however, there appears to have been 'no conflict or serious quarrelling'.⁷⁵

An increasing distaste among the elite for the type of masqueraders who took part in the Carnivals of the 1860s is already apparent from the accounts of 1860 and 1861. In this vein, the following year appears to have been the last the Archbishop of Port of Spain gave his sanction to certain of the masquers by visiting 'some of the houses where the inmates were dressed up' and driving 'through the town to see the less refined amusements in the evening'.⁷⁶ It is necessary to be cautious about such attitudes, however, as they almost certainly reflect aspects of elitism and racism which conditioned contemporary judgements. In turn, these might, or might not be classified as moral or aesthetic in the light of such influences.

For the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1863 'the annual two day's saturnalia' was becoming 'less and less engaged every year'. Yet caution is also required in interpreting such reports. For example, the same account hints a more elaborate festival was taking place in that 'the few masqueraders of the Carnival got their frolics somewhat dampened,

and their finery damaged by showers'. Leaving aside the discouragement of the rain, the fact that the *Gazette* was prepared to single out only 'one single piece of mummery' (and then not say what it was) highlights its continuing obsession with what it saw as the sinking of the festival 'to the grade of a licensed exhibition of wild excesses by the least reputable classes of society to the annoyance of all the others'. They reported, therefore, that 'the noise and nuisance continues unabated while it lasts; but the pageantry and fun are clipped of all their former attraction'. In this they concentrated, as usual, on drawing attention to the 'annual parade of ladies less accustomed to the privacy of domestic life, than to what in London parlance would be termed life on the streets and of idle dissolute youths, their companions' and continued 'the former dress as showily as they can; the latter make a hideous uproar, both with the same intention of attracting public notice'. The newspaper had heard of no conflict between the masquers and the authorities.⁷⁷

The *Gazette* carried no Carnival bulletin the following year, although it reported 'the Masquerade of 1864' was 'marked by a midnight fire of the most serious description....by which the most valuable portion of the town was threatened with destruction'. This was a case of arson. A fire was started in a store in Frederick Street (then known colloquially as Rue de Anglais, or Almond Walk) and spread to several similar properties before it was brought under control. In 1865, however, a letter, signed 'Anti-Masquerader' and published by the *Trinidad Chronicle* on 3 March, provides further evidence for early morning Carnival music in what, therefore, may have been the 'Canboulay' ceremony. The writer complains of 'the barbarous din which disgraced the town the last few nights' between the hours of midnight and 5.a.m., and notes that after midnight the control of specified musical instruments was outside the provisions of the existing Police Ordinance (operational only between 10.p.m. and 11.59.p.m.). The 'beating or playing of instruments' he protests, were usually accompanied by 'filthy and obscene songs'. The latter were to become a continuing source of indignant censure for the next forty or fifty years'.⁷⁸

In 1866, the *Port of Spain Gazette* provides more varied information on the Carnival than it had three years before but, despite good weather, they still believed that it

was a 'very stale, flat and unprofitable affair' with 'the street masquers...less numerous and less effective than on any previous occasion'. This sentiment was echoed in the *Star of the West*, who also thought that 'the performances were a little less noisy than usual'. The *Gazette*, however, shows that there were activities in both the 'French Streets' and in the English section of Port of Spain:

In one or two streets at the East end...there was a good deal of the dancing and drumming for which the denizens of that quarter are locally celebrated; but as far as we have been able to learn, there were no grand "dignitys" as in former times. At the West end of the town on the Tuesday there was a very fair burlesque of the recent trial of Thomas McGrath, before the Supreme Criminal Court here, in which the law was somewhat stripped of its majesty by the extravagant imitations given of one or two of the legal and lay personages who were engaged on that trial.

Commenting on the burlesque, (which represented a recent murder case), the *Star of the West* believed that 'the Governor, Chief Justice, Attorney General and Mr McGrath were personated with considerable care', but said disparagingly 'the representations were scarcely deserving of note'. They were happy to report, however, the holding of 'fancy dress parties in several private houses'.⁷⁹

Just over two weeks prior to the festival in 1868, the same newspaper wrote 'there is at present much of evil and abuse in the popular observance of Carnival'. Like other broadsheets in this era, however, they had become resigned to the holding of the event and believed that 'reformation is better than destruction, and that to elevate and refine the amusements of the people is better than to forbid them altogether'. An example of the type of behaviour about which they complained is provided by evidence in a court case regarding an affray during '*cannes brûlées*' on the morning of Carnival Monday, 24 February.

From the evidence, it seems that on this occasion there were seven bands of women 'parading the streets in fantastic dresses' : Black Ball, Dahlia, Don't-Care-A-Damn, Magenta, Maribun (usually Maribone), Mousseline and True Blue. Dahlia, at least, had male auxiliaries and, it may be that some, if not all, of these bands had male counterparts with whom they were directly associated. This is speculation, as no contemporary evidence is available, excepting the use of some of these names by male stick bands in the 1870s.

The Mousselines carried baskets with bread and cheese in them, and flambeaux, which provided light for their dancing. The whole band appears to have been on bail (their Queen, Clementina Mills - alias Mamselle Janette - had been tried for affray but acquitted). The women, nevertheless, had armed themselves with batons (*boutous*), which they concealed. They seem to have been dancing in Duke Street, between the intersections of St. James' Street and Henry Street, and this suggests they were a band allied with the French-speaking section of Port of Spain. Further credence is given to this in that their attackers came from the direction of Corbeau Town (the English-speaking area). They were assaulted by the Dahlias, (possibly assisted by the Black Balls and, or True Blues) at about 1.45.a.m. This band, probably encouraged by 'grog', had put out its flambeaux, and were armed openly with sticks and baskets full of stones and broken bottles. Men appear to have been in the forefront of the onslaught, but the band was led by their Queen, Elizabeth Simmons. 'The Prince Consort of the Mousseline Queen was knocked on the head and the forces ran away, but as remarked by counsel, they lived to fight another day', the *Chronicle* reported in their summary of the case. They also pointed out how 'the princesses of the Mousselines gave their evidence against the Dahlias with a great deal of gusto'. L.M. Fraser, the historian, was Acting Inspector Commandant of the Police at that time and told the court how he saw the wounded man, assisted by other members of his party, carrying their flambeaux while running down St. James' Street to escape their assailants, who were pursuing them with missiles.

Leaving aside the violence, this event is important in that it shows something more of the way in which groups of black women participated in Carnival at this time, and in particular Canboulay. It is possible that band membership was synonymous with the 'ladies of the street' who paraded in Carnival in this period, but this seems too simplistic a definition for their membership. They appear to have been dancing organisations, probably based on territorial divisions of the city, that themselves usually reflected linguistic and religious groupings and other social circumstances. A little more background on their function is available in the report of another court case involving two of these groups, following a confrontation in June 1864. The Mousselines challenged the

Don't-Care-A-Damns in George Street (in the French section), but while the disturbance lasted all day, fighting was very limited. Some of the same women, including Clementina Mills, took part. The Mousselines are noted by one witness as having been seen 'dancing in the yard opposite Richaud's', and he also described the purpose of the two societies as for 'dancing and fighting'. The Chief Justice paid particular attention to this in his summing up, stating: 'he did not know what that could mean, but he dared to say it was within the knowledge of the jury that some of these societies - originally founded no doubt for innocent purposes - had become mere factions and that during the present session they had had two of them before the Court in a very disgraceful case between two women belonging to the "Holy Trinity" and the "Immaculate Conception".'

Women of violence (brutalised initially by slavery), played an important role in black society in Trinidad throughout the nineteenth century, as has been pointed out by David Trottman. It is also evident from the functions of black dancing societies explored in this chapter that they sometimes reflected expressions of turmoil in the changing circumstances of Trinidad's history. In addition, there appear to have been organisations devoted to aggression, such as a recently disbanded 'society at St. Joseph for the purpose of fighting all comers', mentioned in a court case in 1846. It seems, however, until the 1870's this semi-latent vehemence did not manifest itself in a continual pattern of crime and physical confrontation, especially between bands at Carnival.⁷⁹

That the behaviour of black people in Trinidad society, and in the Carnival in particular, had again become an issue for the administration, is witnessed by the letter from 'Anti-Masquerader', regarding control of the playing of musical instruments, quoted earlier. In 1865, he refers to 'the new Police Ordinance' to be passed in the Legislative Council, but he was to wait until mid-1868 until it reached the statute book. Ordinance No. 6 of 1868 '*For rendering certain offences punishable on Summary Conviction*', included a revision of the times when it was permitted 'to play or dance...to any drum, gong, tambour, bangee, chac-chac or other instrument of music' that encompassed the period between midnight and 6.00.a.m., about which his letter complained. In addition, Fraser says in his memorandum, it was decided to place Carnival under 'Police

Regulations' within this ordinance. A system of this type was in use in European countries where Carnivals were held and, as the *Port of Spain Gazette* adjudged retrospectively in 1899, the method was adopted 'in recognition of the fact that [Carnival] was essentially an un-English amusement and one, if allowed to continue, had to be dealt with in the same manner as in the countries from which it originated'. This, of course, denies any African component in the festival, let alone other non-European influences. There were further considerations also, as Fraser explained, noting how the control of '*cannes brulées*' and other aspects of the festival were designed so as not to affect the East Indian celebration of Hosien, which he 'thought might cause some trouble'. In this a practice of the maxim 'divide and rule' was being sustained, albeit subtly, between the black creole and East Indian communities.⁸¹

Donald Wood notes that the Carnival of 1869 featured two burlesques, both reported in the *Star of the West* on 11 February. In the first the Attorney General, dressed in gown and wig and accompanied by a member of the Legislative Council, was depicted slashing 'his "*lieges*" ' with a cart whip. The second was a representation of 'a comic cricket match' that was '"far from complimentary" to the Trinidad eleven'.

A possible influence on these burlesques was the travelling showmen and other theatrical personalities that toured the islands of the Caribbean, some from Europe, some from North America and, perhaps, some from South America. For example, there are advertisements (located at random) for travelling Circuses from the United States in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in March 1838, and January 1846, and the presence of a conjuror and acrobats just before the 1857 Carnival has been noted earlier.

Another type of burlesque (performed initially by whites in blackface) was minstrelsy. Originating in the United States, this made an appearance in Trinidad with concerts by local Amateur Christy Minstrels in the mid 1860s, according to a retrospective survey of Carnival published in the *Trinidad Evening News* in 1952.

There were more formal entertainments also, featuring European music played on European instruments by black creole musicians. An example from Day has been quoted in Chapter II and this almost certainly dates from the late 1840s. In 1858 'a Band of

Creole Amateur Musicians' attended a banquet celebrating Emancipation Day and 'enlivened the meeting with their strains'. That such musicians were versatile in different types of performance is demonstrated by a report of the funeral of Archbishop English in September 1862, by Bodu. He notes that 'the Dead March in "Saul", specially arranged for the occasion by Mr Renaud, was played by the Creole Band under the direction of the talented native musician, Ernest Monteil'. Bodu also relates that the same band 'under the direction of Mr C.S. Renaud' provided the music at the inauguration of a new fountain in Brunswick Square (now Woodford Square) in 1866.⁸²

Such evidence provides the background to the evolution of Carnival and black music in Trinidad in the same way as observations by outsiders such as Day. Another better known contributor in this manner was the cleric, historian and writer Charles Kingsley. He paid a visit to his friend, and Governor of the island, Arthur Gordon, in late-1869-early-1870, and in 1871 published an account of his experiences: *At Last: A Christmas in the West Indies*.⁸³

While Kingsley did not write about the Carnival, he includes a description of another social activity: 'The Races', which he attended 'to wander en mufti among the crowd outside and behold the humours of men'. In this he provides pertinent observations on cultural characteristics in the island at this time.

Horse races had been staged on the 'Grand Savannah' in Port of Spain as early as 1828, according to Capadose, although Bodu reports that 'the first annual Race Meeting at Queen's Park - the same location - 'was held in the month of December' 1851. This was under the patronage of the Governor and, by inference, Kingsley attended another such occasion, possibly in January 1870. By this time, Trinidad had begun to accommodate a stream of English-speaking black migrants from Barbados - in search of employment - and together with local French-speaking black creoles, they formed enthusiastic groups at the turf. Accordingly, Kingsley wrote how 'the Negro, or the coloured man, was in his glory' and noted that:

He bawled about island horses and Barbadian horses - for the Barbadians mustered strong and fight was expected, which, however, never came off; he sang songs,

possibly some of them extempore, like that which amused one's childhood concerning a once notable event in a certain island -

"I went to da Place
To see da horse-race,
I see Mr Barton
A-wipin' ob his face

Run, Allwright
Run for your life;
See Mr Barton
A-comin' wid a knife

Oh Mr Barton
I sorry for your loss
If you no believe me,
I tie my head across."

As this is in English, the song is presumably one that was sung by Bajan partisans at this particular race meeting. Rivalry with the French-creole speaking element is witnessed by the mention of their possible conflict with the Barbadians. At the same time, however, Trinidad's popular links were being maintained with metropolitan France in the shape of 'one of those French merry-go-rounds, turned by machinery, with pictures of languishing ladies round the central column. All the way from the Champs Elyses the huge piece of fools' tackle had lumbered and cracked hither across the sea to Martinique, and was now making the round of the islands, and a very profitable round to judge from the number of its customers'.

That evening, Kingsley (who was staying in St Ann's, to the north of the Savannah) heard in the distance both 'the weary din of the tom-toms which came from all sides of the Savannah save [his] own...and the screams of an European band which was playing a "combination tune" near the Grand Stand, half a mile off'.

He observed that 'to the music of tom-tom and chac-chac the coloured folk would dance perpetually till ten o'clock, after which time the rites of Mylitta are silenced by the policeman, for the sake of quiet folk in bed'. Despite the provisions in the *Summary Convictions Ordinance* of 1868 he complained, in similar fashion, to Day and 'Anti-Masquerader' before him, that the drummers were 'but too apt, however, to break out again with fresh din about one in the morning, under the excuse "Dis am not last night Policeman. Dis am 'nother day".' Such dances, he reported, were 'not easily seen', but

he did manage to catch a glimpse of one from a distance sitting with his host on the steep slope of the Belmont hill. 'A hundred yards below we espied a dance in a Negro garden; a few couples, mostly of women, poussetting to each other with violent and ungainly stampings, to the music of tom-tom and chac-chac'. This may suggest that a *belair* dance was being performed, but the evidence is inconclusive.

Some ten or more years earlier E.B. Underhill had attended 'the gatherings of the Africans and their children at Dry River' (in similar vicinity). This group had formed part of the post-Emancipation migrants from Africa who came to Trinidad as indentured labour. They had subsequently settled in Port of Spain, building round thatched houses and 'a large shed devoted to night dances, and to the noisy music of banjo or drum'. The location might or might not be one of the Belmont Valley Road settlements of Africans, recalled from *circa* 1890, which included plots occupied by Radas, Mandingos, Ibos and Congos. There was also a Yoruba community, about a mile closer to the centre of Port of Spain and just east of the Dry River, that seems, however, a more likely situation for the site in the description.⁸⁴

The reports, by Underhill and Kingsley, serve as further reminders of the African-Caribbean undercurrents that existed within the black French-creole speaking and English-creole speaking populations in Trinidad during the nineteenth century. Another consideration, while not the direct concern of this discussion, was the relationship between blacks and East Indians, alluded to earlier, with respect to Hosien. At the race meeting, Kingsley mentions that East Indians were equal participants in the activities, including joyriding by women on the French merry-go-round. In another context, there was also black-East Indian rivalry. A pertinent example is stickfighting.

It appears that from the time East Indians began to arrive in Trinidad (1845), African-Caribbean stickfighting traditions (including absorption of European and Amerindian techniques) met with those of the Indian sub-continent. Day notes this rivalry in the late 1840s, reporting:

A fight between the two races is a most ludicrous spectacle; for the physical inferiority of the Hindoo, is amply compensated by his superior strategy, and a well-organised combination amongst themselves. Whilst one is engaged stick to

stick with a negro, another will creep between the legs of his countryman and pull his antagonist down. It usually requires white interference to put an end to the fray.

Some twenty years later Kingsley indicated that:

heavy fights between the two races arise now and then, in which the Coolie, in spite of his slender limbs has generally the advantage over the burly negro by dint of his greater courage, and the terrible quickness with which he wields his beloved weapon, the long hardwood quarter staff.⁸⁵

While East Indian participation in the Carnival during the 1870s did not become an issue, stickfighting between rival bands of blacks, as has been indicated, became its dominant feature. This characteristic was attributed to the *diametres* or *jamettes* - beneath the diameter of respectability; the underworld - whose gradual takeover of the Carnival, in the eyes of the white elite, has been documented in the preceding discussion.

1 Historical data summarised from Brereton, *A History*, pp.10-47; Jean F. Dauxion Lavaysse; [ed.E.B.], *A Statistical, Commercial, And Political Description of Venezuela, Trinidad, Margarita, and Tobago*, London, G. and W.B. Whittaker, 1820, pp.321-340; Linda A. Newson, *Aboriginal and Spanish Colonial Trinidad*, London, Academic Press, 1976, pp.177-224; Parry and Sherlock, op.cit., pp.170-172; Eric Williams, *History of the People of Trinidad and Tobago*, London, André Deutsch, 1964, pp.40-50; 65-85.

2 Pierre-Gustave-Louis Borde, trans. A.S. Mavrogordato, *The History of Trinidad under the Spanish Government*, Second Part (1622-1797), Trinidad, Paria Publishing Co., 1982, p.311; B.W. Higman, 'African and Creole Slave Family Patterns in Trinidad', in Crahan and Knight, op.cit., p.62.

3 L.M. Fraser, 'History of the origin of the Carnival', 16 March 1881: PRO CO 295/289/81.

4 The gist of Fraser's arguments concerning Carnival are most readily accessible in the illustrated abridgement of his massive study: James George Fraser, ed. Mary Douglas, abridged and illustrated by Sabine MacCormack, *The Illustrated Golden Bough*, London, Macmillan, 1978, pp.118-120, 133, 181, 190; Enid Welsford, *The Court Masque*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1927, p.9, 12. For 'All Souls Day', 'Candlemas', and 'Carnival' see also the entries in Maria Leach, ed., *Funk & Wagnalls Standard Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, London, New English Library, 1975. For Trinidad, Borde, op.cit., p.306.

5 Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe*, London, Temple Smith, 1978, pp.179-184.

6 Arnold van Gennep, trans. Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee, *The Rites of Passage*, London, Routledge, 1960; Victor W. Turner, *The Ritual Process*, London, Routledge, 1969, pp.94-95; Burke, op.cit., p.190.

7 Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, trans. Mary Feeney, *Carnival in Romans*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1981, p.292; Robert Dirks, *The Black Saturnalia*, Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1987; Roger D. Abrahams, and Richard Bauman, 'Ranges of Festival Behaviour', in Barbara A Babcock eds., *The Reversible World*, Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1978, p.206.

8 Roger D. Abrahams, 'Christmas and Carnival on St. Vincent', *Western Folklore*, Vol.31, No.4, October 1972, p.277.

9 Excluding this paragraph, the introductory section has been taken, with revision, from Cowley, 'Carnival in Trinidad', pp.4-8.

10 Pearse, 'Carnival'.

11 Borde, op.cit., p.306, 311.

12 Pearse, 'Carnival', p.177; Henry A. Kmen, *Music in New Orleans: The Formative Years, 1791-1841*, Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1966, especially the first two chapters; op.cit., pp.7-8.

13 Berquin-Duvallon, *Travels In Louisiana*, p.27, in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.92; Pierre C. de Laussat, *Memoire*, p.395, in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.84.

14 Pearse, 'Carnival', p.179.

15 'Martial Law at Christmas', from the *Trinidad Gazette*, 29 December 1824, reprinted *POSG*, 21 September 1925, p.4.

16 E.L. Joseph, *History of Trinidad*, Trinidad, Henry James Mills, 1838, p.230; Lionel Mordaunt Fraser, *History of Trinidad*, Vol.1, Trinidad, Government Printing Office, 1891, p.268; Joseph, op.cit., pp.229-230.

17 *Barbados Mercury and Bridgetown Gazette*, 1 February 1806, p.3; Fraser, *History*, Vol.1, pp.268-269; Joseph, op.cit., p.230.

18 See, for example, the chapter on 'Black Kings and Governors' in William D. Piersen, *Black Yankees*, Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 1988, pp.117-128, which covers all these areas. See also Appendix 4 for further English-speaking references. Not in the Appendix, the earliest traced reference in this research to the black New Orleans Carnival 'King of the Zulus' is a recording with this title by Louis Armstrong and his Hot Five, made in Chicago on 23 June 1926: Okeh 8396. For full discographical details see Brian Rust, *Jazz Records 1897-1942*, 2 vols., Chigwell, Storyville Publications, 1970.

19 *Barbados Mercury*, op.cit.; Brereton, *History*, pp.48-49; Fraser, *History*, Vol.I, pp.269-270; V.S. Naipaul, *The Loss Of El Dorado*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1973, pp.293-294. Each of these sources print versions of the song, the one used is from Fraser. Another, with music, is in Edric Connor, coll. and ed., *Songs From Trinidad*, London, Oxford University Press, 1958, pp.46-47. Additional reference has been made to Gertrude Carmichael, *The History of the West Indian Islands of Trinidad and Tobago, 1498-1900*, London, Alvin Redman, 1961, pp.76-77; and Anthony de Verteuil, *A History Of Diego Martin 1784-1884*, Trinidad, Paria Publishing, 1987, pp.71-73; The Plates III, following p.94, No.7 'Slave Revolt'.

20 Borde, op.cit., p.313.

21 Anthony de Verteuil, op.cit., p.11; The Plates II, following p.67, No.6 'Begorrat The King'; *i.q.* fn.20; See also Pearse, 'Mitto Sampson', pp.252-255.

22 Particulars are in Appendix 5.

23 Pearse, 'Carnival', p.178.

24 *General Index* [to the laws of Trinidad, passed between 1797 and 1850 (*sic*), (1830)], p.14; *The Trinidad Almanac for the year 1824*, p.88; Joseph, *History*, pp.106-107; Lionel Mordaunt Fraser, *History of Trinidad*, Vol.II, Trinidad, Government Printing Office, 1896, pp.53-54.

25 *Trinidad Gazette*, 23/12/1820, p.2; 10/1/1821, p.2; 13/1/1821, p.2; see also Pearse, 'Carnival', pp.179-180.

26 *i.q.* fn.16.

27 Carmichael, *Domestic*, Vol.II, pp.288-297.

28 Anthony de Verteuil, op.cit., The Plates IV, following p.125, No.5, 'Slave Revolt Commission'; Crowley, 'La Rose and La Marguerite', p.550, 552.

29 E.L. Joseph notes two supposed slave revolts that did not transpire in this period; one in 1819, the other in 1823 (*History*, p.254). Mr and Mrs Carmichael, however, do not appear to have been in Trinidad in 1819. A copy of *The Trinidad Almanac for the Year 1824*, in the Reference Division of the British Library, seems to have once belonged to 'John William Carmichael' of 'Laurel Hill' (both annotations are written on its pages, the

first on the title page). Mrs Carmichael was in the West Indies for five years, but the earliest of these were spent with her husband in St. Vincent. It is likely, therefore, that their residence in Trinidad was not until the mid 1820s. Other internal evidence in her book also supports this time-scale, see especially, *Domestic*, Vol.II, pp.70-81.

30 Carmichael, *Domestic*, Vol.II, pp.301-302. See also Gordon Rohlehr's interpretation of this song in his *Calypso & Society*, pp.9-10.

31 X, 'The Origin', *POSG* (Supplement), 26 March 1881, p.1; Censor 'The Origin', *TC*, 16 March 1881, p.3; Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar And Slaves*, New York, W.W. Norton, 1973, p.191; J.N. Brierley, *Trinidad Then And Now*, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1912, p.319.

32 Contemporary reports of Carnival where Canboulay is a component are from:
Carriacou : a pre-Carnival feast, and a similar tradition to post-Emancipation Trinidad.
Grenada : a similar tradition to post-Emancipation Trinidad.
St. Lucia : 'a dance mime of cane cutting in slave times, accompanied by *shâtwèl* and drummer'.

Bibliographical references are under 'Carnival' in Appendix 4. There may also be a link with *Danses de la canne à sucre*, accompanied by drums, reported by Anca Bertrand in Guadeloupe and Martinique: Bertrand 'Notes' p.15, 19.

33 PRO CO 295/289/81. See also the Carnival reports in the *Triidad Gazette* 20/2/1822, p.2; *infra*, fn.38 (1827); *POSG* 4/3/1829, p.3; 24/2/1830, p.2.

34 X, 'The Origin', *POSG* (Supplement), 26 March 1881, p.1; Censor 'The Origin', *TC*, 16 March 1881, p.3; X 'The Origin', *POSG*, 19 March 1881, p.3.

35 Kmen, *Music*, pp.21-23, 32-35; *POSG*, 1/2/1826 pp.2-3 (advertises respectively in English and French); Pearse, 'Carnival' p.181.

36 Lieutenant Colonel Capadore, *Sixteen Years In The West Indies*, Vol.I, London, T.C. Newby, 1845, pp.151-153; *Trinidad Guardian*, 16/2/1827 p.1; *POSG*, 14/2/1827, p.2; *POSG* 4/4/1827, p.2; Ignacio Jordan de Asso y del Rio, and Miguel de Manuel y Rodriguez, trans. Lewis F.C. Johnston, *Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain*, (1805 ed.), London, J. Butterworth & Son, 1825; *ibid*, p.278; Pearse, 'Carnival', for example, does not draw attention to these early controls on the festival's celebration.

37 Errol Hill notes the paucity of detail in contemporary newspaper reports: *Trinidad Carnival*, op.cit., p.10; Bayley, *Four Years*, p.214; *Trinidad Guardian*, 17/4/1827, p.2.

38 *Trinidad Sentinel* 2/2/1860, p.3 (under heading 'San Fernando', quoting '*Guardian*, January 27'); Bayley, op.cit., p.215; Mrs Carmichael, *Domestic*, Vol.II, p.53, Capadore, op.cit., pp.155-156.

39 advertisements are in: *POSG* 5/2/1831, p.2; 9/2/1831, p.2; 12/2/1831, p.2. The report is in *POSG*, 16/2/1831, p.3. 'Diary of Frederick Urich' quoted in Anthony de Verteuil, *The Years Of Revolt: Trinidad 1881-1888*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Paria Publishing, 1984, p.57.

40 For further particulars see Appendix 5.

41 *POSG*, 26/5/1832, p.2; 6/3/1832, p.2; J.D. Elder, 'Colour Music And Conflict...' *Ethnomusicology*, Vol.8, No.2, May 1964, p.129; Quevedo, *Atilla's Kaiso*, pp.8-9, 164. There is no mention of a massacre in the examination of this disturbance by Anthony de Verteuil, *The Years Before*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Inprint Caribbean, 1981, pp.221-223.

42 *POSG* 22/1/1833, p.2; 25/1/1833, p.1. See also de Verteuil, *Years*, p.267.

43 Pearse, 'Carnival', pp.183-184. The newspaper quotes have been taken from a copy of the original held at the West India Reference Library, Port of Spain, Trinidad: *POSG* 13/2/1834, p.2. Unfortunately the text in the microfilm held at the Newspaper division of the British Library, Colindale, is out of focus and obscured by the fold of the original volume's binding.

44 Errol Hill states the play was first performed in 1832: *Trinidad Carnival*, p.13. Its publication is noted in *POSG* 2/8/1833, reprinted in *POSG* 21/9/1925, p.6. On the Militia see: Joseph, *History*, pp.105-108; Mrs Carmichael, *Domestic*, Vol.II, pp.75-76; Capadose, *Sixteen Years*, Vol.I, pp.149-151.

45 Joseph, *History*, pp.258-259; *POSG* 5/8/1834, p.3 [reprinted in Publication No.256 of the Historical Society of Trinidad and Tobago]; Capadose, *Sixteen Years*, Vol.I, pp.156-164.

46 The term beau stick (or 'bow-'tick') meaning a club or heavy stick may have been used widely in the Caribbean. See, for example, the words to 'a genuine St. Kitts negro song by Sam Matthews' printed by Day: *Five Years*, Vol.II, pp.121-122; and reprinted in Abrahams and Szwed, *After Africa*, pp.316-317. On the Order by the Cabildo see Appendix 5; and for the other references to stickfighting, fns.20-22, Chapter II.

47 *Trinidad Royal Gazette*, 31/1/1834, p.1; 27/1/1835, p.1; 9/2/1836, p.4; 27/1/1837, p.1; 23/2/1838, p.1. This official journal commenced publication in 1833, but after the Carnival in that year.

48 For the Ordinances, see Appendix 5. On the 'bangee drum': *POSG*, 25/11/1845, p.3 (African Dances); *Trinidad Spectator*, 27/12/1845, p.2 (Christmas); *POSG*, 20/2/1849, p.2 (Carnival - 'bangee' only is used); *POSG*, 12/11/1853, p.2 (Congo dances/wakes). Pearse suggests this instrument may have been a sanza in his 'Carnival', p.184. He also dates his quotation from the *POSG* '1848', he uses the 20/2/1849 source.

49 *POSG*, 2/3/1838, pp.2-3.

50 Donald Wood, *Trinidad In Transition*, London, O.U.P., 1968, p.39; M.G. Lewis, *Journal*, in Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.242-243; H.H. Breen, *St. Lucia*, ibid, p.263; Wood, ibid.; *POSG*, 9/6/1900, p.4.

51 1 & 2 *Victoriae* c.19; Green, *British Slave Emancipation*, pp.154-158; *POSG*, 3/8/1838, p.2; Bridget Brereton, 'The Birthday of Our Race: A Social History of Emancipation Day in Trinidad, 1838-88' in Higman, ed., *Trade, Government And Society*, p.73.

52 Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, p.31; Brereton, 'Birthday', p.76; PRO CO 295/289/81; X, 'The Origin', *POSG* (Supplement), 26/3/1881, p.1.

53 *Mr Hamilton's Report*: PRO CO 884/4/40; Appendix 5; *TRG*, 5/2/1839, p.4.

54 *TRG*, 7/2/1844, p.6 (see also *POSG*, 6/2/1844, p.1); Brereton, 'Birthday', p.74; Pearse, 'Carnival', p.184; *Trinidad Standard*, 7/2/1842, p.3; *POSG* 8/2/1842, p.3.

55 *POSG*, 23/2/1844, p.3; Wood, *Trinidad*, pp.243-244 (from *Trinidad Standard*, 5/2/1845).

56 *Trinidad Spectator*, 27/12/1845, p.2; *POSG*, 25/11/1845, p.3.

57 TRG, Vol.6, No.[?], c.17/2/1846, p.20; POSG, 17/2/1846, p.3; *Trinidad Standard*, 19/2/1846, p.3; POSG, 20/2/1846, p.3; *Trinidad Standard*, 23/2/1846, p.3; *Trinidad Spectator*, 25/2/1846, p.2.

58 Day, op.cit., Vol.I, p.313, in which he states that the Carnival 'commenced on Sunday, the 7th March at midnight'. The year for this account is sometimes given as 1848, but 7 March was a Sunday in 1847. His description, pp.313-316, is quoted in: Pearse 'Carnival' pp.185-186; Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, pp.18-19; Abrahams and Szwed, op.cit., pp.268-270.

59 Day, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.288-289. He notes Christmas Day as being a Saturday, and this was the case in 1847.

60 *Trinidad Spectator*, 8/3/1848, p.3; POSG, 20/2/1849, p.2.

61 Abrahams, *Man-of-Words*, pp.133-156; FP&TN, 6/3/1879, p.2.

62 FP&TN, 6/3/1879, p.2; Wood, *Trinidad*, p.244 (from *Trinidad Standard*, 5/2/1845); Day, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.288-289; Pearse, 'Carnival' p.186; POSG, 20/2/1849, p.2; Day, op.cit., Vol.1, pp.288-289; POSG, 3/8/1838, p.2.

63 For migrants see: Wood, op.cit.; and Brereton, *History*; Martinique dancing/ St. Rose Society: POSG, 17/3/1846, p.2; prison riot: Wood, op.cit., pp.175-177; Trotman, *Crime*, pp.62-63; POSG, 2/10/1849, pp.2-3 (reprinted in POSG, 12/2/1911, p.5); POSG, 5/10/1849, p.2; Wood, op.cit., p.176. POSG, 13/3/1838, p.2; 'Belé from Martinique', from *Trinidad Sentinel*, 1/4/1841 (Pearse Papers); POSG, 19/2/1950, p.4; José M. Bodu, *Trinidadiana*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, A.C. Blondel, 1890, pp.15-16.

64 Thomas, *Theory*, p.v.; FP&TN, 1/3/1883, pp.2-3; Pearse, 'Aspects', p.30; E.M. Encinas, 'Emancipation Day', in Alfred Richards, comp, *Discovery Day Celebration 1927: Souvenir*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1927, p.77; Day, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.294-296.

65 Day, op.cit., Vol.I, p.289; pp.260-261; Vol.II, p.55; 90.

66 *Trinidad Spectator*, 20/1/1847, p.2; Pearse, 'Aspects' p.31; POSG 3/10/1848, p.3; for laws see Appendix 5. Day discusses 'Methodist wakes' in op.cit. Vol.II, pp.54-55.

67 *To consolidate and amend the laws relative to the Police*, (Ordinance) No.6 of 1849 (3 July); POSG, 12/11/1853, p.2; Pearse, 'Aspects' pp.34-35; p.30; Pearse, 'Mitto Sampson', p.256; Herskovits and Herskovits, *Trinidad*, p.284 - in addition, old-time calypsonian Neville Marciano (Growling Tiger) believed 'juba' to be associated with the Congo nation/dances (conversation, with author, Port of Spain, Trinidad, February 1991); Maureen Warner, 'Africans In 19th-Century Trinidad', Pt.I, *African Studies Association of the West Indies Bulletin*, No.5, Dec. 1972, p.53.

68 For the relevant provisions in Ordinance No.6 of 1849 see Appendix 5; POSG, 7/3/1851, p.3.

69 POSG, 30/1/1856, p.3; POSG, 6/2/1856, p.3; *Trinidad Chronicle*, 5/3/1881, p.2.

70 POSG, 7/2/1857, p.3.

71 PRO CO 295/289/81; POSG, 11/2/1899, p.7 (this retrospective places Keate's first suppression of masking incorrectly in 1857, and his second, likewise, in 1858); *Trinidad Sentinel*, 25/2/1858, p.2; POSG, 3/2/1858, p.2; POSG, 27/2/1858, p.2; Pearse, 'Carnival', p.187; *Trinidad Sentinel*, 4/3/1858, p.2; p.3; POSG, 27/2/1858, p.2; Pearse,

ibid. (his newspaper source for the 'derisive shout' etc. has not been located); *POSG*, 27/2/1858, p.2; Espinet & Pitts, op.cit., p.61; *Trinidad Sentinel*, 25/2/1858, p.2.

72 PRO CO 295/289/81; *POSG*, 19/3/1859, p.3; *Trinidad Sentinel*, 10/3/1859, p.3; CO 295/289/81; see also *POSG*, 11/2/1899, p.7 (and the note supra, fn 73); *Trinidad Sentinel*, 10/3/1859, p.3; for background on the 'Muharam' see Kelvin Singh, *Bloodstained Tombs: The Muharran Massacre 1884*, London, Macmillan, 1988.

73 Inniss, 'Carnival in The Old Days (from 1858), op.cit., p.12 - note the title; *POSG*, 11/2/1899, p.7; Wood, *Trinidad*, p.246 - see also *Trinidad Sentinel*, 2/2/1860, p.2; *Trinidad Sentinel*, 23/2/1860, p.3.

74 *POSG*, 13/2/1861, p.3.

75 *Star of the West*, 7/2/1868, p.3, which states 'so recently as six years ago the Archbishop of Port of Spain' undertook these proceedings.

76 *POSG*, 21/2/1863, p.3.

77 *POSG*, 10/2/1864, p.3; *TC*, 3/10/1865, p.2.

78 *POSG*, 17/2/1866, p.3; *SOTW*, 15/2/1866, p.3.

79 *SOTW*, 7/2/1868, p.3; *TC*, 16/6/1868, p.3, and 19/6/1868, p.3; *TC*, 23/12/1864, p.3, and *POSG*, 11/1/1865, pp.1-2; Trotman, *Crime*, pp.180-181; *POSG*, 10/3/1846, p.2. Compare the discussions on crime in the two editions of L.A.A. De Verteuil, *Trinidad: Its Geography, Natural Resources, Administration, Present Condition and Prospects*, London, Ward & Lock, 1858, pp.197-200; and, London, Cassell & Co., 1884, pp.179-185.

80 *TC*, 3/10/1865, p.2; PRO CO 295/289/81; *POSG*, 11/2/1899, p.7.

81 Wood, *Trinidad*, p.246; *POSG*, 2/3/1838, p.2; *POSG*, 20/1/1846, p.2; L.A. Dunn, 'Carnival Through The Years', Pt.2, *Trinidad Evening News*, 26/2/1952, p.2; *Trinidad Sentinel*, 3/8/1858 (Pearse Papers); see also Brereton, 'Birthday', p.75; Bodu, *Trinidadiana*, p.21; p.23.

82 Charles Kingsley, *At Last: A Christmas In The West Indies*, 2 vols., London, Macmillan, 1871.

83 Capadose, *Sixteen Years*, Vol.I, p.151; Bodu, op.cit., p.15; all quotations from Kingsley's *At Last* are taken from the one-volume edition, London, Macmillan, 1877; in this the references to the horse races are in pp.366-367; music and dancing, pp.369-370; Edward Bean Underhill, *The West Indies*, London, Jackson, Walford & Hodder, 1862, p.24; Andrew T. Carr, 'A Rada Community in Trinidad', pp.35-36, 48.

84 Day, op.cit., Vol.I, pp.250-251; Kingsley, *At Last*, p.124.

V THE JAMETTE CARNIVAL AND OTHER EVENTS - CARNIVAL AND SECULAR BLACK MUSIC IN TRINIDAD 1870 - 1896

Carnival 1870 - 1876 - The Rise of the Stickbands

The account of the festival in the *Port of Spain Gazette* for 9 March 1870 sets the scene for what was to become the principal focus for the majority of press and other reports of Carnival throughout the 1870s. This both identifies the elements that made up Canboulay, and hints at the 'obscenities' about which the press were to complain in the same period, and later.

The masqueraders began their saturnalia on the night of Sunday the 28th ultimo, and kept up an unremitting uproar, yelling, drumming, and blowing of horns till the sun was well up on the following morning. There was no possibility of sleep during this "hideous" night; but beyond that inconvenience to the more respectable portion of the inhabitants everything passed off without calling for police interference.

The newspaper called for the time when 'the influence of the Clergy alone' would be 'sufficient to put an end to the obscene and disgusting buffoonery to which the *fundus* of the population devote themselves during the two days and nights that precede Ash Wednesday'.¹

It seems likely that one of the songs performed during this Carnival concerned the tarring and feathering of the Chief Medical Officer, Dr. Bakewell (an Englishman) 'on the steps of Government House by three unknown Negroes', in January. Bakewell had clashed with Dr. Espinet 'a well-known and respected coloured Creole', regarding 'the treatment of leprosy' and by his conduct offended both blacks and whites alike. Atilla the Hun recalled the song as *Bakeway* and the tarring and feathering as having been carried out by only two black people, but these lyrics (in French Creole and English) almost certainly commemorate the same event:

Bakeway, *qui rive*
Qui moon qui fair ca
Is two blackman tar poppa
Moen ca garde con yon negre
Moen moen blanc mes enfants
Is two black man tar poppa

Bakeway, what happen
Who did this
Is two blackman tar poppa
I look like a negro
But I am white my children
Is two black man tar poppa

Is two black man tar poppa

Is two black man tar poppa

Other songs that can be dated to 1870 concern the murder of Abbé Jouin in Diego Martin (in May) and the subsequent trial for this crime of the local coloured-Creole landholder, Nicholas Brunton (September). Brunton's acquittal was attributed to obeah (magic) and Mitto Sampson's oral history research has uncovered lyrics to three items that identify the role believed to have been played in this verdict by a notorious obeah man (Djab Papa).

Two of the songs are in French Creole and reported, respectively, to have been sung by the chantwells, Hannibal and Zandoli. The third was sung in English by another leading songster from this period, Cedric le Blanc. He is also rumoured to have composed *Not a Cent to Buy Rice* (another song in English), critical of the migration of Barbadians to Trinidad in this period. The title of a further *belair* recalled by A.P.T. Ambard in 1950 is also dated to this time: *Pas quittez yos ponte crinolines!* This, he says, 'evidently refers to "scandales"' during the early 70s or late 60s of the last century'. *Not a Cent to Buy Rice* was to be revived by Trinidad musicians in the twentieth century.²

From their subject matter, it is evident that all these songs fall into the categories of topicality and, or social commentary later associated with the calypso. At the same time, masquerades in Carnival sometimes served a similar purpose. This can be deduced from descriptions of the 1871 Carnival. Four reports of this event are available and their interlocking commentaries provide the first overall contemporary account of the festival in the nineteenth century.

The regular proclamation declaring the confinement of masking to Shrove Monday and Tuesday (20-21 February) was announced in the *Trinidad Chronicle* on 14 February 1871. Particular attention was drawn to the fact that assault, the blowing of horns, the playing of other noisy instruments, and the carrying of torches were all punishable with imprisonment and hard labour. This in the light of a report 'that some of [the] lowest class of people whose great annual fête this is and with whom amusement without uproar is no amusement at all, threaten to carry out their customs in despite of the Police'. The

Chronicle recommended no half measures in exerting discipline 'on the lawlessness of the mob', should this prove necessary.

Just before the Carnival (18 February) the *Echo of Trinidad* printed a letter from Mathias Raymond complaining of a flagrant breach of this proclamation by a band of 'aristocratic sprouts in St Ann's Road' who were masked and dressed as cavaliers to attend a local night-time fancy ball. Two black policemen were on hand and began to disperse onlookers. At this Raymond said he pointed out that some of 'the masked men were disguised in female attire' and should therefore be apprehended. Caught between the white maskers and Raymond's comments the police turned on him, although he was not arrested. His complaints to police officials the following day met with stonewalling. In a comment the *Echo* doubted the letter's veracity, its content indicates, however, one of the elements that they were to distinguish in their own account of the festival on 25 February. In this, they provide the best summary available, of the social attitudes of race and class apparent in the Carnival at this time:

It is the great annual festival of this polyglot community, and each has observed it in its own way. There were the costume-dances of the European and Europeanized section, where additional charms were lent to natural beauty by artistic adornment; there were the burlesques and mummeries of serious things by another section; and there was the barbarous *Cane-bouler* of the lower orders, by which Sunday night was made so hideous.

From this report the form of the celebrations is also made apparent:

Monday

- (i) Beginning at midnight the '*Cane-bouler*' lasted until the small hours. There were 'brutish cries and shouts' together with 'horrid forms running to and fro about the town with flaming torches in their hands, like so many demons escaped from a hot place not usually mentioned in polite society'.
- (ii) At dawn, these 'unmeaning and noisy demonstrations were resumed in another shape'. The *Echo* notes that 'dressed in filthy garments, with their features concealed by dirty masks, men and women walked the streets, singly or in couples, in solemn and measured tread, as if performing some religious duty'.
- (iii) Later in the day, there was an improvement in the costumes.
- (iv) 'Towards the evening', the paper relates that, 'in many instances' the masquerades became 'elegant and picturesque'. These appear to have been a 'better class of people' who 'seemed to have begun to take part in the frolic' and participated as 'disguised parties on horseback, or in carriages'.

For the same day the *Chronicle* reported that 'numerous bands paraded round the streets' and 'the behaviour of the maskers was on the whole good'. They noted, however, - presumably in reference to the '*Cane-bouler*' - the occurrence of 'a fight or two.... between some of the rival factions or "bands"' that rejoiced 'in such illustrious names as "True Blues", "Danois", "Maribones", "Black Ball", "Golden City", "Alice", "D'jamettres" and so on'. In one confrontation '"True Blue", after expending all of its ammunition in stones and broken ware ingloriously fled the field, pursued and mauled by the gasparil and guava stings of the "Maribones"'. They also describe a wounding resulting from a similar stickfight. The *Echo* paints a slightly different picture, mentioning that 'there were one or two fights here and there between rival parties of maskers', who were 'mostly women' and 'barring slight bruises' these were 'without any very unfortunate results'.

It will be observed that some of the bands identified by the *Chronicle* were similar, if not the same, affiliations as had existed in 1868. The "True Blues" were an English-speaking group (later named Free-grammar - presumably on this account). They came from 'Coburgtown'. The "Maribones" (or Maribons - wasps) were a French-speaking affiliation from Belmont. Gasparil and guava were woods used for fighting sticks.

Despite the police notice, there appears to have been no interference with the 'Canboulay' ceremony in Port of Spain. In San Fernando, however, an unconfirmed rout of the police proved to have been false; indeed, maskers were apprehended during the pre-dawn period on Shrove Monday. This caused local acrimony, especially as a rumour circulated that the action had resulted from a bet between the Commandant in Port of Spain (Fraser), and the Inspector in San Fernando (Fitz-Simmons).

Tuesday (according to the *Echo*)

'The scenes were repeated with some variations'. These included 'parties of tumblers' performing 'in various parts of the town for half pence' together with 'a body of clerks from the dry goods' stores ...dressed as prisoners of the hard-labour gang'.

The *Chronicle* recounted that there were fewer bands on Tuesday. Other coverage, however, does not specify the exact occasion for masquing.

In the Carnival as a whole, the *Chronicle* noted that there had been 'fully as many ridiculous parodies as in recent years' while the *Star of the West* believed that a lack of previous brilliance was due to 'the dearth of proper masks' attributing this, they supposed, 'to the war in France'. They identified 'grotesque groups and ludicrous representations', picking out 'some of the political ones' which 'were not a little significant and amusing'. In turn these appear to represent 'the burlesques and mummeries of serious things by another section' distinguished by the *Echo*. The content and thrust of the satire in these masques (as reported in the *Star of the West*) can be seen to parallel lyrical themes that were to become associated with calypso in the twentieth century. The 'section' who performed them were presumably articulate blacks and, or whites who used the anonymity of masquing to both flatter and criticise the hierarchy.

The burlesques can be grouped into two principal categories - political and legal. In addition, the press was subject to caricature (newspaper editors), as were clerics, a medico and a representative of the Town Hall. There is also mention of a traditional masque that is reported to have come to Trinidad from the Spanish Main - the 'little donkey or jenny'; (in Spanish *burraquita*). Thus, the *Star of the West* described, 'a very lame *bourrique*' who 'personalised "Lothair" ', and on 'whose tail' was displayed a card with the words "Art Society's Plate". The exact satire of this description is lost but the sarcasm of the newspaper is evident in their comments: 'the poor animal was evidently indisposed, seemed weak in the epigastrium, and was indeed obliged to wear slippers, and have a Madras handkerchief round its head. People said it was a shame to bring it out at all in that state'.

Less oblique in its message was the depiction of the previous Governor (Arthur Gordon) and his circle - he was represented, 'with a Russian imperial crown and carrying a wizard's wand', as the '"lord of *mis-rule*"' and 'supported on either side by Professor Kingsley (with a copy of *Good Words*) and Inspector Fouché' (of the police - presumably a

burlesque of Fraser, and the subject of particular ridicule). They were followed by caricatures of three key members of the legal profession, including the Solicitor General.

The mummers representing 'Clergymen of different churches walked arm in arm in a fraternal manner, and appeared to be soliciting money from the crowd, for various objects in which they were interested'. In addition, the newspaper reported, 'other groups represented several failures of justice last year, and cases of political unfairness'. Perhaps among the 'failures of justice' was the trial of Nicholas Brunton for the murder of Abbé Jouin!

Despite this detail the press maintained its regular condescension and criticism - possibly the reason for singling out the editors of the *Star of the West*, *Chronicle*, and *Gazette* for burlesque. The latter two were Englishmen and perhaps on this account the *Chronicle* wrote that the festival 'has been as tawdry and absurd as usual' and the *Port of Spain Gazette* decried the 'performances' as 'poorer and more foolish than ever', describing 'the large proportion of the actors of these miserable harlequinades' as 'vagrants and vagabonds'.³

Notwithstanding the evidence from these 1871 newspapers - that the Carnival was a far more complicated ritual, reflecting different symbolic purposes for each of the migrant groups within Trinidad - vagrancy and vagabondage were to be singled out as the festival's major component throughout the next decade.

While there appears to have been little contemporary understanding as to this growing reflection of poverty, there seems little doubt that a principal cause was economic depression in the Eastern Caribbean. This encouraged migration from smaller islands in the archipelago (including Barbados) and increased pressure on accommodation, jobs and all other aspects of survival among the poor in Trinidad. In turn these unfortunates were seen as an incomprehensible underworld by the hierarchy, and feared and loathed accordingly. Thus the *diametre* came to be made up of stickmen, singers, drummers, dancers, prostitutes, (another meaning of *jamette*), *bad johns* (swashbucklers), *matadors* (madames), *dunois* (*jamette* rowdys), *makos* (panders), obeahmen (practitioners of magic) and corner boys. All were associated with a culture that revolved around the barrack-

tenement yards of Port of Spain and similar locations elsewhere in the island. Migrant groups competed with one another, and more established settlers, for territory and, at the same time the *diametre* as a whole flouted themselves (especially at the time of the masquerade), to draw attention to their plight, and sustain their identity in a society in which their existence was decried.

This form of defensive-offensive symbolism is exemplified by a band called the Beka Boys, identified by Donald Wood; they 'caused public indignation by their habit of tossing foul-smelling handkerchiefs into the faces of respectable women and using obscene language in the streets'. This was reported in the *Echo* on 15 October 1873, and five days later a correspondent in *New Era* was addressing another aspect of 'City Morals' (or rather the behaviour of the bands). He declared 'one of the most fruitful and common sources of Trinidad demoralization may be traced to that *Pandemonium* known as the "Bel Air" dances, where vice parades its hideous standard in all its grimness; drunkenness and its concomitant attendants being the order of the day'. In the same edition (20 October) a self-congratulatory report from San Fernando notes how they 'used to be troubled beyond control with some low and offensive troubadours of the bacchanalian sort, but thanks to the high moral character of the Court, these fellows have been driven out of the camp'. They admitted, however, that the offenders had been replaced with 'a new brand of merry-makers' who (at that time) were causing less trouble.

Other contemporary commentaries show that this was a continuing problem for the elite. Just before the Carnival of 1874 the *Port of Spain Gazette* wrote of the 'increase of "vagabondage" ' and detailed how 'by day and night the streets are thronged with herds of disreputable males and females, whose time seems to "hang heavy on their hands" and who are always ripe for any mischief. They are organised in bands and societies for the maintenance and propogation of vagrancy, immorality and vice and some of the most noted members are those who have paid their footing by an unlimited number of visits to the Royal Gaol'.

It is readily apparent in press reports of the Carnival over the next few years how this *diametre* or 'Jamette' element came to represent the festival as a whole. As has been

noted, already in 1871 there was a stickband named 'D' jamettres' that, by its very existence, symbolised the period. It is also evident that such groups maintained themselves by holding drum dances and other functions which, although considered to be 'depraved', were essentially collective endeavours to sustain themselves in conditions of extreme deprivation. In this they represent an antithesis of the idealised 'decorum' or 'civilisation' claimed by the elite. Bands, thereby, resorted to fighting one another when they believed it necessary to establish or sustain their territories, whether in the streets of Port of Spain, San Fernando or country villages.

A description of the Carnival in the *Chronicle*, in 1874, exemplifies these two contrasting idealised standards, simply by concentrating on the behaviour of the *jamettes*.

This wild revel, which grows coarser by degrees and scandalously low and too often bruted, has taken possession of the streets as usual for those two days. Broken heads and torn finery are more frequent than ever. As for the number of girls masked and in mens clothing, we cannot say how many hundred are flaunting their want of shame. As many men, also generally of the lowest order, are in like manner strutting about in female dress, dashing out their gowns as they go.

In addition, the *Port of Spain Gazette* identified the 'beating of drums, blaring of horns, yellings' etc. that heralded the 'Canboulay', as well as the throwing of 'stones, broken bottles and other missiles' in confrontations between bands. The latter, they adjudged, had trebled in number from previous occasions. The principal areas of conflict seem to have been the 'streets to the east of the town' (the French Streets, or French Shores).

If the accounts of Carnival in 1871 newspapers can be said to establish the shape of the festival as a whole in this era, these two 1874 reports serve to distinguish key elements that were to signify the *jamette* component in the same period.

- (i) an increasingly wild noisy and violent 'Canboulay';
- (ii) 'lewdness' in costume, gesture and song lyrics;
- (iii) transvestism in masquing by both females and males;
- (iv) confrontations between bands;
- (v) stickfighting contests between individuals in which the combat involved the dismantling (or tearing) of the stylised finery of an opponent's costume, and blows at the head.

In April of the same year, Bridget Brereton notes the *Echo* provides a succinct summary of that newspaper's understanding of the purpose of the bands. Like other contemporary observations, however, the underlying social reasons for the existence of these societies are not addressed. For them, the 'only objective' of these groups 'was to hold riotous dances and at Carnival "to do battle against each other with stones, long sticks, glass bottles and missiles to the danger and terror of peaceful people"'.

The account of the 1875 Carnival in *Fair Play* maintains the same approach, reporting 'fewer than ever maskers of a gorgeous or grotesque character, the usual episodes of fighting and disorder, and much more than ever of filthy and indecent dancing and obscene conduct of every description'. There was a 'riot' in Port of Spain on Shrove Tuesday but none of the participants were apprehended at the time. As the *Port of Spain Gazette* explained, the police relied on a tactic they had developed of observing the miscreants as thousands swarmed 'through the streets inflamed with drink and excitement and ripe for a fight.' Having identified those they could prosecute with certainty, they arrested them once Lent had commenced.

Police reticence was due in part to the failure of Keate's measures to control the Carnival in 1858-59, and a lack of confidence in the statutes available. Perhaps, as is hinted in subsequent commentaries, another factor may have been the covert encouragement of certain Carnival fighting bands by individual members of the hierarchy. As in Keate's time this almost certainly involved rivalry between French- and English-speaking members of the elite. Sponsorship was along linguistic lines, although fights between bands did not always conform to this pattern.

Prior to Carnival the following year, January 1876, Brereton quotes the *Echo* to show how bands paraded 'their disorderly designs with effrontery unimaginable to strangers' and wore 'distinctive dress' carrying 'remarkable cudgels as their badge of office'. The festival that year, however, had 'less rioting than was reasonable to anticipate', according to the *Chronicle* (29 February), which also reported increased police activity. In addition, there was 'a good deal of harmless humour and caricaturing of oddities or conspicuous individuals' and 'less of coarse rampant vulgarity, such as men all

but naked, their bodies daubed with tarr'. Notwithstanding, in the 'Eastern streets' there was abundant ruffianism' with 'parties mauling individuals of an opposite band met with in the street or yard - with sticks, stones, broken bottles - anything that came handiest'. As has become evident, there was a special core of Carnival activity in the 'Eastern streets' (or French Shores) of Port of Spain, an area that had been singled out, one way or another, in press reports since the late 1850s.

In summation, the *Chronicle* expressed a nostalgia for Carnival that an establishment, in apparent bewilderment at the style of masquing and the violence, began to show in reports of the festival over the next few years:

It is many years since the respectability of the town has taken any part in these amusements. Some wasteful, ill-assorted and badly-fitting extravagances were to be seen; but of the taste of other days, rich or simple, nothing came under our notice.

In Port of Spain, Pearse notes, the police were 'mildly criticised' for their actions, 'especially in the use of batons'. Fitz-Simmons in San Fernando, however, averted a Canboulay fracas between rival bands by arresting the ringleaders and swearing in 'two dozen gentlemen of the town as specials'.⁴

The increase in the number of bands who participated in what by 1876 had become almost a form of ritual combat between black Trinidadians can be seen readily from the press reports of Carnival from 1870 to 1876. While this study generally concentrates on Port of Spain (and sometimes mentions San Fernando), it must be remembered that such bands were active throughout the island, and also took part in fights on other seasonal occasions.

As has been pointed out, a principal function of these units was survival in a very hostile economic environment. Collective contributions taken at drum dances provided a primary resource for obtaining sustenance. Inevitably, in newspapers and similar reports, the values represented by the bands clashed with those of the colonial hierarchy and their sense of Victorian propriety ('civilisation'). In turn this led to imprisonment for many band members. There was a high increase in female and juvenile convictions for crime, alongside those of males from the 'lower classes'. These reflected the lack of compromise

by the elite in assisting those they considered to be idle vagrants and vagabonds. A description by L.A.A. de Verteuil (published in 1884) exemplifies both the camaraderie of band members in these circumstances, and the arrogance of the elite:

Generally when such prisoners as are members of the societies or bands...are discharged from the gaol, they are met at the gate by friends, male and female, and received with demonstrations of joy, but with not the faintest exhibition of shame; and they are accompanied home with triumph. When taken to gaol they had been escorted by a retinue of followers. For the last two years they have been conveyed to the prison in a closed van. Yet it is really painful to hear them - the female singers especially - singing at the top of their voices as if in defiance of the law and of all decency. It cannot be surprising that the conduct, in prison, of creatures so callous to any feeling of shame is extremely bad and that "a fearful amount of depravity is practised between them when in an unwatched association". Are they not, in the majority of cases members of *bands* notoriously formed for immoral purposes, and there practically taught to scorn all that society respects and appreciates, and to indulge in unbridled licentiousness?

de Verteuil bases much of his evidence, when discussing crime in Trinidad, on the reports of the Inspector of Prisons, for 1874 and 1877. These were compiled by Fraser, when he held this post in conjunction with his position as Inspector Commandant of Police. At some time in 1875, Fraser fell from his horse and struck his head. As a result of this accident he lost his nerve and a new police appointment was made in 1876, first to act in his behalf and then, in January 1877, to take over his duties completely. This was 'Captain' Arthur Wybrow Baker, who set himself the task of becoming the scourge of the stickbands in Carnival.⁵

Carnival 1877 - 1880 - the appointment of 'Brave Baker of the Bobbies'

Like Fraser before him Baker was a man of military experience, although at the time of his departure from office in 1889 his exact credentials were found to have been somewhat dubious. He claimed to have been a Captain (and was known as such in Trinidad), but had only reached the rank of Lieutenant. He stated that he had been in the 66th Regiment in India and had also 'had command of the Housas on the West Coast of Africa'. The latter had been, presumably, while he served under Lord Wolsey in the Ashanti Wars, or as Inspector General of the Gold Coast constabulary. There was doubt in 1889, however, as to whether he had 'had any connection with Hausa police'.

Whatever his exact background, Baker was a disciplinarian, who believed in confrontation by force and authoritarianism. It was this aspect of his character that was to mark his attitude towards Carnival, which was initially welcomed as an active contrast to Fraser's less forthright approach. Indeed, the *Trinidad Palladium* commented how 'hitherto our valiant *Gendarmerie* have stood rather in dread of the clubs and bottles of the "*Diamètres*" and "Bakers", and have left them a fair field for their night riots and street frays; but under the new *régime* of a man who has not only expressed, but evidenced his *determination* to keep them up to the mark of duty, it is to be expected that they will "screw their courage up to the sticking place". The *Palladium* also believed that there should be 'a guard of Police' to accompany 'the numerous bands of Maskers' to provide order, 'as is done with the Coolie processions'. The latter is the first reference in this era to what was to become a dilemma for the authorities. This was how to control the festivals of the Trinidad East Indians, and black creoles, while maintaining a policy of divide and rule between the two communities.⁶

On 9 February the *Trinidad Chronicle* printed two important descriptions of the stickbands that provide a primary reference point as to their names, territories, and other aspects of their organisation. For the 'Maribones', this includes a description of their costume, band formation and musical accompaniment. The newspaper had deliberately set out to discover such details and, with respect to all the aggregations, they reported:

There appear to be about a dozen different bands, each representing the young vagabonds and semi-vagabonds of a street or *locale*. Thus the '*Free-grammar*' (formerly the True Blues) hail from Coburgtown; the *Bois d'Inde* (pronounced 'bois d'enne'), or Allspice tree, from Upper Prince Street; the *Bakers*, from the streets behind (i.e. east of) the Market; the *Danois* (Danes) from the Dry river suburb (between Faure's and Samuel's Bridges); the *peau de Cannelle* (Cinnamon bark), from the streets behind (to west of) the Gaol; the *Rose barrier* (Hedge-rose or rose hibiscus) from about the Tollgate; the *Corail* (coral), from Newtown; the '*s Amandes* (almonds) boys and lads from about the wharves, allies of the 'Bakers', as the 'Danois' generally are of the next, the strongest band of all, the *Maribons* (wasps - pronounced 'maribones') from the Belmont road. The *Cerf-volants* (kites) come from Duncan Street; and there is said to be a St. Ann's band, whose name we cannot learn. Two others, the '*s Hirondelles* (swallows) and the *Savanne*, a Newtown band, are said to have broken up.

Using the contemporary dividing line of Henry Street, which runs north from what was Marine Square, 'English' bands can be distinguished to the west and French bands to

the east of this road (the 'French Shores' and east of the Dry River). To the south of Marine Square were the wharves. The Toll gate controlled the road to Arima.

'ENGLISH'

peau de Canelle
Corail
Free-grammar
Savanne

'FRENCH'

's Amandes
Bakers
Bois d'Inde
Cerf-volants
Danois
Maribons
Rose barrier

No location is given for the '*s Hirondelles*.

The *Chronicle* goes on to comment generally on the membership of these bands:

It is said there is little cohesion or continuity in most of these, and that in some quarters of the town, both name and composition of the band are subject to frequent change. The name, as will have been observed, rarely has point or relevancy, and the band itself seems to be merely the loose, idler younger members of the floating portion of the populace (it would not be always correct to call them the *working* class) in a district or neighbourhood.

While there is almost certainly some truth in these observations, they must be considered in the light of previous evidence (that shows continuity at least in some of the band names). There is also general agreement by contemporary and subsequent commentators that Port of Spain had at least a nominal east-wide divide that was defined originally by the areas inhabited by French or English speakers. In addition, the meaning of band names was not necessarily apparent to the newspaper reporter.

One band of longstanding, whose name was clearly relevant to its fighting prowess, were the Maribones. The same, or another, reporter provides a fuller sketch of this group:

the 'Maribone' band will come out strong and, by permission obtained from the Police, will be armed with long sticks for quarterstaff play and defence, if needed, from attack by the 'Bakers' or other bands. They say they will not go out at night, and have promised they will not provoke an attack, but if set-on are determined to give their rivals a mauling. They intend to come out in a uniform dress composed of a black hat (which they call a 'boum' and which they are begging of the gentlemen of the town - any cast-off article that has seen better days will do, prime) a red shirt, and white or whitish trow[s]ers with a blue band down the seam or around the waist, the intention being to represent the national colors, the 'red, white and blue'. They will bind, *nègre jardin* fashion, a silk foulah round each leg below the knee. The women of this 'band' are also to appear, uniformly accoutred, namely, in short trowsers *a l'homme*, to the knee, wearing a short red jacket ending at the waist-band, over a chemise, round which on the stomach there

is to be a narrow *tablier* or apron. Their top-gear is to be a sailor-hat covered with white, circled by a blue riband. The 'band' will be led by a Captain or *Roi* on horseback, immediately behind whom are to come their children, uniform at least in hat the smallest in front, rising to the back, like steps. Each woman is to carry a wooden hatchet (painted to resemble iron). They will be accompanied by what they call music, *i.e.* a clarinet, 2 big drums, a fiddle, the *béké-nègre* of the Auctioneer (if not already brought off by others) with his small tattoo drum, a line of tom-toms (keg-drums, with goat skin top), and a triangle - that seems to be all they can collect this time. For safety, from a possible onslaught of road metal, sticks and broken bottles, the common ammunition of the 'Bakers', the musicians (save the mark!) will keep in the centre of the procession, and 'fiddle' must look out for squalls and a fair port in case of a storm. The 'Maribones' (*Anglice*, Wasps) never came out in such fig.

In summary, in 1877 the Maribones intended to be a daytime band, comprising men, women and children, led by a 'Captain' or 'King' on horseback, accompanied by musicians. Although stating they would not provoke violence, precautions were to be taken in case of attack by other bands. The latter is immediately apparent when contrasted with Belisario's description of the less antagonistic formation of the Red Set Girls and Jack in the Green, in the celebration of Jonkonnu in Jamaica in 1877 (Chapter III).⁷

The history of Trinidad Carnival in the 1870s shows that such peaceful intentions were not usually realised. As has been indicated, between 1870 and 1876 there were regular reports of noisy demonstrations and fighting both during the early Shrove Monday morning celebration of Canboulay, and in subsequent daytime parades. This pattern is confirmed in secondary sources for the 1870s - early 1880s.

'Captain' Baker's determination to control Canboulay and the behaviour of Carnival stickbands makes it necessary to establish as fully as possible the form of the event and activities of these bands at this time.

The origins of Canboulay and its incorporation into Carnival in the Planter and Post-Emancipation periods have been described. In the 1840s, once Carnival became a two-day event, it appears black masquers adopted the ceremony as its opening feature. It depicted symbolically the extinguishment of a cane fire (and thereby, perhaps, the overthrow of slavery). In the 1850s it seems that the masquerade comprised blacks dressed as *negres jardins* with baskets on their heads being driven by a man with a long whip. As has been noted, they cried out and sang to the accompaniment of drumming.

This description has some elements in common with the affray between two bands of women (Mousselines and Dahlias) during Canboulay in the Carnival of 1868.

As well as parades by bands of men representing *negres jardins*, and bands of women, masks depicting death, and demons, (in which tar was used to cover the body) seem also to have been featured. All were unified by the use of flambeaux to simulate the effect of a cane fire and, perhaps, create an impression of 'hell'. Sometimes, in country districts it appears that a conventional fire might also have been ignited. Bands were assembled by the sounding of horns and other audible signals. Commencing midnight, Shrove Sunday, by the 1870s, Canboulay contained all of these components.

As is implied in the description of the masquerade planned by the Maribones in 1877, there was a difference (presumably in costume) between stickbands who paraded at night, and those who marched through the streets during the day. It has been shown that these units were usually organised on the basis of territory. Prominent stickfighting exponents provided leadership, one being elected king of the band. In daytime parades the latter usually dressed as a pierrot. This masque appears to have been an amalgam of the 'Pulinchinello' - reported by Charles William Day in 1847 - and 'country' king or *pays roi*. A queen might also be elected.

Each band had male and female members who usually comprised the marginalised section of the community. There were also supporters who might represent other aspects of the social strata, such as the *lom kamisol*, or jacketmen (gentlemen stickfighters). In some instances there was sponsorship from leading merchants and other worthies, especially in the French Creole elite.

Once assembled, the stickbands would march in procession through the streets, illuminating their way with their torches (flambeaux). Half intoxicated from drinking rum, they usually sang ribald or battle songs (*kalendas*) accompanied by drums, shac-shacs, and other instruments. The procession sometimes stopped for dances, which might be the *belair* or *old kalenda* (corlinda). One 1882 source also reports a dance called *calypso*. Each of these dances were considered obscene by the elite. On meeting a rival band a fight would commence, the usual weapons being stones, loose macadam, and

broken bottles. Sticks (carried by each band member) were used for individual combat - *hallé baton*. On occasion knives were wielded. There was vocal encouragement from non-combatant supporters of each band.

Contests during the day differed. They commenced with challenges between pierrots that parallel competitions between Actor Boys in pre-Emancipation Jonkonnu in Jamaica (Chapter III). Gorgeously dressed in gown and cap (padded for protection), each pierrot cleared the way before him by cracking his long whip. He was accompanied by a 'page boy' (usually his paramour) carrying a stick. His stickband followed in formation. Proclaiming himself as he sought out a rival, a pierrot's confrontations began with bombastic speeches, then whip lashings (*combats a la liguize*) and finally stickfighting. Stickmen supporters (*batonyé*) joined in at this point. In each instance the object of conflict was to dismantle an opponent's costume. The most elaborate costumes were worn on Shrove Tuesday.⁸

The difficulties in controlling this organised violence were well recognised, as a letter to the *Trinidad Palladium* pointed out on 10 February 1877. Press reports of the 1877 Carnival show, however, that Baker and his fellow police officers were assiduous in minimising confrontations - Baker on horseback being especially conspicuous. The masquerade itself was, according to the *Chronicle*, lacking in 'originality in idea or taste in execution'. The newspaper also reported some 'tawdry finery torn' and 'broken heads' indicating that stickfighting was not completely stamped out. With bewilderment and a touch of sarcasm, the *Chronicle* was unable to understand why maskers found satisfaction in:

'the privilege of appearing in the streets in worse than common clothes and of being well stared-at playing what antics they choose under mask, and of bawling dull refrains, discord and folly, by the hour at the top of their voices during two days of unsexing themselves, and going in bands, or twos, or singly as they choose, almost taking possession of the roadway'.

It must be remembered that while it was usual for stickbands to confine major encounters to Carnival, on occasion they also fought outside this season. For example, on 7 April, a letter writer complained to the *Trinidad Palladium* of a confrontation between the Bakers and peau de Cannelle in George Street.⁹

The Carnival in 1878 was much like its 1877 predecessor. The police contained the stickfights, and 'Captain' Baker acted heroically. Single handed, he arrested an assaulter, marched him towards the police station and, despite an attempted rescue by the crowd, managed to deliver the offender into custody.

Other details emerge from these reports, however, that indicate Carnival was not all stickfighting and similar defensive-offensive action by masqueraders. There was a band that humourously depicted the taking of Constantinople (the drummer was 'Mr Boyack's celebrated albino'). Another (comprising store clerks in costume), impersonated convicts acting as street sweepers. By inference there was also a black creole depiction of the Hosay procession of Trinidad East Indians.¹⁰

Baker's methods were again applied in 1879, with similar effect and praise from the newspapers. The *Chronicle* also provides further details of the masquerade that confirm a pattern of celebration closer to the 1871 model than had been apparent in reports since that time. Noting that 'there were much fewer character groups than usual', they singled out a Chinese pair (man and wife), girls schools, a squad of English redcoats headed by an officer, plus a Hosay procession, a Venezuelan army, and a picturesque procession of Venezuelan maypole dancers. The girls schools, like the Hosay procession, had also appeared in 1878. Other regular masques they identified were gamblers, old dames (à la Mother Hubbard), pierrots, *pisanis* (men dressed as women and women as men), shoe blacks and South American Indian warriors. It seems that *pisanis* were a particular feature of this Carnival, or at least 'the enormous proportion of masked men who unsexed themselves to enjoy the strange silly novelty of wrapping their big frames in a shapeless bundle of female apparel'.¹¹

The confrontational approach adopted by the police met with its greatest success in the Carnival of 1880. To intervene where necessary, police were stationed judiciously on foot throughout Port of Spain. Baker controlled the streets on horseback, assisted by acting sub-Inspector Concannon and Sergeant Major Brierley. On the commencement of Canboulay, they interposed at each stickband conflict and forced the surrender of flambeaux, drums and sticks. They dealt with daytime skirmishes in similar fashion.

The police accompanied stickbands wherever they went in order to prevent affray. Of other masquerades, *Fair Play and Trinidad News* (12 February) mentions a Coolie Hose band, a graceful dancing band of Venezuelans, a band imitating a wedding fête, and a Zulu band. This newspaper also notes that stick fights took place in country villages (they name Tacarigua).¹²

Baker's stand against Canboulay had met with press approval from its inception. Other undercurrents in Trinidad society, however, were far from satisfied. Canboulay was seen as an integral part of the Carnival. Essentially, therefore, the same emotions were aroused in the whole of the French Creole population as had surfaced at the time of Governor Keate's anti-masking policy in 1858 and 1859. In addition, merchants who gained extra trade from the Carnival viewed interference with mistrust.

More generally, the police were despised because of their high-handed attitude towards all levels of the population and general lack of discipline. There was also a traditional antagonism between police and the black population that dated from slavery. Most black police were from Barbados and doubly disliked on this account.

A new Governor, Sir Sanford Freeling, arrived in Trinidad in November 1880 and stepped into this hornet's nest of authoritarian, linguistic, religious and pecuniary interests. An additional component of this potent mix of antagonisms was racism. As has been mentioned, a particular manifestation of the latter was the forced isolation of the East Indian population.

The presence of a creole representation of 'a Hosay procession' in Carnival (noted in 1879 and 1880) shows that the policy of East Indian marginalisation was not wholly successful. In 1879, for example, the *Chronicle* reported that the Carnival Hosay featured 'dresses, shrine and paraphernalia' that was 'strictly or very nearly correct' as it had been 'chiefly made by coolies'. It must also be remembered that as early as the 1850s black creoles are reported as having participated in Hosay celebrations. In addition, there were similarities between the Hosay procession and Canboulay - both involved marching through the streets with lighted torches. The latter is reported in *New Era* on 7 March 1881. They note that two months before, 'on the eve of the Coolie *Tajah*', the police had not

objected to the carrying of lighted torches. This was not to be the case, however, for Canboulay in 1881. Without special notice, marching in procession with uncovered torches became reason for authoritarian police interference. The result was a riot.¹³

Carnival 1881 - the Canboulay Riot.

In many respects it was Baker's success in quashing Canboulay in 1880 that made a riot inevitable. According to the official report, in 1881 his exact intentions were kept secret. He appears to have avoided direct consultation with the Governor. His arrogant attitude, however, was self evident to the pro-Carnival lobby. They made preparations to resist any attempt to interfere with the festival. As early as 14 February a notice was posted in Port of Spain and its environs:

"NEWS TO THE TRINIDADIANs"

"Captain Baker demanded from our just and noble Governor Sir Sanford Freeling, his authority to prevent the night of Canboulay, but our Excellency refused."

Baker seems not to have informed Freeling of this notice.

The exact circumstances of Baker's decision to take on the stickbands are unknown, although rumour suggested he made a wager he would put down the Canboulay. Wager or not, the police were also prepared for fighting on the night of 27 February and early morning of 28 February 1881.

The *Trinidad Chronicle* of 2 March 1881 provides the only contemporary account of the riot. Portions of this were later discredited in what appears to have been a 'consolidation of testimony' by the Governor. This was in the wake of vehement criticism by authoritarians. The description of the riot, however, was not questioned and is corroborated by other evidence such as a recollection from a 96-year-old eye witness, Frances Richard, obtained by J.D.Elder in 1953.

Organised resistance (unexpected by Baker) is established by the united front presented by French-and English-speaking stickbands. In reporting this, the *Chronicle* gives details of some of the units:

ENGLISH

FRENCH

Broomfield	*	Bakers	(Market Street)
Canelle	*	Danois	(Sorzanoville)
English	(Corbeau Town)	Maribones	(Upper Belmont)
Free-grammar	(short streets behind the Gaol)		

- * No location given. In every instance the linguistic affinity has been surmised from earlier evidence.

The fight was concentrated in the 'French Shores' (at the upper end of Market Street). Here Baker and his men lay in wait to ambush the bands as they began their parades at midnight. In this area a special effort was made by stickband supporters to lay down broken stones for ammunition against the police. There was also systematic breaking of kerosine street lamps (first installed, Christmas 1878).

Without the element of surprise, which had aided him in 1880, the free fight between police and stickmen was a very bloody affair. It lasted three hours. Once again there were heroics from Baker - hence his nickname 'Brave Baker of the Bobbies'. His principal protection was his horse and his horsemanship. There were many injuries on both sides. The bands retired at about 3.00 a.m. and the police claimed a partial victory. They secured the streets with a force kept in reserve. The main unit returned to barracks at about 3.30.a.m.

Smarting at their lack of victory, the stickmen vowed to renew the fight in the daytime. Many of them were Martiniqueans (or of French-island origin). Their war song, according to Frances Richards, was:

*Car ale le
Bio ba le
Mete lumiere baio
Car la lune leve mois passant trouvier.*

No attempt to suppress Canboulay was made elsewhere in Port of Spain, as *New Era* (5 March) points out. In the Newtown district, early morning celebrations took place without incident, and no street lamps were broken. There was a riot further south in the town of Couva. The police had difficulty in quelling a fight between Couva Savannah and Couva Exchange. Their action was preventative, however, rather than premeditated.

While the police in Port of Spain later claimed they had the situation under control, circumstantial evidence shows that although not defeated, they were heavily wounded. At 6 o'clock Baker withdrew the police from their stations in town to recuperate. He reported to Freeling at 6.30.a.m. and requested troops be stationed at the police barracks (they arrived between 8.30.a.m. and 10.00.a.m.). This secured the town in the event of further confrontation. Freeling was then left to pick up the pieces of this explosive situation. The first result was the continuation of daytime Carnival parades, as if nothing had happened. Thus, the *Chronicle* reports:

"the masqueraders had it all to themselves for several hours to do as they liked - and with the exception of a few fights between rival *bandes* or 'Negres Jardins' (who seem to have a strange liking for breaking each others sconces) the masqueraders were, on the whole, more amusing than anything else. 'Pierrots' gorgeously and expensively dressed, their dresses being made of velvet and similar expensive material costing usually fifteen to twenty dollars (some over thirty!) with the usual *combats a la ligueze* (the whalebone whips costing \$5 to 6 apiece) and the usual bombastic speeches were delivered by said Pierrots some of them being outrageously absurd - one player declaring his cousinship to the late Duke of Wellington - caricatures of old women, and representatives of "Pinafore" by a party of young clerks who took the literal meaning of the word and acted on it by wearing pinafores, Chinamen, Coolies, all were well imitated and cleverly represented by players who took off their peculiar traits to a T. Bands of Pisanis not so vulgar as last year, stalwart school-girls, Spanish morris-dancers in beautiful costume representing Indian Caciques, shoeblacks - as importunate for a job as usual, and not over complimentary to those who refused their offers, Venezuelan soldiers, Spanish Gentlemen as generals, cavaliers, &c., in cocked hats and velvet cloaks mounted on horseback - children, dressed in fancy costume, as Swiss Peasants &c., and one a miniature Spanish Grandee of the olden time - trunk hose, slashed doublet, small cap, tall red feathers, boots with rosettes - all deep red.

It will be seen that many of these masquerades confirm the pattern established for this period.

Freeling, his authority usurped by the action of Baker, took careful stock of his options. His first move was to hold a meeting of the Executive Council. Shrewdly, he decided to isolate the hated police but also to swear in special constables in case of further violence.

He received a deputation from the Mayor and Borough Council at 3.00.p.m. Acting on their representations (that further violence would threaten the town) and in order to put Baker in his place, he agreed to address the masqueraders in the open. This he did in the Market Place at 5.00.p.m. The exact wording of his ameliorative speech was

widely questioned subsequently and became notorious among authoritarians. He confined the police to their barracks and placed his trust in the black maskers and their allies in the white creole population.

Unknown to the populace, the police resigned *en masse* and had to be persuaded to reconsider their action. In essence, this was a further humiliation for Baker as he had little option but to maintain his police force. Freeling's action had the desired effect among maskers and no further violence ensued. Another point of subsequent contention, however, was whether he verbally allowed them to carry torches at night.

At some point there was a parade by a band of masqueraders dressed as police carrying a dummy, representing Baker, in funeral procession. Funeral music was provided by an imitation of the police band. The *Chronicle* places this on Monday afternoon, the official report on Monday evening, (shortly before midnight), and Brierley (in his reminiscences) on Tuesday afternoon. The night-time parade is reported to have been lit by flambeaux in line with Canboulay. According to the official report the band 'sang in chorus songs reflecting on the police of which the chief burden was "the police can't do it"'. They deliberately marched past the police barracks, taunting the confined force, and subsequently conducted a mock funeral of Baker. The dummy was either jettisoned into the harbour (*Chronicle*) or burnt in proximity to the barracks (Brierley). It is possible that these accounts describe two separate incidents. Both are strongly reminiscent of a tradition in French-speaking islands in the Caribbean, where an effigy representing an unpopular person, or the spirit of Carnival, is consumed by fire on the first day of Lent. The disposal of an effigy of Baker probably reflects this practice.

One other event on the Monday evening reported in the *Chronicle*, but subsequently denied in a despatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was a visit by the stickbands to the Governor's residence. Whether this took place or not, the description is unique in establishing aspects of black creole music and their association with both stickfighting and Carnival at this time.

ON MONDAY NIGHT (after the assurances of the Governor in the Market-place - which had been widely and rapidly spread abroad with sundry variations and exaggeration) the interrupted Canboulay of Sunday night was resumed, and played

without any disturbance worth speaking of. The Maribones and other amalgamated *bandes* repaired to Queen's House where orders had been previously given to the sentries at the gate for their admittance, and in fact that of all masquers who might present themselves. His Excellency and his Lady, Capt Ogilvy and other gentlemen and ladies who were present, came out on the balcony as soon as the *bandes* came up, and before them stick-exercises were gone through, the mens' drums beating as they never were before, extempore songs sung (in Creole, of course) in praise of his Excellency, composed on the spur of the moment by the *improvisatore* of the party. His Excellency, who with those around him seemed to enjoy the whole thing hugely, (it being evidently a strange sight to himself and lady, and I believe to the gallant Captain), threw out money to the men, who vociferously cheered him on this evidence of his liberality and of their success in amusing him and party. His Excellency acknowledged their cheers by bowing to them, on which cheers and hurrahs made the usually quiet Governor's Garden ring. At the close of the stick-fight, the players were one and all, by order of His Excellency, treated to refreshments to which they did full justice, after which they retired, pluming themselves inordinately on having, as one expressed himself, "*Nous halla baton d'ouvant Gouverneur*" ! an event I believe without precedent since Trinidad was Trinidad.

Freeling's denial relates to visits by masqueraders to Government House on the Tuesday when, he said, they were all turned away. This leaves open the question as to activities on the Monday evening, a topic conveniently not pursued in the official report.

Recorded in the latter, however, was a letter written at 6.30.a.m. on Shrove Tuesday in which Baker advised the Governor's Private Secretary of the mock funeral procession with lighted torches the night before. No action was taken on this account. Baker patrolled Port of Spain on horseback on five occasions during the day and found the town quiet. Troops were withdrawn to garrison at 6.00.p.m.¹⁴

As Brereton has observed, with minor exceptions the press presented a united front against Baker's actions. In this they represent one aspect of what might be described as a three-way split in the ruling elite. On this occasion the newspapers took the Governor's part (British Colonial Office career diplomat's pragmatism). Baker was seen as a hot-headed authoritarian, and the French-speaking pro-Carnival lobby had no difficulty in siding with Freeling. It was a pragmatic approach that was to receive support from R.G.Hamilton, the Colonial Office representative sent from London to investigate the riot. He spent a week in Trinidad (21 May to 27 May), interviewing as many interested parties as possible. His report was submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on 13 June 1881. The text was printed by the Colonial Office in September, and officially received in Trinidad in late October. His conclusions were that Carnival should continue

to start at midnight on Shrove Sunday. He believed, however, that the carrying of torches ought to be strictly controlled. He also called for greater regulation of the Hosien festival (perceiving this as a future point of friction in Trinidad). There was a recommendation that during each Carnival season, the Admiralty station a man-of-war in the harbour at Port of Spain. The police were bolstered, but also heavily criticised.

These, and other recommendations, coupled with Freeling's personal appeal to the masqueraders were, as Pearse has shown, important steps 'towards re-establishing a relationship based on mutual consent between the populace in its Carnival formation and the authorities'. Thus, in general, the report was well received in the press, although Brereton has noted that there was some criticism of Hamilton's attitude towards the black population.¹⁵

Carnival 1882 - 1884 - the regulation of drum dances and stickbands.

Many of the recommendations in Hamilton's report were effected in 1882, including the man-of-war in the harbour at Port of Spain. Another result of the 1881 riot was that proclamations concerning Carnival were made public via the office of the Colonial Secretary. This ensured that all levels of the executive were aware of conditions imposed in the name of the Governor by his Inspector Commandant of Police. The proclamation for 1882 was first published in the press in November 1881, soon after the arrival of the official report. It was re-published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 11 February 1882 following a deputation by thirteen Carnival bands. Their statement of fidelity (freely circulated a fortnight previous in the Eastern Market) had been published by *Fair Play and Trinidad News* on 9 February:

Advice For The Coming Carnival For The Year 1882

Ye brave Maskers of Trinidad, now is your festive season, perhaps the brightest Carnival that will be played by you all since its origin. May you all play with union, peace and loyalty to the Governor of the Island, who has so freely and independently given you freedom to play the Masquerade from the Sunday night at the hour of 12 o'clock till Tuesday night at 12 o'clock. I hope, therefore, that you all may unite on that bond of friendship to show that flowing loyalty which all Trinidadians can display at any time and under any circumstances imaginable.

Now, decent men and boys of Trinidad you have been favoured with permission from His Excellency the Governor to play and have your annual amusement as before time; therefore, let not any riotous or indecent behaviour on your parts stop to mar the pleasure of your sports, and by any uncalled for fight cast a stain on the Carnival of 1882. I hope you may all play in that decent, mild and jolly manner that will characterise your sports as the best on record in the annals of the history of this Island. Remember the pains His Excellency took in coming to our market square last year to ask you to play peaceably and be loyal to the Government, and also by his Proclamation of last year, he begged of you all that when the Carnival of 1882 should be ended, that he shall have that satisfaction in your peaceably playing that will always give him pleasure in his allowing you to have your sports. So let all the bands of the Island from far and near be united in one concerted action, which action is peaceful playing and temperate behaviour, so that we all that have not taken any part in the Masking, may be able to certify to the uprightness of your behaviour and the placid tone of your playing in this Masquerade season of 1882.

THE CHIEF BANDS ARE COMPOSED.

VIZ:-

1. Correl or the Liðnness.
2. Baker or the New Cròwn.
3. Free Grammar.
4. Cannel.
5. English Boys.
6. Fire Brand.
7. Zulu.
8. Palama.
9. Danoit.
10. Jack-Spaniards.
11. Diamond.
12. Pin Carret.
13. Tambrand.

Despite fears of conflict, this advice was well received. Canboulay was peaceful. There were few fights, if any, during the rest of the Carnival. The bands were on their best behaviour. Some were accompanied by 'men of influence' - the *Chronicle* (4 March) noted 'Mr Ign.Bodu of the Borough Council' and 'Mr C.A.Fabien'. The police, out in force, did not interfere with the maskers. *Fair Play* (23 February) was pleased to report that:

'The gaiety of the two days was such as has not been witnessed for a long time past; from morning to night the streets were alive with constantly moving crowds of maskers playing music, dancing, jumping about and acting in keeping with the various characters which they personated'.

Familiar groups included the Venezuelan Army (who visited the Governor's residence, and were well received), the Zulus, a 'Coolie Hosé', Chinese women and bands of school children.

Vagabondage and bands, however, remained an issue. For example, despite their good account of Carnival, on 9 March *Fair Play* attacked the 'moral aspect' of the festival. They noted that:

'The obscene songs and lewd dances of the Carnival are the same which are for months previously practised in yards open to the public and where the rehearsals for the masked Bacchanalia hold sway. The young men and young women who are subsequently ruined are often the ones who, attracted by the sound of the drum, become the witnesses of the corrupting scenes enacted at these dances. The fights which take place in all our streets but principally in our suburbs are the practices for and the precursors of similar and worse subsequent encounters at a season of licence'.

That confrontations marked out territorial boundaries is further confirmed by a report in the *Trinidad Palladium* on 1 July noted by Bridget Brereton. This identified the two principal zones in Port of Spain, one 'belonging to the "English Band", the other the "French Band" *alias* the Bakers' and described a recent incident resulting from territorial infringement.

In line with Hamilton's recommendation, an ordinance was passed on 1 July *For regulating the Festival of Immigrants*. This was to control Hosien and was based on similar legislation passed in British Guiana (Guyana) in 1869.

On 1 August, ex-slaves in Carenage held an elaborate celebration of the anniversary of Emancipation Day, an event that had been suppressed by the *curé* for six years. Reference has been made to the way in which this particular ceremony was organised following the description of the ending of Apprenticeship on 1 August 1838.¹⁶

The Carnival of 1883 became the principal test of the truce between the pro- and anti-Carnival lobbies, and the diplomacy of the Governor. After official publication in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* (10 January), the Governor's Carnival proclamation was printed in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 13 January. It contained provisions similar to those of the year previous and the paper affirmed the Governor's view that 'the same orderly behaviour displayed at the last Carnival will be observed'.

Unlike 1882, however, there were disturbances during the Carnival. Horns were blown to assemble the bands as early as 7.00.p.m. on the evening of Sunday, 4 February. This was five hours prior to the commencement of the festival, as defined in the

proclamation. There was also stickfighting, provoked by a recently formed English-speaking band called the Newgates. They were on bail at the time of the Carnival. This did not prevent them attacking French-speaking stickbands who 'had turned out to play peacefully'. Notably, these were the Bakers, Daylions, and Maribones. The Newgates, who were 'unmasked, undisguised' and well armed, took the drum of the latter; a calculated move to incite revenge by the most feared of the bands. In this, as *Fair Play* noted subsequent to the Carnival, there may have been foul play. A suggestion circulated that the anti-Carnival lobby, led by Captain Baker, paid the Newgates to cause trouble. It was observed that the police did not intervene to keep the peace until the second day of the festival. In addition, it was always the Newgates who instigated the fighting, yet they were favoured by the police. A correspondent, Anthony Guzman, who led the peacefully-orientated Venezuelan Soldiers, described how he was incapacitated by members of the Newgates as he assembled his band on Canboulay morning. He was told later that this was because he intended to present this fancy-costumed band at the Governor's residence, as he had in 1882.

The *Chronicle* reported another instance of interference. A troupe masquerading as a squad of police 'were highly successful, until they were dispersed by the driver of a mule cart, who drove them out of the way of his vehicle by a vigorous application of the whip'.

In addition to fighting there were complaints about obscene songs and gestures, vulgar drum dances and the *pisse-en-lit* costume (worn generally by men, dressed as women, but occasionally by women).

For the *Palladium* the highlights were 'a Coolie Hosien Temple' (constructed with great skill), a miniature steam engine, and a warship. The *Chronicle* saw 'facetiously inclined persons' who had 'rigged themselves out in quaint costumes' going 'dancing through the streets to more or less musical accompaniments afforded by improvised bands'. They were impressed by these costumes and complimented the maskers on the 'great taste and judgement' shown in their manufacture from 'poor materials'.

The violence appears to have decided Freeling that further legal controls on the Carnival were necessary. He advised his intention to a meeting of the Legislative Council on 1 March and his address was published in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* seven days later. Although the anti-Carnival lobby obtained a partial victory in this, they were not to attain their goal of abolition. Freeling noted that 'in framing measures' he 'would endeavour not to deprive the community during the day time of the amusement they apparently find in masquerading'.¹⁷

At an earlier meeting of the Legislative Council (1 February), Henry Ludlow, the Attorney General, had introduced what became known as the 'Musical Ordinance'. Even the ultra-conservative *Port of Spain Gazette* viewed this as class legislation. Essentially all percussion instruments (played by black creoles, and people of East-Indian descent) were to be prohibited without police licence between 6.00 a.m. and 10.00.p.m. (They were controlled otherwise by Ordinance No. 6 of 1868). In addition, European musical instruments (string, woodwind, etc) were added to the stipulations. In line with the 1868 legislation they were to be licensed between 10.00 p.m. and 6.00.a.m. the day following.

The origin of the measure was said to be nightly drumming (one source says by East Indians) in the village of Peru, near the military garrison at St. James. As with Baker's 1881 measures against Canboulay, however, the *Port of Spain Gazette* (10 February) perceived the proposals as an attack on black-creole culture:

To European ears the tambour and chac-chac produce nothing but the most discordant sounds, to Creoles, even of the higher classes, whose organs have been accustomed from their birth to this peculiar music, there is a cadence and rough harmony in their accompaniment of native songs which is far from disagreeable; and on the lower classes their effect is magical. We have only to look at a *round of Belair* and note the peculiar undulating motions of all present, as they follow with their heads, their hands, their whole bodies the peculiar cadence of the music, to be convinced that, to their ears, there is more, in the sound produced, than the discordant noise which alone strikes the European.

The *Chronicle* (14 February) were equally opposed to the catch-all clauses. They noted how 'the measure attacks at once the piano of the well-to-do classes, and the guitar or concertina of the labouring classes'. In addition they defended the drummers of Peru village, observing how 'the poor here have little enough recreation, and to attempt to

deprive them of an amusement both harmless and humanizing is running directly counter to the interests of civilization and the dictates of humanity'.

On the same day that the proposed ordinance was next discussed by the Legislative Council (1 March), *Fair Play* published a long editorial on drums and drum dances. They contrasted the construction of keg drums in the West Indies with those they had seen of African manufacture. The latter, they believed to be superior instruments. As has been noted, they also recalled past Trinidad drum dances (with courtly dressing, and other elements of finery). These were compared with a type of contemporary event that had long been criticised in the press.

An open yard in some suburb of the town, sufficiently private for the proceedings not to be seen from the street but with no hindrance to the ingress and egress of visitors; a man in a dirty shirt and trousers, a bench and a drum; a few dirtily dressed women who serve as Chorus, a mixed crowd of dirtily dressed men and women who dance to the sound of the drum independently of each other, and a gaping crowd who are attracted to the spot by the noise; if it is not moonlight, a flickering flambeau to enlighten the scene - such is all that is required to constitute a drum dance! And what are the songs? Generally a few foolish sentences, composed by the leader of the Chorus to provoke some obnoxious person or band and the sickening repetition of a refrain which gives the greatest possible amount of exercise to the lungs compatible with the least possible disturbance of the brain. As for the dancing it is nothing, but the most disgusting obscenity pure and simple, being an imitation more or less vigorous and lustful by the male and female performers of the motions of the respective sexes whilst in the act of coition. Not only the exercise, but copious draughts of rum warm their blood; quarrels ensue, sticks are freely used and the entertainment is ordinarily wound up by a fight. Performers and spectators then disperse with their passions excited to go and put into immediate practice the immortal lessons they have been greedily imbibing.

Fair Play believed that such drum dances should be strictly controlled, but that the all encompassing measures proposed by Ludlow were impracticable and would not address these 'serious evils'. In essence, this was the persuasive argument opposing the 'Musical Ordinance', made by George L. Garcia at the Legislative Council Meeting. His speech led to its withdrawal and the substitution later in the year of strict controls of drum dances in yards. These were contained in the *Summary Convictions (amendment) Ordinance*, No. 11 of 1883 (10 July). The exact effect of this legislation has been mentioned previously, in the description by Lewis Osborn Inniss of the gradual extinguishment of *calenda* (and other) drum dances (Chapter II).¹⁸

An important indirect result of events in this era, such as the Canboulay Riot, and the 'Musical Ordinance', is shown in contemporary descriptions of musical activities by black creoles. Thus the *Chronicle* in 1881 (quoted previously), confirms the form of stickfighting bouts - the actions of stickmen, accompanied by drumming, with extempore singing (call and response), by chantwell and chorus. This in an unconfirmed display for the Governor.

Fair Play, in 1883 (above), extends this pattern by implying that different types of drum dances would be performed at yard events. Their description indicates the involvement of male and female partners, who seem to have danced 'winin' style. The latter confirms the recall of Inniss in 1932 (Chapter II), who identified the dances as *calindas*. Other sources such as *New Era*, (October 1873), called the occasions '"Bel Air" dances' (a term Inniss reserves for songs). As has been shown in Chapter II, however, *bamboula*, *bel air*, *calenda* and *juba* are terms for creole drum dances developed in the French-speaking Caribbean during the slavery period. Each can refer to a form of song as well as a dance. All appear to have been introduced to Trinidad by French-Creole slaves prior to Britain's conquest of the island. Nineteenth-century migrants from Martinique, and other French-speaking islands, sustained these dances following Emancipation.

It has also been explained that these old creole dances stood alongside others brought directly from Africa, which reflected this more immediate contact with that continent. In addition, there were similar dances brought to Trinidad from other islands. Thus, on 9 August 1883, in response to the *Summary Convictions (amendment) Ordinance*, the *Trinidad Review* sprang to the defence of 'songs and dances that are decent'. The 'indecent songs and dances' in Trinidad, they explained, were 'either importations or imitations of the lewd songs of Curaçao, from which island they were first brought over and practised here by one BIM BIM and her equally vile daughters, who every night, to the peculiar music of their Quelbays, went through the most lascivious antics, indicative of the sensuous vocation to which they abandoned themselves'. Noting the dance 'with the songs composed for it' could not 'be mistaken by the Police,' they advised that it should be 'stamped out of the colony like a pestilence'.

Although their island of origin is unusual, like other comments in this period, migrants are blamed for social difficulties experienced in Trinidad. Gordon Rohlehr, who identifies this source, points out the uncertainty of making a direct link between this and the post-Emancipation dance named Quelbé, described by Andrew Pearse in Carriacou and J.D.Elder in Tobago (Chapter II). More generally, however, it can be grouped with the new creole dances developed in this period. The same is probably true for the 'abominable dance called Calypso' described to Abbé Massé in 1882. According to 'the old negroes', the dance was 'the cause of perversion of young men and girls'. This reasoning is similar to that given for the influence of 'Quelbays' by the *Trinidad Review*. More important, this appears to be the first use of the word 'calypso' in a musical context in Trinidad. Subsequent sources give a variety of reasons for the origin of this meaning. It is probably significant, however, that during the late nineteenth-century, songs in Trinidad called *cariso* or *caliso* are said to have been performed to the accompaniment of the goatskin drum.

It would be wrong to suppose that the drum provided the only accompaniment for musical recreations among black creoles. Confirming that there were 'many' dances, some 'very lewd', Massé described instrumentation in 1879: 'the violin, the "landole" (Mandolin) [and], the American accordion which is always accompanied by drums'. The last named were of several types. In 1882 he recalled in his diary how: 'Every evening I have my head aching for long hours either by an accordion or by the violins'. He noted how black people had 'a passion for music as they have a passion for dance'. He also reported how the 'Spaniards' [presumably migrants from Venezuela, of part black, part Native American ancestry] had a similar passion. They also played the 'Bandole'.

Massé's recall is confirmed by newspaper reports. For example, in November 1880 the *Trinidad Chronicle* indicated how instruction in violin playing for dance music was 'taking a large extension among the humbler classes'. They hoped that in this trend they would see the demise of 'the abominable African drum (a goat skin drawn tightly over a keg and tapped by the fingers)'. They made similar observations in March 1882, following the Carnival, noting how 'the fiddle is played by dozens, scores, of black and

coloured youths this year, while clarionet, violincello, horn, piccolo and cornet are not quite neglected'.

Despite the *Port of Spain Gazette's* defence of the *belair*, in February 1883, there was general agreement among the elite that, whatever the name of the drum dance, virtually all dance movements and song lyrics were 'obscene'. This applied to regular drum dances by the 'societies or bands', as well as their songs during Carnival. For the latter, Hamilton obtained a description in 1881 that shows why they were considered objectionable:

'It is common during the Carnival for the vilest songs, in which the names of ladies of the Island are introduced, to be sung in the streets, and the vilest talk to be indulged in'.

Songs of this type were not the only Carnival vocal music. There were also the 'war songs' of the stickbands. These were sung as they marched in formation through the streets to the beat of drums and strains of other less percussive instruments (such as those used by the Maribones in 1877). Drumming, carrying of sticks, and stickfighting by bands, however, were the principal objections of the elite towards Carnival, especially during the Canboulay ceremony. It was these aspects of the festival Freeling stated he would address in his message to the masqueraders of 1 March 1883.¹⁹

'The Carnival' was the subject of an editorial in the *Port of Spain Gazette* as early as 12 January 1884. This was almost one-and-a-half months before Shrovetide and in advance of government action to control the festival. The opportunity was taken to present their view of the perpetrators of violence. Once more it was 'the ruffianly bands, organised by the most desperate characters, men and women; thieves, vagabonds, prostitutes [who] took possession of the town from midnight of the Sunday preceding Ash Wednesday...' They noted how 'in former days no Police Force was required to control the cannes-boulées'. Blame was again apportioned to 'the large immigration of roughs from Barbados and other islands'. There was advice and comment, also:

Let the Police patrol the streets in squads so as not to hesitate to arrest at once anyone violating public decency either by gesture or language. There are some costumes - the *pisse-en-lit* for example - which are so very indecent they should not be tolerated.

Just over a week later, on 21 January, the Legislative Council met to discuss the Carnival. The 'Governor's Message' of 1 March 1883 was repeated to the assembly and a draft of what was then called the 'Torch Ordinance' was read. The following day a Proclamation was published (No. 1 of 1884) which, for the first time, stated that Carnival would not commence until 6.00.a.m. on the morning of Shrove Monday, and that 'the procession generally known as the cannes-brulées or Canboulay shall not be allowed to take place'. For the latter, additional regulations were to be promulgated. These were encompassed in the 'Torch Ordinance' which, when agreed by the Legislative Council at their meeting of 25 January, became the *Peace Preservation Ordinance* (No. 1 of 1884). The Governor was given powers to prohibit 'in any street, highway or public place' at times specified by Proclamation:

1. The carrying of any lighted torch;
 2. The beating of any drum, the blowing of any horn or the use of any other noisy instrument;
 3. Any dance or procession;
- and
4. Any assemblage or collection of persons armed with sticks or other weapons of offence and numbering ten or more.

This stringent attack on their traditional activities met with resistance by the stickbands, especially in the French-Creole speaking area of Belmont. Bands who assembled in this vicinity, 'to have their drum dance, &c' on 22 January, were dispersed by police, with only minor trouble. Four days latter, however, there was a more concerted attack on law officers in Belmont Road. At a court case involving this assault, it was noted that:

'As soon as the policemen had passed they were assailed by the mob with stones, and several of them were hit, the pass word being *fonté li* - beat them - words said to be French, but which the Attorney General said did not form part of any language known to him. The police were forced to retreat...'

By 31 January, the *Trinidad Review* were stating that 'attacks on the Police are daily reported from Belmont'. They noted how 'lawless bands' were acting with apparent impunity and described the rescue of a prisoner being escorted to police custody 'from

somewhere about Sorzansville'. Bands of '*Diametres*' from the centre of Port of Spain were apparently involved in some of these fracas. Gordon Rohlehr has indicated that even the police on guard at the Governor's residence were beaten by members of one of these gangs.

A Proclamation was issued on 28 January (No. 3 of 1884) that established even more severe conditions for the holding of Carnival than had been specified previously. The settlements of Port of Spain, San Fernando, Arima, Princes Town, St Joseph and Couva were singled out for special attention. A period from 7.00 p.m. on Saturday 23 February to 6.00.a.m. on Wednesday 27 February was stipulated in which the *Peace Preservation Ordinance* would be in operation. The latter was quoted in full, as were the relevant provisions of Ordinance No. 6 of 1868.

The administration appear to have been acting as though they were under a state of siege. Another explanation might be, however, that general tactics were dictated by the Colonial Office, in an endeavour to control the Carnival and at the same time force the co-operation of the French-speaking community. In this respect the Governor made an appeal to citizens in a circular, asking for the swearing in of special Constables for the Carnival. There was, therefore, a moral obligation for French-speaking members of the elite to side with 'law and order'. The executive were also at pains to explain that the legislation against the Carnival (also drum dances) applied only to Canboulay, and to the activities of 'rogues and vagabonds' etc. To emphasise this point, two more pieces of legislation were passed, the *Licensing Amendment Ordinance* (revoking licences for intoxicating liquor at times of riot), and an even more comprehensive version of the *Summary Convictions Amendment Ordinance* (to further clamp down on drum dances by the bands).

This legislation and proclamation did not go without comment in the press. On 14 February, both the *Trinidad Review* and *Fair Play* devoted editorials to the subject. The *Review* perceived the actions of the government to have become heavy-handed. Like the objections to the 'Musical Ordinance' a year earlier, they believed that 'all the facts of class legislation [were] in full play, namely a harsh enactment, the hastiness of which when

resented, is attempted to be softened by the arbitrary limitation of its provisions to a particular class'. They also considered that penalty for 'possession of any weapon, stick or other thing' raised a presumption of guilt against the innocent outside the 'fundamental maxims of the criminal law'. *Fair Play*, in an outline of official policy associated with Carnival since 1881, thought the executive had over-reacted. They also raised a crucial question that portended tragic consequences later in the year:

'But should the Creoles part unresistingly with their "Cannes Boulees" will our immense Coolie population dispense as readily with *their* torch-light procession? And should they resist and be joined by disaffected Creole labourers, whose cause would be one with theirs, where would be the means to repress them before the perpetration of incalculable atrocities?'

During the period that legislation was passed for controlling Carnival, the unpopularity of government officials remained high among black creoles in Port of Spain. Ludlow, the Attorney General, was 'mobbed and pelted with stones on the Belmont Road near the Queen's Park', and some two weeks later the *Port of Spain Gazette* (23 February) reported 'the Governor was, a few days ago, insulted in the streets'. Freeling, however, was set to retire from his post as Governor of Trinidad at the end of March and insults from what were being termed the '*cannaille*' would have been of little consequence to him.

With special preparations for Carnival in Port of Spain, apart from the breaking of a few lamps, there was no trouble from the masqueraders. No attempt was made to hold Canboulay and, during the daytime on Monday and Tuesday, 'there was less masquerading in the streets than in previous years'.

There were Canboulay disturbances, however, at three of the other locations specified in the Proclamation of 28 January. All of a similar nature they occurred at Couva, Princes Town, and San Fernando, on the night of Sunday, 24 February and the early morning of Monday, 25 February.

At Couva, drums were played and parties assembled from about 10.20.p.m. on the Sunday. Bands comprising 200 people, carrying sticks, torches and drums, came as near as a few hundred yards from the police barracks. The riot act was read, but the police challenged and dispersed the assembly without resort to firearms.

A more concerted attempt at holding the ceremony, by 500 or more, at Princes Town, ended with the police firing on the masqueraders. There were two fatalities, one said to have been a band ringleader. From 11.00.p.m. on the Sunday there had been horn blowing, loud singing, lighted torches, drums beating, and stick playing. Women danced and sang mocking the police. Missiles (some containing foul-smelling substances), were hurled at the police before the riot act was read, and two volleys fired. The police were heavily outnumbered. The bands fled at the shooting.

At San Fernando, the celebrants lit a bonfire and commenced their ceremony before being forced to abandon activities. The authorities, as in Port of Spain, were well prepared to disperse the bands in this event.

Some held the opinion, according to the *Trinidad Review* (28 February), 'that the ringleaders of some of the most desperate bands in Port of Spain were wishful of holding in the Naparimas those orgies which were forbidden them in Port of Spain'. Their suggestion that this might explain the confrontation in Princes Town has not been confirmed.

For the administration, there seems to have been satisfaction there were no major confrontations. Freeling published a notice in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* on 12 March, thanking all those concerned (military, police, judiciary, etc.) 'for the moral support afforded to the Government in its endeavours to prevent and suppress the ruffianism of certain lawless bands and individuals'.²⁰

The Hosien massacre : 1884

In the light of the suppression of Canboulay the problem remained for the executive as to whether to discipline the East Indian festival of Hosien. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (1 March) was in no doubt. They believed that the festival should be kept to the plantations as in Guyana. 'It is utterly absurd', they said, 'to pretend that the monster processions, which on a given day inundate our principal towns with thousands of fanatical drunken coolies, can form any necessary part of their religious ceremonies'. The real

fear, however, was joint insurrection by black creoles and East Indians. The *Gazette* reported they had 'reliable information that the discontented bands of ruffians who, but for the vigilance of the Government would have imperilled the lives and properties of the peaceable inhabitants of Port of Spain, are determined to avail themselves of the coolie Hosien to make another attempt to carry out their nefarious designs'. Judging by subsequent events, this siege-mentality reflected the position of the administration. It can be seen as a direct continuation of their policy towards Carnival.

That the executive decided to take a more forthright attitude towards the holding of Hosien is shown by publication of festival regulations for the first time. These were issued on 30 July 1884, using powers established in the ordinance *For Regulating the Festivals of Immigrants*. As advised by the *Port of Spain Gazette*, their objective was to confine the celebrations to plantations. This would re-emphasise the segregation of East Indians from French creoles, and mollify the elite's fear of widespread mutiny. The move was also designed to counter criticisms of administrative inconsistency in banning Canboulay but allowing similar processions through towns by East Indians.

Like Canboulay, under the cover of darkness, Hosien included parades by different groups carrying torches and hakka sticks through the towns. Of Muslim origin (but shared in Trinidad by people of Hindu descent, as well as a proportion of black creoles) the festival 're-enacted the historical events leading to the death of the Prophet Mohammed's grandsons, Hassan and Hussain'. Known as 'Tajahs', model mausoleums for the two 'Shia' martyrs were carried from estates to the nearest town and deposited at night into the sea. Accompaniment was by tassa drums. For a few days prior to the celebration there was also drumming by torchlight, 'ending sometimes in quarrels, fights and bloodshed'. As with Carnival, street parades sometimes involved hostile encounters between bands. Despite black creole involvement in the processions, according to official sources, confrontations were always between East Indians. The aggregations involved in Canboulay violence kept their conflicts for other occasions.

In 1884 there was great dissatisfaction at the regulations among East Indians, especially in the area surrounding San Fernando. This was the region of the festival's

greatest popularity in Trinidad. Petitions were made for the restrictions to be lifted, but these were rejected. On 30 October, therefore, the participants chose to disregard the authorities and carry their *tajahs* towards San Fernando. Police, under the command of 'Captain' Baker, fired a hail of bullets to stop the advance, and this resulted in many deaths.²¹

At one stroke this attack on the East Indians maintained the divide between black creoles and 'coolies' (as they were called in derogatory fashion). The administration was able to govern Hosien by fear. Political circumstances, however, had led to the deduction that there was no scope for the complete suppression of Carnival. With regulation, this was to be left as the primary festival in towns. While there is no direct evidence, it is difficult not to suspect that the Colonial Office and Governor Freeling (who was responsible for instigating all the legislation), had decided on this action with these aims in mind.

Carnival 1885 - 1887 - incorporation begins

In addition to the Hosien massacre, the Carnival of 1885 was held under the shadow of the Canboulay disturbances in southern districts the previous year. A similar proclamation to the one issued in 1884 was published in late January. Unlike 1884, however, there appears to have been little overt objection to its conditions. The festival (16-17 February), was the quietest seen in Trinidad for many years. According to all reports there were no fights (hostile bands being well disciplined by squads of police), and less 'obscenity'. *New Era* (23 February) noted, nevertheless, that 'it would be to the advantage of all parties if men dressed up as women, and women in their bedroom costumes could be induced to turn their propensities for fun to better account...' In contrast they also stated that 'comparatively large numbers of the respectable classes...felt safe in venturing to disguise themselves this year for the purpose of amusement'.

Unlike the *Chronicle*, (18 February), and *Port of Spain Gazette* (21 February), *New Era* also gave particulars of 'an elaborate plan for representing the *fracas* between the

Police and Coolies in October last at San Fernando'. This had been quashed by 'Captain' Baker and the newspaper was indignant at his interference. They reported that 'trouble and expense it seems had been incurred in making the necessary preparations, without a thought having been given to the possibility of the Police being unduly tender in the matter'. Baker, however, was equally 'sensitive' to the political implications of such a Carnival representation.

In 1886 the *Port of Spain Gazette* (13 March) reported that the Carnival was 'particularly remarkable'. This in the light of the absence of the stickbands, and a determined effort by the police 'to put down every attempt at immorality and obscenity whether in dress, speech or song'. The Venezuelan Army and Zulu band made reappearances. They were joined by a band of Naval Heroes who paid a visit to the Governor's residence. The newspaper was especially critical of the attitude of the police towards these fancily dressed bands. Despite the frivolous nature of their masques they had technically been breaking the law. Each, therefore, had been apprehended by the constabulary and made an appearance in Court. Unlike other cases, however, all three received a caution.

Masqueraders who received harsher treatment included three pierrots, sent to prison for fighting. Their attempt to escape arrest had been impeded by their elaborate costumes, one of them having 'tripped over his tail'. Eight members of a stickband 'including two coolies', were fined, as were several men dressed as women. Four women, charged with singing obscene songs and making obscene gestures in the public street, were imprisoned. A similar group, four women and a boy, were penalised in the same manner. When arrested they were 'simply dressed in chemises and ribbons'. One case of obscenity was 'dismissed for want of evidence'. This involved two men who went about during the Carnival 'exhibiting "*Gombot Glise*" in a closed box and charging a few cents to anyone who looked into the box'. It seems that 'one of the men was in the box' and the allegation was 'that those who looked in witnessed a very indecent spectacle'.

No newspaper coverage for the Carnival of 1887 is available. There is a general account, however, in *A Guide to Trinidad* by J.H.Collens, first published in this year.

His description provides a little extra information on aspects of the festival not usually covered by reports in the press. In this he notes how 'business is particularly, if not altogether, suspended; masquerading and tomfoolery generally being the order of the day'. In addition he draws attention to 'the better class of Spaniards' who dressed 'themselves in fantastic costumes'. Such maskers were from families of longstanding, settled in Trinidad prior to 1797, or nineteenth-century migrants from Venezuela. They rode or drove 'about visiting their friends [and] showering small comfitures upon them'. Collens also refers to the 'advantage' taken in the past by 'roughs, rowdies and *diametres*' under the 'privilege of masking', especially by 'bands of ruffians armed with staves' during Canboulay.²²

U.S. Medicine Shows 1887

One of the external influences on the development of popular culture in Trinidad was yearly visits by 'Yankee Patent Medicine Vendors'. This training ground for black and white entertainers in the United States appears to have stretched as far as the Caribbean. In 1932, Lewis Osborne Inniss recalled aspects of their money-making activities. These always centred around some form of divertissement. 'One fellow', he remembered, 'had a tent in Shine's Pasture, where he gave free entertainments to the people in the evening with two talking dolls by means of ventriloquism, the music being supplied by a Hurdy-Gurdy'. The show was concluded 'by a sale of his medicines, miniature specimens of which he had been distributing during the day'. There was 'another who sold Kick-a-Poo Remedies'. This vendor 'used to drive around the town in a gilded chariot, dressed in Indian Robes [and] extracted all the bad teeth of the public free...'

The Pharmaceutical Society, of which Inniss was a member, persuaded the Attorney General (Stephen Gatty) to pass a Medical Ordinance (No. 6 of 1887) 'which forbade the selling of medicines other than by Licensed Druggist in a Licensed Pharmacy'. This stopped the elaborate presentations, selling what were usually alcoholic cure-alls. Inniss noted, however, that vendors of patent medicine continued to ply their trade by

'scattering...Almanacks, Dream Books, et cetera'. The same publications were popular among blacks in the United States.²³

From the evidence available it is not possible to gauge the exact content and effect of the medicine show performers in Trinidad. Their otherwise little documented presence, and eventual distribution of astrological literature from the United States, point to such North American trends reaching the Caribbean almost from their inception. Medicine shows, for example, evolved in the latter part of the nineteenth century, following the U.S. Civil War.

Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee 1887

For obvious reasons, the principal economic and symbolic influence in British islands in the Caribbean, throughout the nineteenth century, was the 'Empire', in whose name they were governed. Thus, imperial celebrations were of great significance, especially those revolving around the monarch. The 'Golden Jubilee' of the reign of Queen Victoria was no exception. Elaborate preparations were made in each island to commemorate this event at the end of June, 1887. The particular festive occasion in Trinidad has not been investigated. Of great importance to the documentation of music in the island, however, is the publication of *West Indian Melodies* by John Urich, as part of an 'Alliance Musicale' produced to mark the anniversary of fifty years rule by the Queen. As has been noted in Chapter II, one of the pieces was a 'Bamboula', and Urich's *Melodies* appear to have been the first time representations of Trinidad vernacular music were printed in musical notation. Their publication further demonstrates the gradual change in attitude by the elite towards vernacular culture in the island that was taking place in the latter part of the nineteenth century.²⁴

Christmas 1887

J.H.Collens in his *Guide to Trinidad* mentions that 'all classes...celebrate Christmas with rejoicings, and let off gunpowder and superfluous steam in the form of fireworks'. At the time he wrote, it seems, Christmas celebrations were regarded as harmless. This was not the view of the *Port of Spain Gazette*, however, when referring to Christmas 1887 just after Carnival the following year. They noted 'the sad desecration of Christmas Day - a Sunday' by vagabondism (or, rather, the bands).²⁵ As will be shown, from reports to hand for 1888 and 1894, there seems to have been some attempt by stickbands to shift the Canboulay ceremony to Christmas, and thereby avoid the rigorous controls of the Carnival proclamation.

Carnival 1888 - Trinidad and Martinique in comparison

At the time of Carnival in 1888, the *Port of Spain Gazette* reported, a band 'assembled on the La Basse on Sunday night with the intention of starting the Canboulay procession'. They were dispersed by the police, four band members being arrested and fined by the magistrate. The same evening Sir William Robinson (the Governor) held a grand fancy dress ball at his residence 'in honour of the North American and West Indian Squadron, which had arrived in the morning'. On Shrove Tuesday there was also a Ladies Leap Year Ball at the Prince's Building, a principal location for 'society' events at this time.

Grand balls were always a feature of Carnival, but, on the evidence of available newspaper coverage, appear to have dwindled in the 1870s-early 1880s. They were still held during the period between Christmas and Carnival, however, such as the highly successful fancy dress ball given by Governor Freeling on 11 January 1883.

In 1888 Carnival street parades in Port of Spain were witnessed by Melton Prior, an artist employed by the *Illustrated London News*. As well as publishing the only known nineteenth-century engraving of the festival, Prior provided a refreshingly open

commentary on the event from the perspective of a well-travelled observer. Drawing attention to the now regular stringent conditions of the Governor's proclamation, he testified 'that there was nothing in Port of Spain to shock the most fastidious sense of decorum' in the 'attire and behaviour' of the masqueraders. The costumes 'worn by some of the negro people', he said, 'had a very picturesque effect'. They were 'mostly dressed in white'.

His engraving of the scene in Frederick Street shows greater variety of costume. In the foreground there are two devils, in dark apparel, the smaller of the two probably being a *jab molasi* (or little molasses-devil). Black women in white dresses with white masques otherwise predominate. Some of these may be men dressed as women. In the background there are a number of grotesques, a wild Indian, two beturbaned minstrels (with banjos) and, probably one or two clowns, carrying air-filled bladders dangling from sticks. There are also black men dressed in white, with white masques and flat white hats.

Prior's drawing undoubtedly reflects some artistic licence, although several of the masquerade characters he depicts conform with earlier evidence and oral history references. Local resident José M. Bodu, whose *Trinidadiana* reports Prior's presence in Trinidad, was indignant at the illustration. He stated haughtily, 'in one [sketch], supposed to represent Frederick Street during the Carnival, the store of our esteemed fellow-colonist, Mr Arnold Knox, is transformed into a watch-making establishment'.

On the whole, the *Port of Spain Gazette* praised the Carnival: 'there was a greater prevalence of neat costumes and a better class of masks'. They complimented the dress of the '*Pierrots*' and mentioned also the familiar old women, and Chinese, as well as representations of 'Coolies'. Dressed in red, there were 'devils in close-fitting all-in-ones, with long tails', such as shown in Prior's drawing. They also admired the depiction of the popular Chief Justice, Sir John Gorrie (or Papa Gorrie), and a band of Courtiers. Criticised were 'the shameless costumes in loose-fitting nightgowns all in white'. These were presumably *pissenlit*. The newspaper seems to make a distinction between them and the 'men dressed as women and women as men *without masks*'. Particularly objectionable to the *Gazette* was the parading by men dressed as women through 'the whole City from

morning to night, repeating the same song containing *double ententes* of the most obscene meaning, and dancing in the lewdest manner'. This practice may have had a social bias. The reporter describes, for example, how in his 'presence a small band of four of these, seeing a lady and her daughter at the windows, sang an obscene distich of the most indecent character in the crudest words'. There was, he said, 'a burst of applause...amongst the bystanders - the confusion of these ladies may be imagined at being surprised and insulted in this brutal manner'. Satirical and more overt insults in Carnival songs were not exclusive to Trinidad, however, as can be shown by comparison with descriptions of the Carnival in the French island of Martinique, in the same year.

The family connections between black creoles in Martinique and Trinidad have been emphasised from the slavery period. Evidence also demonstrates that songs and other cultural sentiments were shared between the two islands for much of the nineteenth century. Fortuitously, Lafcadio Hearn, the most careful observer of black-American culture in the late nineteenth century, witnessed the Carnival in St. Pierre, Martinique in 1888. His detailed description provides a very useful point of reference for exploring similarities and differences between the two festivals.

In Martinique, the Carnival lasts from Shrove Monday to Ash Wednesday, and Hearn's observations were made on the afternoon and evening of Wednesday, 15 February. There were two principal rival bands, the *Intrépides* and *Sans-souci* (or *Sans Souffrance* in another contemporary source, located by Anca Bertrand). Hearn defined these bands as the great dancing societies. They came towards each other from north and south along Grand Rue, indicating that they probably had a territorial basis. They were, according to Bertrand's contemporary newspaper accounts, two 'feminine associations' that had been 'established with a view to pleasure'. As with Trinidad, their rivalry seems to have led to 'scuffles'.

The bands usually sang satirical songs to creole airs - called *belairs* in one of Bertrand's sources. Each group marched and danced singing these songs to the accompaniment of drums, horns (and possibly other instruments), together with the clapping of hands in chorus. By implication the singing was in call and response fashion,

with a chantwell providing the lead and mass voices the antiphon. At some point whilst Hearn was listening to *Sans-souci* they broke into the latest song from France in vogue in the island. The musicians were all dressed as women or as monks.

As in Trinidad, and elsewhere in the Caribbean in this period, the principal mask of the multitude was of wire construction, painted white and 'having the form of an oval and regular human face'. Hearn noted that 'they disguise the wearer absolutely, although they can be seen through perfectly well from within'. The predominant colours of the costumes were crimson and canary yellow.

The mock monks were dressed in Franciscan, Dominican or Penitent habits. Like the clergymen depicted in Trinidad in 1871, they satirised the attitude of the Church towards the Carnival and Carnival music.

There were few eccentricities or monsters and only a few vampire bats (a traditional costume not mentioned in Trinidad sources this early). The Congo band bore some parallels with the *negre jardin* costumes, in that masquers were dressed in exact reproduction of clothing worn by workers on plantations. They were not, however, stickfighters and there was also a women's raiment in this class. The *bebé* costume, or (*ti maumaille*), was worn by young girls in baby dress and described as 'really pretty'. They seem, therefore, to have been less sexually overt than the school girls seen in Trinidad in the 1870s-1880s. The *ti-Négue gouos-sirop* (or little molasses negro), had a direct equivalent (*jab molasi*) as did the *Diable* (*jab*), but there appear to have been no bands of *Diablasses* in Trinidad Carnival. The latter represented the legend of the *lajables* who tempted men to follow her to their doom. This remains well known in several French-creole-speaking islands, including Trinidad.

At dusk in St. Pierre, the masqueraders crowded into local ballrooms 'to dance strange tropical measures that' Hearn said, would 'become wilder and wilder' as the night progressed. The *Diable*, accompanied by his chorus, also made his final round of the unlighted streets, returning to his quarters only at the approach of midnight.

As well as collecting the music to three dance tunes, that were probably played at the grand balls (dancers wore fancy dress, masques, and other disguises), Lafcadio Hearn

obtained the words and music for one example of each of two classes of Carnival song, performed in Martinique at this time.

Marie-Clémence he called a Carnival satire. He said that it had been composed not more than four years prior to 1890 (when he published the words and music). Hearn informed Krehbiel that *Marie-Clémence* was a seller of cheap cooked food. The song was sung to 'torment' her, although the embarrassment is not explained. Such derisive songs appear to be the *belairs* of the St. Pierre Carnival newspaper report of 15 February 1888, discovered by Anca Bertrand. In 1888 Hearn noted that the composers and singers of these musical lampoons were the dancing societies. The lyrics were usually 'cruel satires' and the local meaning was 'unintelligible to those unacquainted with the incident inspiring the improvisation, of which the words are too often coarse or obscene, [and] whose burdens will be caught up and re-echoed through all the bourgs of the island'.

Loéma Tombe he described as a '*pillard*, or in creole *piyà*'. Loéma, Hearn told Krehbiel, 'was a girl who lived near the Pont Bas and affected virtue'. The song was composed after 'it was learned that she received not one but many lovers'. The 'popular malicious custom' of performing this kind of song of insult may not have been confined to Carnival. Thus, Hearn reported that

'some person who it is deemed justifiable and safe to annoy, may suddenly find himself followed in the street by a singing chorus of several hundred, all clapping hands and dancing or running in perfect time, so that all the bare feet strike the ground together. Or the *pillard-chorus* may even take up its position before the residence of the party disliked, and then proceed with its performance'.

He described an instance of the latter practice in 1888, when the *Diable* and his chorus in their Carnival perambulations halted before a dwelling in the Rue Peysette and sang 'a piece of spite work' against someone living there. As with *Loéma Tombe*, the song was performed with a single voice (the *Diable*), improvising a line followed by the response of the chorus.²⁶

On the scant evidence available, there appears to be a great similarity between the way in which Carnival songs were composed and sung in Martinique, and Trinidad. Thus the complaints against songs by the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1888 mention a Carnival street song similar to those described by Hearn, and also a *pillard*-like song, performed by

a small band in front of a mother and daughter at the window of their residence. The participation of rival bands run by women and devoted to dancing, recalls the Carnival in Trinidad of the late 1860s. Certain masques have also been shown to have been common in both islands.

The circumstances of the two Carnivals, however, appear to have been very different, and comparison should not be taken too far without greater knowledge of the evolution of Carnival in Martinique.

Emancipation Day 1888 - Golden Jubilee celebrations

The events leading to the special celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Emancipation from slavery in Trinidad, have been explored by Bridget Brereton. Pertinent to this discussion are relevant newspaper descriptions of festive events on this occasion. These add further to understanding the development of carnivalesque and musical traditions in the island. Three reports are of relevance, concerning activities at the settlements of Arouca, Chatham and Mayaro.

According to *Public Opinion* (7 August), bands of music began parading through the streets of Arouca during the evening of 31 July. They serenaded the inhabitants throughout the night. Daybreak 'was heralded by the discharge of guns from several places'. Brereton suggests that this might have been a revival of Canboulay processions, but tolerance for the proceedings probably indicates music of greater 'gentility'.

On 1 August at Chatham (*Public Opinion*, 24 August), there was an evening 'ball at the school house which was kept up into the small hours'. Unfortunately, the type of music played is not identified. On the same evening at Mayaro, however, (*Public Opinion*, 10 August), 'a Belle-air, or drum dance' was held from 7.00.p.m. in a tent where a banquet had taken place earlier in the day. The dancing lasted until 6.00.a.m. the next morning. A ball, of similar duration, was held the following day. By implication, European-style dances were performed on this occasion'.²⁷

This and other evidence indicates that the stickbands were not involved in any of the commemorative celebrations. It was more socially mobile blacks who sustained the Emancipation Day anniversary, as they did in Port of Spain. It was this group also who, together with the white elite, were to increase their participation in Carnival as the century drew to a close. At the same time, the character of the festival altered gradually in relation to their changing attitudes. A further component in this evolution was the cultural influence of the United States. This may have begun to increase among blacks in Trinidad following the acceptance of high-class black-American jubilee and minstrel music among whites.

The visit of the Tennessee Jubilee Singers 1888

The world-wide contribution of Jubilee and blacks-in-blackface minstrelsy to the spread of black-North-American culture in the late-nineteenth century has only recently begun to receive scholarly attention. In the Caribbean the former style was introduced during two tours, respectively in 1888-89 and 1890-91, by the Tennessee Jubilee Singers.

It must be emphasised that troupes such as this did not perform in the same way as the burlesques of 'plantation' music by white-in-blackface minstrels. As has been mentioned (Chapter II), the popularity of the latter had been consolidated in the 1840s, and is exemplified by the work of such as Dan Emmett. The Tennessee Jubilee Singers presented their music formally and, as their name suggests, included arrangements of black-North-American spirituals in the manner of the Fisk Jubilee Singers. These had become popular following the Fisk's successful concert tours in the 1870s, including their visits to Britain in 1873 and 1875.

Mathilda S. Jones, or Sissieretta Jones, was the prima donna of the Tennessee company. The acclaim she received during her first Caribbean tour established her reputation. She became known as Black Patti at this time. The trip commenced on 2 August 1888, when the group left New York City by boat for the West Indies. From a composite of sources, it appears that there were three soloists, Mme Jones (soprano), Will

H. Pierce (tenor), and Louis L. Brown (baritone). Two women (Hattie Brown, and Kate Johnson) provided a chorus that sang Jubilee selections. There was also a quartette who sang operatic repertoire (two of the members were presumably Joseph G. Stevens, and John H. Woolford). Accompaniment was provided by a pianist (Professor A. K. La Rue).

The performers arrived at Kingston, Jamaica, on 10 August, and played their first engagements in that island. In the next three months, they worked their way south, giving highly popular concerts at each island they visited.

The Tennessee Jubilee Singers reached Port of Spain, Trinidad, on 30 November and, Bodu reported, 'gave their first performance the following evening'. He was full of praise for this '*troupe* of black artists from the United States'. They were, he said, 'different in every respect from the other musical combinations that had visited' the country. This seems to have assured their success among the white community.

The *Port of Spain Gazette* (5 December), also lauded them in a review of the Tennessee Singers' first two concerts, especially the vocal ability of 'Madame Jones'. They called the performances '*a new sensation*' and were particularly impressed by the unexpected 'exhilarating and pleasing effect' of the 'Choruses'. In these they saw 'the happy expression of quaint, vigorous, original African feeling controlled, harmonised and refined under the powerful influences of civilised musical science'. Thus they commented 'In listening and seeing the movements of the singers we find the spicy originality of negro-minstrelsy made fit for the eyes and ears of the refined occupants of the drawing room'.

The attitudes expressed in these observations paralleled those the elite held in relation to Carnival, a welcoming of 'refinement' and rejection of the 'uncivilised'. This remained common among those who believed in the 'superiority' of whites (and European Christianity) and disdained what they perceived as the 'savagery' of Africa and other regions of the world. In turn, as Roger D. Abrahams argues, blacks of African descent developed two primary methods of performance (and other behaviour) to counter these prejudices. One, an exaggerated 'cool, high style of self preservation', the other an equally exaggerated 'hot' rejection of the 'civilised' ideals of whites, reflected in dress,

speech, action, etc. Both can be viewed as forms of parody, although, allowing for changing circumstances, this was not always the intention of those who adopted these techniques.

As has been implied, in the context of black North American music in this period, the Tennessee Jubilee Singers were proponents of the former school and, perceived as an antithesis of blackface minstrelsy. The latter, however, also reflected changing attitudes among blacks and whites. Especially after the U.S. Civil War, minstrelsy was shared between whites-in-blackface and blacks-in-blackface, both in some respects burlesques of each other. It has been noted that white-in-blackface minstrelsy appears to have become popular among whites in Trinidad from the 1860s. Black masqueraders dressed as blackface minstrels had become a feature of the Carnival by the 1890s, if not before. Known sometimes as 'comediens', this masque continues to this day.

The successful concert performances of the Tennessee Jubilee Singers have to be interpreted in the light of these factors. This is especially important in that the *Port of Spain Gazette* noted how the crowd, gathered outside the Prince's Building, where the singers performed, were able to hear them distinctly and 'that the outsiders concurred with the insiders in stamping them "very good"'. The *Gazette* believed this additional audience would 'no doubt [have] been of use as vocal advertisers of' the 'genuineness' of the troupe 'to their section of the Trinidad world'.²⁸

Christmas 1888

If, early in December, a vindication of exaggerated refinement could be seen in the acceptance by the elite of the Tennessee Jubilee Singers, the opposite was true regarding the action of the bands at the celebration of Christmas Eve and Day. 'The labour of years was undone' reported the *Port of Spain Gazette* (29 December). 'Night was made hideous with the shouts, obscene songs, and rioting of drunken revellers'. Thus, 'save the wild glare of torches' it was as if Canboulay had returned. Several people 'were attacked in the streets and severely beaten with sticks'. The contrast with 'Christian civilisation' is

drawn by the newspaper, who emphasise the 'barbarity' of the rejection of these norms by the feared underworld of the *diametres*.²⁹ It is already apparent that these same contrasting 'ideals' representing 'euphony' and discord can be seen in the evolution of black-creole music in Trinidad.

Music and the vagabond bands 1889

Excluding drum dances, the orchestration used to accompany other types of popular dancing in Trinidad is not readily discerned. A few clues are available, however, such as those in 1882, which spelt out an increase in interest in the playing of woodwind and string instruments among the black creole population. One influence in this respect was Venezuelan music, and the string bands that had been developed to perform in this style. Dance orchestras varied in the light of the availability of musical instruments and those competent to play them. Across the Caribbean, percussion often included shac-shacs and a form of scraper (a notched surface scraped with a stick). The latter were sometimes called vira (probably from güira). One such ball was held in Tobago in January 1889, in honour of the Commissioner for the island:

Dancing was kept up with great spirit. The musicians played in excellent time but had evidently not studied their music by note, and many purely West Indian street airs were introduced. The instruments used were violins, a piccolo, a concertina, and a tin vessel scratched with a small iron rod, corresponding to the "shack-shack" of Trinidad and known in Barbados as a "vira". The arrangements otherwise were all that could be desired and the visitors were made to feel quite at home.

While this was Tobago, from the earlier evidence available, the report suggests dances in outlying districts in Trinidad were conducted to the accompaniment of similar instruments, by musicians who played by ear. As Day had found in the late 1840s, it is likely that in Port of Spain small formal dance orchestras, run by black creoles, were the principal musicians employed for these functions. At elite large-scale events the natural choice of the hierarchy was the Police Band. This had been founded in 1870, but presumably did not employ blacks during this early stage of its evolution.

With the banning of the drum and other 'noisy' instruments in parades 'obscene songs' apart, the music of Carnival bands in the late 1880s remains unreported. 'Rowdyism', however, continued as an issue. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (6 February 1889) drew attention to the forthcoming Carnival noting that 'never before was Trinidad so over-run with open violence and immorality, and with Obeahism and other secret abominations'. The culture of the vagabond bands still haunted the authorities.

No report of Carnival is available for 1889 but in the same 6 February edition of the *Port of Spain Gazette*, there is mention of another component in the evolution of Trinidad Carnival music, the *gayap* or work song. This term appears to have been used to describe collective work, the song accompanying the work, and a gratuitous feast given to those who freely helped in completing the task. The *Gazette* noted 'that in bands of sometimes more than a dozen called *gayapes* African contractors help one another in clearing contract land'. Writing in 1939, calypsonian Atila the Hun (Raymond Quevedo) saw in this procedure the origin of his style of singing:

Investigations have proven that it originated from "Gayap", a condition vestiges of which can still be found in some of the remote districts, whereby a man would invite his neighbours to help in the preparing of his lands for planting. On occasions when one man had more work than he could do, as he might have an extensive plot of land to cultivate, his friends would come around and food and drink would be provided. These people would divide themselves into two groups, each trying to excel the other. The party doing the most work would then - led by their leader - sing to the less energetic party, ribald songs of derision and belittlement, foyening (reproaching is the nearest English equivalent I can find for this word) them for not having done as much work as the triumphant group.

As the evidence examined here, and the research of Andrew Pearse has shown, the evolution of calypso is from a broader base of different kinds of music than simply this type of work song. What is apparent, however, is that collective call and response singing* (chantwell and chorus), sometimes conducted competitively, was represented in a number of different vernacular musical traditions in Trinidad.

Prevented from holding their drum dances (which involved call and response singing to the rhythm of the drums), the 'vagabond' bands appear to have devised new methods of musical recreation. *New Era*, on 13 September 1889, provides a particularly

detailed description of these circumstances. Whether the singing was by a chantwell and chorus is not explained.

It is during bright moonlight such as we have been favoured with during the past week, that the idle and dissolute enjoy their fullest fling. Seated on every doorstep in certain localities, an assemblage may be seen of nymphs of the pavement and the male parasites who attach themselves to their fortunes. Guitars and coconcertinas are common, and on these instruments is played the accompaniment to the lewd songs with which the vile wretches pollute the air. These parties are generally liberally provided with rum and as the fiery compound flies to their heads, the music, (Heaven save the mark!) is suspended for the sake of a quarrel which, if it does not terminate in a free fight, is certain to be distinguished by the use of the most abominable language that the corrupt imagination can conjure up. Respectable passers-by are certain of molestation by these rowdies, who will keep up their quarrelling-concert until two or three in the morning, with a sublime disregard for the fact that an entire neighbourhood is being kept awake by their drunken antics. Another most objectionable practice is that bands of so-called musicians who make it a practice to go on moonlight nights to serenade(?) females of their acquaintance. The characters of such females may be easily guessed at, and it is not difficult to imagine the class of music performed on such occasions. Fights sometimes ending in the infliction of serious wounds are the frequent outcome of such serenades and *al fresco* concerts, which should certainly not be tolerated after, say ten in the evening, an hour when most people are glad to be able to get to bed and rest after the labours of the day.

In 1885, the *Port of Spain Gazette* had identified 'the "Band" system' as one of 'secret societies or clubs, formed for the express purpose of open violence and gross immorality'. There were, however, other organisations of mutual help which did not include 'vagabond' elements. By the late 1880s, legislation had been passed to regularise these societies 'of popular origin', whose friendly-society function was praised by *New Era* on 8 November 1889. In addition to their promotion of 'thrift' and 'good fellowship' the newspaper also described them as 'secret brotherhoods with symbols resembling...those of the Masonic fraternity'. This was seen, nevertheless, as a positive attribute when members 'met together in fraternal intercourse'. Of particular interest to the evolution of late-nineteenth-century Carnival bands; were the 'banners which members carry on certain occasions of ceremony, and the sashes and regalia with which they adorn themselves'. Nothing is known of the music of these societies, although an observation by old-time calypsonian Lord Executor, regarding songs popular prior to 1898, may be pertinent. He recalled that 'the "more decent people" used to sing Martiniquan songs'.³⁰

Stickney and Donovan's Great American Circus 1889 - balloon ascent and parachute descent

In the light of Lord Executor's observations, it is of great interest that versions of a song about the visit to the Caribbean islands of Stickney and Donovan's Great American Circus in 1889, can be traced to both Martinique and Trinidad. The song concerns the activities of one 'Professor' Colby, whose stunt was to ascend in an hot air balloon (presumably tethered so as to prevent it floating away) and, on reaching a great height, jump from the balloon basket, controlling his descent by parachute.

Although *New Era* (8 November) reported that this Circus had arrived direct from New York, it is likely that it had proceeded to Trinidad in the same manner as the Tennessee Jubilee Singers, by staging performances island by island. This seems to have been a recognised pattern for performers of all sorts throughout the nineteenth century. In this respect, Colby would have staged his display in Martinique before presenting it in Trinidad.

In the French island (presumably in the town of St. Pierre, on the Savannah, by the Fort), a wind squall disrupted the first attempt at this exploit. On the second occasion, however, Colby achieved his aim, dropping by parachute from the balloon, landing in the sea, and being picked up by boat. An appropriate Carnival satirical song, entitled *Colby*, was composed about these events and subsequently printed in an historic collection of old songs of this type, by Victor Coridun, in 1930. The chorus was:

Jusqu' Colby que lé badiné nous!

This Colby wants to
make a fool of us!

Jusqu' Colby que lé badiné nous!

This Colby wants to
make a fool of us!

*Colby monté, Colby descende,
Colby tombé dans d' l'eau!*

Colby rises, Colby
falls, Colby tumbles
in the water,

*Colby monté, Colby descende,
Colby tombé dans lan me!*

Colby rises, Colby
falls, Colby tumbles
[?]

This song was recorded commercially by black migrants from Martinique in Paris, France, during the 1930s and remains well known in the island.

Donovan's circus arrived in Trinidad on Monday 4 November 1889. They set up on the patch of ground known as Shine's Pasture (now Victoria Square) in Port of Spain. Colby carried out his first aeronautical attempt the following Thursday. As in Martinique, this was aborted, but on 11 November, the balloon reached a height of 500 feet, and there was a successful parachute jump. The exploit and song associated with it was recalled by old-time calypsonian Patrick Jones, in his recorded reminiscences of past Carnival songs, made in 1956. On aural evidence, his song is directly related to the Martinique song about Colby's bravura.³¹

Carnival 1890 - 1891 - further aspects of incorporation

The song about Colby is likely to have featured in Carnival in both Martinique and Trinidad in 1890. In this respect Atila the Hun reports other songs that arrived in Trinidad from outside the island prior to 1890. He cites in particular *L'Année Passée* from Martinique (the melody for this remained popular for over fifty years) and *Deedee* from Dominica. These stood alongside popular stickfighting songs from the 1870s-1880s such as *Jour Ouvert Barre O'* (about confrontations between stickbands, or stickbands and the police), *Congo Bara* (about a prison turnkey), and *Joe Talmana* (about a stickfighter involved in conflict with 'Captain' Baker).³²

Early in 1889, 'Captain' Baker was forced to relinquish his command, pending investigation for misuse of police funds. Later in the year the colonial authorities transferred him to Guyana. They brought Captain E. Fortescue (who was Inspector of Prisons in that colony) to Trinidad. The Carnival of 1890, therefore, was the first under Fortescue's control.

Presumably, he was determined to prove himself the equal of Baker in his authoritarian measures and, there was great complaint in *New Era* (21 February) at his harsh treatment of masquers. Apparently there had been determined 'interference' by the

police with the 'amusements' of 'members of the upper class of society'. This appears to have been a clampdown on the practice of throwing 'bouquets of flowers, confitures, or flour' by masquers from this section of the community. An Ordinance was passed just before the Carnival in the following year (No. 2 of 1891) that made this diversion illegal. Together with the other legislation, this was used to continue the clampdown on Carnival. In this the police were successful. On the final day of the festival the *Port of Spain Gazette* (10 February 1891) was able to comment on 'greater control of the Police over the mob than in previous years' and to observe that the Carnival had been 'the quietest and least patronised on record'. They were shocked, however, that the police continued to permit 'certain public indecencies to go unchecked, such as the masquerading in men's clothes of many low women, when they came down so heavily on merely numerical transgression of the law'.

The court reports in the same edition give some indication of the stringent view of masquerading activities taken by the police. Four members of a large band, two in costume, all of whom were carrying sticks, were apprehended on the morning of Carnival Monday. Four disguised masquers who, on the same day, had taken part in a dancing procession numbering 13 persons were also arraigned. On the Tuesday a similar group were seen in procession in Charlotte Street. Five of them were arrested. 'They had "shack-shacks" and were disguised', the police officer told the court. The crime of this band was 'they were...troubling the public and it was against the Proclamation'.

There was only one symbolic authority perceived by the under-privileged as being on their side. This was the Chief Justice, Sir John Gorrie. Bridget Brereton reports that 'during the Carnival a band paraded singing "We are Gorrie men"'. This was as a result of a rumour that Gorrie had remitted fines and freed those imprisoned for Carnival offences. Although this was not the case, faith in Gorrie as a liberal in a repressive society was signalled by the chorus of a song in French creole that Brereton notes in translation:

What a good man Sir John Gorrie is,
What a good papa,
He let us go free.

The melody for the tune *Papa Gorrie* was still popular in 1914, when the Victor Talking Machine Company visited Trinidad to make recordings of local music. A *paseo* with this title was recorded by Lionel Belasco's Band, although it was never released.

Further evidence of the mix of different vernacular traditions in Trinidad at this time is a court case reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 17 February 1891. This involved crowds of people assembling at a particular location in Woodford Street, New Town, to see 'Angel Soucouyans'. Soucouyan is a legendary male or female devil who has the ability to peel off its skin and, thereby, fly. It appears between midnight and dawn as a great ball of fire, and sucks the blood of its selected victim. Versions of the legend are well known in the French-speaking Caribbean. In Port of Spain, in 1891, a witness told the court that 'he didn't know where [the manifestations] "deviated" from'. He said, however, 'the spirits were there singing old-time slave plantation songs. They sung sweetly. He had told persons who came to hear the songs to "desert" from there. The spirits stopped singing when the footsteps of the police were heard approaching'. By implication, the sweetly-sung 'old time slave plantation songs' came from the North American repertoire, sold as sheet music. An example of the latter is '"Popular Music": SONGS as sung by the Tennessee Jubilee Singers taken over from the manager and offered at cheap price' advertised in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in January 1889, after the departure of that troupe.³³

Easter 1891 - the Arouca Riot

The advantage of selecting festive occasions to illustrate the evolution of black-creole culture in Trinidad is particularly evident in examining the 'riot' which took place at the village of Arouca on Easter Monday and Tuesday (30 and 31 March) 1891.

An application was made to the police by one Marquis to hold a drum dance on Easter Monday. While it appears that institutions representing peoples of both Yoruba and Congo descent were allowed to hold similar dances on that day, the request by Marquis was refused. This decision was made on the grounds of 'previous misbehaviour of the

people of Arouca over the same sort of thing in the district'. Those associated with Marquis were said not to have been 'members of any friendly society' but had created disturbances during Carnival and 'at the fête of a friendly society'. In short, they were classified by the police as rogues and vagabonds (or *diametres*).

Those whom Marquis had represented decided, notwithstanding, to hold their drum dance or 'Bamboula' in the yard of Charles Odahou on Easter Monday. The participants were described subsequently as members of the 'two notorious bands' of Arouca. They were 'composed not only of the riff-raff of the creole population but also of Barbadians also of the worst type'. The dance, which involved drinking and feasting as well as drumming, appears to have lasted for most of the day before the police approached the yard during late afternoon to quell activities. They encountered 50 to 100 people drinking, gambling, and 'dancing in a most disorderly manner'. Singing and dancing was inside a 'tent' (almost certainly a temporary folk structure of bamboo, covered with palm fronds). The music was provided by chac-chacs and two drums. Fighting sticks were also to hand.

The police, having ascertained that there were people present who had received previous convictions (and thereby the law was being broken), entered the yard and stopped the drumming in the 'tent'. At this point the drums were confiscated by the police, who left the yard without objection from the dancers. As they went down the street, however, one of the stickmen (Henry Joseph, fighting name 'Grammar'), called out 'D-d if the Arima boys they would never allow the drums to be taken away' and another (John Jacob, fighting name 'Simeron'), shouted 'Sergeant, it is not right for you to take away our drums'. A fight ensued in which Sergeant Urquhart was injured and his helmet taken as a trophy. The bands retrieved their drums and went away to continue their drumming and dancing into the night and early morning.

Between 8.00 and 9.00. on the same morning (Tuesday), the principal stickmen came down the road and stopped in front of the police station. They parried their sticks, sang '*diamete* songs', and shouted 'sortee, sortee, come out and we will give you something', and 'if you come out today we will give your flesh to the birds'. This

bravado lasted fifteen minutes, after which they retired to the yard of 'Simeron' and set themselves up with bottles and stones pending an expected fight.

Police reinforcements were sent for from Port of Spain and, after their arrival, two parties were sent out 'unarmed' to look for the stickmen. In the ensuing court case, one witness reported that the police had been armed with long sticks (which seems likely), but this evidence was rejected. The party led by Superintendent Sergeant Fraser encountered the band at 'Simeron's' yard and were routed. Fraser was knocked to the ground and his blood was said to have been drunk by 'Bulbul Tigre' (one of three fighting names adopted by Arthur Augustin). Fraser, however, escaped with his life.

Further reinforcements were sent from Port of Spain and, by 14 April, thirty one of those believed to have taken part in the 'riot' had been arrested. Six more were still at large, including Simeron, who was never caught (he fled to Venezuela). Most of the other principal stickmen, however, received prison sentences:

Baboul, or Bulbul Tigre, or Nicho	(Arthur Augustin)	3 years
Bengy Moomoo	(Benjamin Jacob)	18 months
Codrington	(Joseph Carrington)	3 years
Grammar	(Henry Joseph)	3 years
Magamoutch	(Albert Joseph)	3 years
Nedzie	(Nelsie John)	3 years
Pappeto	(Johnson Augustus/in)	18 months
Ramsay	(Augustus James)	18 months
Soucatau (or Soucantan)	(Henry Jacob)	18 months

As well as illuminating the operation of the regulations for drum dances (the police apparently received 'dozens of' applications 'by the week' from legitimate organisations), accounts of this 'riot' demonstrate both the organisational context of drum dancing (location, instrumentation, etc) and in particular the 'Dionysian aesthetic' of the *jamenttes*. For example 'Codrington' shouted to his compatriots at the time the drums were seized 'Bulbul tigre, Ramsay de feu', the 'reigning' names of these two stickmen; names

adopted as a result of winning stickfighting contests. In this the *jamenttes* expressed 'solidarity without authority'. They represented revolt, obscenity (the flouting of taboos), fearlessness, and rejection (both a focus for defiance, and its introspective opposite). Underlying these was an unstated but assumed association with African magic, the devil and devil power, and 'blackness'. Their music expressed this identity. Thus Anastasia Coombs recalled to J.D. Elder in 1951 that several of these men sang defiantly when brought handcuffed from Port of Spain to Arima to stand their trial:

*An ou day se way
 An ou day se way
 Sonnie Broken
 Denou pou day ve way
 Ce mois tay connait
 Bataille sala takey way rein
 Mois say pois boutte coul la mois
 Pou la chan la via Sonnie Bo.*³⁴

Like the aesthetic adopted by such stickmen, their songs incorporated pugilistic and self-reflective themes and probably in this period took the name *kalenda*. As the end of the century drew near, these sentiments were to fuse with other musical elements to form a new kind of Carnival vocal music that was first documented at the turn of the century as 'calipso'.

Aspects of music and Carnival 1891 - 1896

One month after the Arouca 'riot' a second visit was made to Trinidad by the Tennessee Jubilee Singers. With Black Patti as their principal singer. The popularity of this troupe was as great as that accorded the first group with this name. The latter had disbanded on reaching New York in 1889. A new party appears to have been formed in March 1890 and they again started their tour in Jamaica. Repertoire was similar to that of their predecessor's. With some changes from their initial personnel, this new group appears to have toured the islands from that time. Newspaper accounts show that they stayed in Trinidad from the beginning of May 1891 until at least mid-June, their concerts being applauded in every report available. They undertook a Sacred Concert at the

Wesleyan Chapel (Hanover Street), and appeared at informal functions, in addition to their regular presentations.

Another outside influence on Trinidad music in this period came from Venezuela. This is epitomised by the popularity of mainland dances, notably the *paseo* (a promenade) and *castilian* (a fast waltz). The latter was also known as a Spanish Waltz and a collection, composed for the piano by J.Coggins (a Trinidad creole), was published locally in late 1891. Such dance music would almost certainly have been played by the Police Band when they provided the music for a Venezuelan Ball held at the Prince's Building early in December 1891. Organised by the Venezuelan consul, and others from that country residing in Trinidad, the ball was in favour of the elite (the Governor attended for part of the evening). Venezuelan dance rhythms, however, like the string bands that were usually used to accompany them, were taken up by a cross-section of the populace, Carnival revellers included. The latter is apparent in an evocative recall of the festival as it was celebrated in the 1890s by Dr. George H. Mason. Writing in 1927 he remembered:

The Carnival of the old days was a very different affair from that of to-day. The rival bands of men and women, the fights, the *dévergondage* of the men the *abandonnement* of the women, the din, the heat, the choking dust, made a tour of the streets, with a horse between the shafts, an adventure; and yet withal, there still remain lingering memories of the *paseos*, the music, the strings - guitars, bandols, quattros and violins, the basses and imposing double basses, the shrieking clarionets, the saucy piccolos, the soothing flutes, the noisy shak-shaks, the wonderful *tempo* of the *tout-ensemble*! A crop of quinsy, coughs and colds, an epidemic of lost voices and a sudden rise in the attendance at the Tuberculosis Dispensary invariably followed the dusty passage of King Carnival: but what of that? It was part of the price the devotees of *Mon Seigneur* were prepared to pay for their fun and, after all, Masquerade would not come back again for a whole year. *Mais, quand même Papailot*, the dust, *la poussière*! Well, *que voulez-vous?* *C'est la volonté!* and is not the morrow of Mardi Gras, les Cendres? *Certes*, ashes to ashes...Yes..and dust to dust!

Unfortunately, Masson says nothing of Carnival songs in this period, but Eugene Chalamelle's contemporary tirade against the festival shows that songs of scandal remained in the repertoire. He describes the devastating effect of a derogatory Carnival song about a young women (Miss P.) in which, he alleged, the lyrics were perpetrated in spiteful revenge by two young men. Indignantly he notes how if 'the domestic affairs of respectable families...leak and reach the ever expectant gossip who hawks the latest news with the rapidity of lightning' then they are 'certain of becoming the subject of a "Carnival

song". Thus, he complains, 'the private doings of a decent household are made a matter for scandal among the lewd community'.

There were other subjects for Carnival songs in this era that revolved around different types of events. One that probably would have first been commemorated in song during the 1892 Carnival was the celebrated trial of Louis Camille for the murder of John Eligon (which took place in 1891).

Another song that seems to date from the early 1890s is *Capitan Gabar bas mois un passay supplay* :

<i>Capitan Gabar bas mois un passay supplay</i>	Captain of lighter give me a passage please
<i>Capitan Gabar bas mois un passay supplay</i>	Captain of lighter give me a passage please
<i>Bas mois un passay juis La Brea</i>	Give me a passage to La Brea
<i>Poui montrer yo ki la roi mois yay</i>	To show them what a King I am

As Atilla the Hun points out, the repeat of the first two lines and their two line resolution are in the form of the earliest popular English-language calypso *Governor Jerningham*.³⁵ The latter was adopted by the majority of masqueraders during the Carnival of 1899 (Chapter VI).

The Carnival of 1892 saw the first regulations to control Pierrots. Initially, they were banned from the streets, the authority being a notice published in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* on 17 February. Interestingly, the *Port of Spain Gazette* (23 February) could not understand why "'Pierrots" or masquers wearing a rich and ornamental dress' had been singled out. They believed them to be 'among the least objectionable of the masquers' in relation to 'indecent and unbecoming disguises'. After representations, they reported, the Governor had decided to allow Pierrots to appear on the condition each applied to the police for a permit, and furnished 'two sureties of good conduct'. This became a permanent annual requirement.

Pierrots in this era still retained something of their previous prestige, although they seem to have separated from the stickbands. An Arouca correspondent recalled, in a letter

to the Trinidad *Sunday Guardian*, in 1946, how in the 1890s there were a few Pierrots in every district 'but only a few since they had to master the "Universal Spelling Book" and a little history, in case called upon to give an exhibition of knowledge'. Competition between two Pierrots not satisfied in verbal exchanges still resulted in physical conflict, as H. Neal Fahey also remembered (in 1952).

While complaining again of 'unbecoming disguises' the *Port of Spain Gazette* (1 March) believed that the number of people masquing was less in 1892 than in previous years. To their eyes the most striking representation was 'the masquer who walked about the streets inside a large square box with the "People's Bank" in large printed characters outside and a few of the Munchausen tales credited to the bankrupt scheme by Sir John Gorrie.' This referred to an effort by Gorrie to establish a bank for the poor which failed in ignominy and led to his downfall as Chief Justice.³⁶

As the circumstances of the Arouca 'riot' have shown, bands of stickmen remained active, although their presence in Carnival was rigorously put down. On other occasions, however, such as a confrontation in Upper Prince Street and Charlotte Street, Port of Spain, in early December 1891, they maintained their animosity. This particular battle was between *Cannelle* (the English-speaking band) led by 'Gooty' and *Typean* (a French-speaking band) led by 'Eli'. Among the stickmen's fighting names mentioned in the newspaper report of this event is 'One Man'. This may have been 'One Man Biscoe', whose exploits were commemorated in song (including a version recorded by Atilla the Hun, in 1937). Biscoe was remembered in 1919 as a 'notable stick fighter' and in the 1950s as 'the greatest terror in Canboulay'. He was an exponent of Bajan stick (a similar sport to stickfighting *kalenda*, from the English-speaking island of Barbados). The latter and his membership of the Freegrammars (in which he was recalled as having been its 'second king') suggests that he was one of the many black migrants drawn to Trinidad from Barbados in this period.

Court proceedings in newspapers hardly ever distinguished the origin of the stickfighters. In addition, stickfighting names or proper names were often not identified. Thus, case reports for the Carnival of 1893 in the *Port of Spain Gazette* classify the

stickmen apprehended only as '*negres jardins*', indicating their stylised 'field slave' costumes.

Some of the other 1893 Carnival court cases concerned the new regulations for Pierrots. They were mostly for fighting, but one also held a permit in an assumed name. Another, in San Fernando, was found to have obtained a permit, unbeknown to the police when he was arrested. One was convicted for being drunk and disorderly (he appeared in court in costume). There were also cases involving musical instruments, such as the young lad who blew a bottle after ten o'clock at night on Shrove Sunday, or the man who shook his 'chac-chac' after seven o'clock [at night?] on Shrove Tuesday (14 February).

Among prosecutions concerning women dressed in men's clothing was one where two women were charged with 'indecent behaviour' going down the street 'singing Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-ay which they accompanied by indecent gestures'. Their lawyer argued successfully 'that the song mentioned was by no means indecent, and was one which had often been sung in his drawing room'.

These cases indicate that police enforcement of Carnival legislation was gradually beginning to alter the shape of the festival. In their primary reports, however, the *Gazette* retained a moral antagonism. They called the season 'one of those relics of medieval barbarism that should not have been permitted to exist under the enlightenment of the nineteenth century'. Once more they objected to 'the vulgar posturings and vile songs of the rabble' and the playing of drums and fifes which accompanied some bands. The drums appear to have been allowed despite the ban. The newspaper hoped 'that the time' would not be 'far distant when the Carnival will be a thing of the past'. In contrast, Bridget Brereton notes, the *Daily News* (15 February) evinced a revival among upper class masquers of 'the pre-1838 tradition of house-to-house visits with practical jokes and music'!³⁷

While white-in-blackface minstrelsy has been mentioned previously, the popularity of this style of performance among whites in North America, Europe and elsewhere bears repetition. In Trinidad, for example, the 1846 success in New York of the Christy Minstrels was still significant in San Fernando in 1884. A 'Grand Christy Minstrel

Performance' was staged there on 16 February. The local inhabitants who blacked-up their faces on such occasions were almost certainly amateurs who had learnt the repertoire of the Christys and others from printed sheet music and songsters produced in the United States.

The compositions of Stephen C. Foster were one of the mainstays of the original Christy organisation, and his *Poor Old Joe* was one of the songs performed by a local amateur troupe who put on a 'Musical Entertainment' at the Prince's Building, Port of Spain, on Shrove Saturday, 11 February 1893. The *Port of Spain Gazette's* report (14 February) shows that the troupe comprised two 'corner' men, two 'bones' men, two 'tambos' and an 'interlocutor' in regular U.S. minstrel-show formation. Of extra interest is the music played by 'Mr Coggins' String Orchestra' (Mr Bradfield, pianist) which included 'a pretty Spanish waltz'. Both U.S. and Venezuelan musical influence in Trinidad are thereby demonstrated by this event.

String bands and minstrelsy were soon to be documented authoritatively in Carnival reports, the latter as early as 1894, in a case of premature masquing. 'A well-dressed black young man...was prosecuted...for appearing in disguise in Duke Street'. He had dressed as a 'Christy Minstrel' and 'looked like an old man'. Unfortunately, the report in the *Port of Spain Gazette* (20 January) does not confirm that minstrel songs were performed but 'complaints from respectable residents' in the street suggest that this was the case.

In the same edition of the *Gazette* the editor renewed his campaign against the 'practices' in Carnival 'against which the better-thinking people have taken up arms'. These they identified as 'disgusting gestures, bad songs, women wearing mens clothes and *vice versa*'. This was continued two days later with another attack on 'men going about at night dressed in womens clothes and *vice versa*'.

The administration took heed and agreed to publish an additional Carnival notice (their first had been printed in the *Trinidad Royal Gazette* on 10 January). The former would be to prohibit 'the disgusting spectacle of women appearing in the streets as "*pisse-en-lit*". According to Chalamelle this was 'a disguise in which persons of both sexes were

permitted to parade in the street in women's chemises or undergarments' (he called it *pisanee*). This class of masque, therefore, seems not to have covered all eventualities, for the *Port of Spain Gazette* commented on 23 January that it was 'to be regretted that the Government did not go a step further and prohibit women being dressed in men's clothes and *vice versa*'.

The full notice was published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 25 January and, although 'men dressing as women and women as men' were identified, only those found guilty of indecent behaviour were liable to penalty. From 1895, all transvestite dressing was prohibited.

Just before Carnival in 1894, members of the 'Typin' stickband appear to have been '"barring people"' in Charlotte Street when five of them were arrested. All were classified as members of the '*diametre* class'. The band's leader was named as Emmanuel Dardian. Another of those arraigned was Abraham Ravin (alias Shortest) and, on this evidence, he took part in the clash between 'Canelle' and 'Typean' in December 1891.

Stickmen dressed as '*negres jardiniers*' also featured in a court case on the second day of Carnival. On Shrove Monday (5 February), two Pierrots were charged with 'being armed with a weapon with intent to commit a felony'. One of them, named Watson, appeared in court 'gaudily dressed, plumed, and accompanied by a tinkling of bells'. His crime was to hold in his left hand the traditional Pierrot's whip, and in his right a loaded stick, ready to fight his opponent.

The *Port of Spain Gazette* reported little else on the Carnival for 1894. During the season, however, it printed an interesting advertisement. This was 'The "Creole Pharmacy" Paseo', with lyrics to a song (in *paseo* rhythm) praising this establishment. The legend reads that the music (by Mr Albert Coggins), would be 'given away gratis to cash purchasers at the Creole Pharmacy'. The evidence provides another demonstration of Venezuelan musical styles being absorbed into the cultural pool of Trinidad music in this era.³⁸

At Christmas 1894, stickmen in *negre jardin* costumes were again on the streets in Port of Spain. Bridget Brereton's research notes that they paraded and danced to

drumming, once more avoiding restrictions imposed by the Carnival proclamation. On 27 December, she states, *Public Opinion* asked 'how is the moral advancement of mankind served by overgrown children parading in silly disguises and rendering day and night hideous by untuneful music'.

Slowly, zeal for Victorian ideals of 'Christian civilisation' apparently had an effect on Carnival. By 1895, in the wake of legislation, *diametre* elements began to withdraw from the event. This retreat, however, seems rather to have been a truce, probably occasioned by other social circumstances as much as by legal enforcement. The potential for violence remained, as is shown by a flair-up between masquers and the authorities at Cedros, during Carnival that year.

Known as the Cedros Riot, the police seem to have been heavy-handed in overseeing the festival in this area of South Trinidad. On Shrove Monday masquers 'amusing themselves' were 'prevented...from playing either on the road or in the yards'. Permission was sought from the Magistrate, 'but it was refused'. Thus, 'the beating of any drum was disallowed'. In addition, a woman was arrested 'for singing on the street'.

This challenge to their regular Carnival activities determined villagers in the area 'to play on the street' on Shrove Tuesday. A correspondent in the *Port of Spain Gazette* (2 March), reported how masqueraders had paraded on the road between 'Fullarton and Bonas without making any row' but two 'Kings' of their Carnival bands had been arrested. 'At Bonas village', he went on, 'the police stopped them again, and there the riot began'. Police were attacked with sticks. The violence was quelled after remonstrations. Masqueraders were allowed on the streets on surety of quietude. Some 'rioters' were arrested on Ash Wednesday!

Despite tumult, negotiation had eventually been allowed by the police. The arrest of law breakers, however, maintained police authority. This further signals the changing official attitude towards Carnival in the mid-1890s, which was marked by a greater show of tolerance than in the days of 'Captain' Baker. Cedros, it should be noted, was the exception in 1895. In 'Tacarigua, Arima and intervening districts' and in San Fernando there were quiet Carnivals. In Port of Spain, on 27 February, the *Gazette* observed how

'maskers' had been 'fewer in number and in many instances better and certainly more decently dressed than in former years'.

It has been noted, that in addition to *pisse-en-lit*, the Carnival proclamation had finally prohibited men dressed as women and women as men and 'indecent behaviour in any street'. These were the last characteristics of the 'Jamette Carnival' to be brought under control by official pronouncement in the nineteenth century. At the same time, the 'Social Unions' that were to be a feature of the more mutually accepted Carnivals of the early 1900s began to appear in the celebrations.

In 1900, the White Rose Social Union, pre-eminent band of this type, advertised on its banner that it had been founded in 1895. If not 'friendly societies' this and other similar fancy bands appear to have adopted the regalia and elected hierarchy of such organisations. In turn, of course, the voting for Kings, Queens and others in a retinue of European nomenclature can be traced to the dancing societies of the slavery period. For black maskers in a world turned upside down these served to satirise the symbols of European power as well as to establish an African-American authority over them. Modified by the circumstances of creole culture, a pattern of past African hierarchies in masquerade and other traditions was probably maintained.

Lead singers (chantrels or chantwells) at the head of these Social Unions, responded to the choruses of the members as they paraded competitively in Carnival. In line with band hierarchy the songsters also adopted 'powerful' names as their sobriquets.

White Rose had apparently been based on a military format but changed their disguises to represent the English court. They absorbed popular late-nineteenth-century masques such as 'school girls'. Despite rivalry with others of their ilk, however, they were different from the stickbands; their membership being mainly store clerks and similar socially mobile black creoles. String bands provided their musical accompaniment.

A well-established band of the military type from which White Rose evolved were the Venezuelans. They were still parading in 1895. Errol Hill records that the *Daily News* (27 February) reported how this band 'fought " battles with wooden swords and

bamboo rifles and the General delivered patriotic speeches in the Spanish tongue to the victorious army".

It is possible that the Cedros 'riot' was sparked by what was remembered, by Joseph Clarke and Anthony, as a concerted effort to stamp out drumming (and, therefore, drum dances and stickfighting bouts). These two informants, interviewed by Andrew Pearse and J.D.Elder in 1953, recalled this happened in about 1895. 'Bamboo beating' was taken up as a substitute, especially stickfighters. At this time, it seems, these sets of tuned bamboo tubes beaten rhythmically against the ground were used to accompany activities in yards rather than in Carnival street parades. They were known as tamboo-bamboo (sometimes bamboo-tamboo) and may have been adopted from Venezuela, where a similar consort of bamboo stamping tubes are called *quitiplas*.

The changes in Carnival represented symbolically by the gradual ascent of fancy bands and decline in street activity by stickbands, are demonstrated admirably by the Carnival of 1896. While a few stickmen were apprehended by the police, and four men were arrested for wearing women's clothes, the *Port of Spain Gazette* was, for once, well pleased with the festival.

From their comments on Ash Wednesday (19 February), this in part was due to self-satisfaction in that 'one of the pleasant features was the number from the upper classes who joined in'. Many of these masqueraders were 'young men' who 'drove about town in cabs clad in elegant costumes'. There was also a wheelman's parade and competition, by fancily costumed cyclists.

The *Gazette* was pleased to mention the usual disguises of animals, ballet girls, clowns, obeah men and pages, and to comment that 'all the guitars in town seemed to be in use and there was lots of music going on'. The latter included a successful Fancy Dress Ball on Shrove Monday in which 'excellent music was discoursed by the band of Mr Coggins'. His services were required because the police band could not 'be spared from duty during the Carnival'.³⁹

By 1896, all the elements were in place identified by Andrew Pearse as representing the first phase of incorporating Carnival into the mainstream of Trinidad society.

Legislation and its enforcement by the police had reduced the *diametre* element to a rump of its 1881 pre-eminence. Canboulay had been stopped, bands of more than ten persons carrying sticks were prohibited, pierrots were obliged to obtain police licences, *pisse-en-lit* and transvestism were banned, as were obscene words and actions. Roads were paved and refuse (including bottles) was collected municipally - thereby depriving stickbands of sources of ammunition. At the same time, the elite began to demonstrate openly their participation in the festival, grand balls, masquerading in carriages driven through the streets etc. Bands representing socially mobile black creoles appear to have begun parading in greater number than before. Likewise, this signalled a difference in musical values, with more genteel string bands taking the place of the drum that had also been banned in parades.⁴⁰

It should not be assumed, however, that this was a one-sided movement towards a Carnival more acceptable to all sections of the community. There appears to have been a spirit of compromise among both the *diametre* and the elite that smoothed the path of transition at this time. In essence, a mutual admiration developed between all sectors of the society, the reasons for which are not easily distinguished. Carnival, hitherto despised by many in the hierarchy, suddenly became the ground on which it was possible to share values. This change in attitude was reciprocated by those who had previously presented diametrically opposed ideals in the form of representations designed to shock those with power into recognising those to whom power was denied. How these changes affected Carnival music will be examined in the next chapter.

1 *POSG*, 9/3/1870, p.3.

2 Wood, *Trinidad*, pp.251-252; Inniss, *Trinidad*, pp.87-88, reports only two were involved in the attack; Quevedo, *Atilla's Kaiso*, p.10, 165; Anthony de Verteuil, op.cit., pp.134-155; Pearse, 'Mitto Sampson', pp.259-260; on Cedric le Blanc's composition of *Not A Cent To Buy Rice*, the interview with Patrick Jones recorded in 1956, 'Patrick Jones tells of calypso, chants songs of ancient calypsonians', in the long playing record, *Calypso Lore And Legend*, Cook Road Recordings 5016, Samford, Conn., Cook Laboratories, n.d.; *POSG*, 19/2/1950, p.4. Lionel Belasco recorded *Not A Cent, Not A Cent!* as an instrumental in 1914 and 1915 (Spottswood, 'A Discography', op.cit.) and published the words and music in: Massie Patterson and Lionel Belasco, with free transcription by Maurice Baron, *Calypso Songs of the West Indies*, New York, Maurice Baron, 1943. The Lion recorded this song in Britain c. 1955 (Cowley and Noblett, 'English-Speaking', op.cit.).

3 *TC*, 14/2/1871, p.4; *Echo*, 18/2/1871, p.2; *Echo*, 25/2/1871, p.3; *TC*, 21/2/1871, p.3; *TC*, 9/2/1877, p.3; *New Era*, 6/3/1871, p.3; *SOTW*, 23/2/1871, p.3; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.215-216; *POSG*, 25/2/1871, p.3.

4 Pearse, 'Carnival', p.192; Crowley, 'Toward', Pt.1, p.61; Wood, *Trinidad*, p.241; *NE*, 20/10/1873, pp.2-3; *POSG*, 14/2/1874, p.3; *TC*, 17/2/1874, p.3; *POSG*, 21/2/1874, p.3; Bridget Brereton, *Race Relations*, p.124; *FP&TN*, 18/2/1875, p.3; *POSG*, 17/4/1875, p.3; Pearse, ibid., p.189; Brierley, *Trinidad*, p.322; *Argos*, 17/2/1918, p.7; *TG*, 2/3/1919, p.7; Brereton, ibid., *TC*, 29/2/1876, p.3; Pearse, ibid.; *TC*, 3/3/1876, p.2; *TC*, 7/3/1876, p.3.

5 De Verteuil, *Trinidad*, 1884, pp.182-185; Trotman, *Crime*, p.12, 92, 311, 96.

6 Trotman, *Crime*, p.92, 311; C.4366, p.50; *POSG*, 3/2/1877, p.3; *TP*, 3/2/1877, p.2.

7 *TC*, 9/2/1877, p.3.

8 *supra* Ch.IV, fn.32, 33, 35, 53, 71, 73, 81, 82; Ch.V, fn.3, 4. See also: *TC*, 13/2/1877, p.3; *TC*, 26/2/1879, p.3; *POSG*, 11/2/1880, p.3; *TC*, 2/3/1881, p.3; *POSG*, 12/1/1884, p.4; PRO CO 295/301/56 - Freeling to Derby, 19/3/1884. For Canboulay in country districts in 1882, see Abbé Armand Massé, trans. M.L. de Verteuil, *The Diaries of Abbé Armand Massé*, Vol.4, Port of Spain, Trinidad, the translator, 1988, pp.146-147; Inniss, 'Carnival', pp.12-13, provides the best description for Port of Spain. Other important sources are the letter from Piment, published in the *Argos*, 17/2/1918, p.7; Retired Warrior, 'Old Time Carnival', *TG*, 2/3/1919, p.7; the letter from Shull, 'Pierrots A Feature Of Carnival In '90s', *TSG*, 3/3/1946, p.6; H. Neale Fahey, 'Divergence of Opinion on Recent Carnival Explained', *TEN*, 12/3/1952, p.3; and Pearse 'Carnival' pp.188-193; Pearse 'Mitto Sampson' pp.256-262; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.194-195; Carr, 'Pierrot Grenade', pp.281-283.

9 *TP*, 10/2/1877, p.3; *TC*, 13/2/1877, p.3; *FP*, 15/2/1877, p.3; *POSG*, 17/2/1877, p.3; *TP*, 7/4/1877, p.2.

10 *FP&TN*, 5/3/1878, p.2; *POSG*, 9/3/1878, p.3. The Carnival report in *TC*, 26/2/1879, p.3 indicates that there had been a 'Hosay procession' in 1878.

11 *TC*, 26/2/1879, p.3; *FP&TN*, 27/2/1879, p.3; *POSG*, 1/3/1879, p.3.

12 *POSG*, 11/2/1880, p.3; *FP&TN*, 12/2/1880, p.2.

13 PRO CO 884/4/40; *TC*, 26/2/1879, p.3; *supra*, Ch.IV, fn.74; *NE*, 7/3/1881, p.2. See also letter from 'Anti-Causist', *TC*, 30/3/1881, p.3.

14 PRO CO 884/4/40; *NE*, 7/3/1881, pp.2-3; *TC*, 2/3/1881, p.3; *TC*, 12/3/1881, p.3; Bodu, *Trinidadiana*, pp.43-44; Chalamelle, *Some Reflections*, pp.14-15; 'Canne Brule Riot 1881: Eye-witness account of Frances Richard (96) of 11 Rudin St., Belmont, as it was related on 4th July 1953 to J.D. Elder', Pearse Papers; Brierley, *Trinidad*, pp.322-330; Inniss, *Trinidad*, p.82, 91-92; *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.13 (reprints articles on first lighting of streets, 1878, and Canboulay Riot, 1881); PRO CO 295/289/93 (25 March 1881) - this contains a slightly different wording of the 'Notice' of 14 February and contradictory accounts of events from Freeling and Baker; PRO CO 295/289/66 (8 March); *TC*, 5/3/1881, p.3; PRO CO 295/289/69 (9 March); PRO CO 295/289/70 (9 March); PRO CO 295/289/62 (7 March); PRO CO 295/289/63 (7 March). There is a contemporary hearsay account in *Massé*, Vol.4, pp.144-146. See also Carmichael, *History*, pp.293-295. On Carnival effigy burning in Martinique, see Lafcadio Hearn, 'La Verette and the Carnival in St. Pierre, Martinique', *Harper's Monthly Magazine*, Vol.LXXVII, No. CCCCLXI, October 1888, p.741; and in St. Lucia, Harold F.C. Simmons, 'Terre Bois Bois', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.6, No.4, 1960, pp.282-285.

15 Brereton, 'Trinidad Carnival', pp.28-31; *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.13; PRO CO 884/4/40; *POSG*, 22/10/1881, p.3; Pearse, 'Carnival', pp.189-190. For a contemporary retrospective on the riot see *TC*, 4/3/1882, p.3

16 *POSG*, 5/11/1881, p.3; *FP&TN*, 9/11/1881, p.2; *POSG*, 11/2/1882, p.3; *FP&TN*, 9/2/1882, p.3 (this text was reprinted in *POSG*, 25/2/1882, p.3, without the names of the bands); *FP&TN*, 23/2/1882, p.3; *TP*, 25/2/1881, p.4; *TC*, 4/3/1882, p.3; *FP&TN*, 9/3/1882, p.3; Brereton, 'Trinidad Carnival', p.19. The ordinance (No.9 of 1882) and its Guyanese equivalent (No.2 of 1869) are noted in Appendix 5; Brereton, 'Birthday', p.76.

17 *TRG*, 10/1/1883, p.11; *POSG*, 13/1/1883, p.4; *TP*, 10/2/1883, p.3; *FP&TN*, 22/2/1883, pp.2-3; *FP&TN*, 15/2/1883, p.3; *FP&TN*, 14/2/1884, p.2; *TC*, 7/2/1883, p.2; *POSG*, 10/2/1883, p.4; *TRG*, 7/3/1883, pp.224-225.

18 *POSG*, 10/2/1883, pp.3-4; *TC*, 14/2/1883, p.2; *FP&TN*, 1/3/1883, pp.2-3; *TC*, 3/3/1883, p.2; Inniss, *Trinidad*, p.97. See also Brereton, *Race Relations*, p.161. An abstract from the ordinance is in Appendix 5.

19 *TC*, 2/3/1881, p.3; *FP&TN*, 1/3/1883, pp.3-4; Inniss, 'Carnival' p.13; *New Era*, 20/10/1873, p.2; *TR*, 9/8/1883, in Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.35-36; *Massé*, *Diaries*, Vol.4, p.148; Crowley, 'Toward', Part 1, pp.59-60; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41; *Massé*, *Diaries*, Vol.4, p.165, 261; *TC*, 10/11/1880, p.3; *TC*, 4/2/1882, p.3; *POSG*, 10/2/1883, pp.3-4; de Verteuil, *Trinidad*, 1884, pp.182-185; PRO 884/4/40; Retired Warrior, 'Old Time Carnival', p.7; Excerpt from letter sent by Edric Connor to Lennox Pierre, 21 February 1949, regarding the formation of Canboulay stickbands, collected by J.D. Elder, 21 June 1953 (Pearse Papers); *TC*, 9/2/1877, p.3; *TRG*, 7/3/1883, pp.224-225.

20 *POSG*, 12/1/1884, p.4; *TRG*, 23/1/1884, pp.69-70; *POSG*, 26/1/1884, p.4; *TRG*, 30/1/1884, pp.87-89; *POSG*, 12/4/1884, p.5; *TR*, 31/1/1884, p.2; *POSG*, 2/2/1884, in Rohlehr, *Calypso*, p.31; *TR*, 7/2/1884, p.2; for abstracts from the Peace Preservation Ordinance (No.1 of 1884), and the Summary Convictions Amendment Ordinance (No.2 of 1884) see Appendix 5; *TR*, 14/2/1884, p.2; *FP&TN*, 14/2/1884, pp.2-3 (the latter page reprints many of the legal documents); *POSG*, 1/3/1884, p.3; *POSG*, 23/2/1884, p.4; *FP&TN*, 6/3/1884, p.2; PRO CO 295/301/56 (8 March); *TR*, 28/2/1884, p.2; *TRG*, 12/3/1884, p.237.

21 POSG, 1/3/1884, p.3; C.4366; Singh, *Bloodstained Tombs*, pp.3-4. Both of the last two sources contain many more particulars of the massacre and the events leading to the tragedy. For a succinct summary of the 'riot' see PRO CO 884/9/47.

22 POSG, 31/1/1885, p.4; NE, 23/2/1885, pp.2-3; TC, 18/2/1885, p.2; POSG, 21/2/1885, p.4; PRO CO 295/305/53 (26 February). POSG, 13/3/1886, pp.3-4. Collens, *Guide To Trinidad*, 2nd ed., London, Elliot Stock, 1888, p.50. The *Guide* was first published in 1887.

23 Inniss, *Reminiscences*, pp.14-15; *An Ordinance for amending and consolidating the Law with regard to the constitution of the Medical Board, the Practice of Medicine and Surgery and the Selling of Drugs* (No.6 of 1887). On medicine shows in the U.S. see Steward H. Holbrook, *The Golden Age Of Quackery*, New York, Macmillan, 1959.

24 For the elaborate celebrations in Jamaica see Kathleen Monteith, 'The Victoria Jubilee Celebrations of 1887 in Jamaica', *Jamaica Journal*, Vol.20, No.4, November 1987-January 1988, pp.23-30. It is likely that the festivities in Trinidad were similarly comprehensive. The British Library Music Division has two scores by John Urich dating from this time. Both were part of the 'Alliance Musicale': the aforementioned piano arrangement of a 'Bamboula' *West Indian Melodies*, No.2, London, J.R. Lafleur & Son [1887]; and *West Indian Melodies*, 2 nos., [with orchestral and pianoforte parts], London, J.R. Lafleur & Son, [1887].

25 Collens, *Guide*, pp.46-47; POSG, 15/2/1888, p.3.

26 POSG, 15/2/1888, p.3; Bodu, op.cit., p.79; Brereton, 'Trinidad Carnival', p.48; POSG, 13/1/1883, pp.4-5; *Illustrated London News*, 5/5/1888, p.475, 496-497; Bodu, op.cit., p.78. Hearn, 'La Verette', pp.738-742; Anca Bertrand, 'Carnival a Saint-Pierre', *Parallèles*, No.4, 1965, p.7; Hearn recounts this *lajables* legend on p.740. The earliest traced *lajables* stories in Trinidad are in L.O. In[n]iss, 'Folk Lore and Popular Superstition', in T.B. Jackson, ed., *The Book Of Trinidad*, Trinidad, Muir Marshall & Co., 1904, pp.114-116. For St. Luica, see Daniel J. Crowley, 'Supernatural Beings in St. Lucia', *Caribbean*, Vol.VII, No.11, June July 1955, p.264. Krehbiel prints the melodies to the three dance tunes obtained by Hearn in his *Afro-American Folk Songs*, pp.125-126. The songs, with music obtained by Hearn in Martinique, are printed in his *Two Years*, op.cit. pp.424-431, and by Krehbiel, op.cit. The specific references are:

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|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| (i) <i>Marie-Clémance</i> | (a) <i>Two Years</i> | p.425, 427-438 |
| | (b) <i>Afro-American</i> | pp.148-150 |
| (ii) <i>Loéma tombé</i> | (a) <i>Two Years</i> | p.250, 424-425, 430-431 |
| | (b) <i>Afro-American</i> | p.147, 150 |

27 Brereton, 'Birthday', pp.77-80; PO, 7/8/1888, p.5; PO, 24/8/1888, p.5; PO, 10/8/1888, p.4.

28 A sample of recent works (not mentioned previously) that document foreign tours by Jubilee, and blacks-in-blackface minstrels, includes: Doug Seroff, 'The First Jubilee Singers in Britain', in Lotz and Pegg, op.cit., pp.42-54; Richard Waterhouse, 'The Internationalisation of American Popular Culture in the Nineteenth Century: the case of the Minstrel Show', *Australasian Journal of American Studies*, Vol. 4, 1985, pp.1-11; and Veit Erlmann, '"A Feeling of Prejudice": Orpheus M. McAdoo and the Virginia Jubilee Singers in South Africa 1890-1898', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol.14, No.3, April 1988, pp.331-350. On Emmett see Hans Nathan, *Dan Emmett and the Rise of Early Negro Minstrelsy*, Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1962. See also Southern, *Music*, op.cit., pp.225-230. Henry Henriksen, 'Black Patti', [Pt.1], *Record Research*, Nos.165-166, August 1979, pp.4-8; [Pt.2], Nos. 167-168, October 1979, pp.4-8; (Indianapolis) *Freeman*, 13 July 1889; Bodu, op.cit., p.93; POSG, 5/12/1888, p.5; Roger

D. Abrahams, ed. *Afro-American Folktales: Stories from Black Traditions in the New World*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1985, pp.11-13.

29 *POSG*, 29/12/1888, p.5.

30 *POSG*, 23/1/1889, p.5; Bodu, op.cit., p.106; *POSG*, 6/2/1889, p.4; Thomas, *Theory*, p.4; Espinet and Pitts, op.cit., p.36, 63; Raymond Quevedo (Atilla the Hun), 'Calypso' in booklet notes to the 78 rpm record album, *Calypsos: by Wilmoth Houdini and his Royal Calypso Orchestra*, [U.S.] Decca Album No.78, New York, Decca Records Inc., 1939, p.3; *NE*, 13/9/1889, p.3; *POSG*, 31/1/1885, p.4; *NE*, 8/11/1889, p.2; Harry Pitts, 'Calypso From Patois To Its Present Form', *Trinidad Sunday Guardian*, Independence Supplement, 26 August 1962, p.41.

31 On visiting entertainment, supra, Ch.IV, fn. 83, and Inniss, *Trinidad*, pp.88-89 (he recalls Colby's exploit, p.89); *NE*, 8/11/1889, p.2; Coridun, op.cit., *Colby*; see also 'Biguines et autre chansons de la Martinique', *Les Temps Modernes*, 5,52, February 1950, p.1401; Bodu, op.cit., p.102; *POSG*, 13/11/1889, p.5; Patrick Jones, *ibid.* Recorded examples of *Colby*, by Martiniqueans in Paris, France, are (i) a verse in a performance entitled *Calalou* - Pot pouri de vieilles chansons martiniquaises Biguine, Stelio et son orchestre creole, refrain chanté pour Léona Gabriel, made c. 1934 (Polydor 522.882); and (ii) *Colby*, (Vieil air de St. Pierre, Martinique) by 'Madame Maïotte Almaby et son Orchestre des Isles', made on 25 November 1937 (Odeon 281.229).

32 For particulars of the songs:

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| <i>L'Année Passée</i> | : Patterson and Belasco, <i>Calypso</i> , pp.22-23;
: Patrick Jones, <i>ibid.</i> ;
: Quevedo, <i>Atilla's</i> , p.14, 168;
: Cowley, ' <i>L'Année Passée</i> ', unpublished ms.; |
| <i>Deedee</i> | : Quevedo, <i>Atilla's</i> , pp.14-15; |
| <i>Jour Ouvert Barre O'</i> | : Espinet and Pitts, <i>Land</i> , p.30;
: Elder, ' <i>Kalinda</i> ', p.199;
: Lion, <i>Calypso</i> , p.74; |
| <i>Congo Bara</i> | : recorded by Keskidee Trio, New York, 18 March 1935
(Spottswood, 'Discography'); |
| [or <i>Prisoner Levez</i>] | : Herskovits field recording, Toco, Trinidad 20 July 1939
(Hill, 'Addendum');
: Espinet and Pitts, <i>Land</i> , pp.28-29;
: Connor, <i>Songs</i> , p.32;
: Elder, ' <i>Kalinda</i> ', p.199, 203;
: Quevedo, <i>Atilla's</i> , p.10, 165; |
| <i>Joe Talmana or
Captain Baker</i> | : Herskovits field recordings, Toco, Trinidad, 1939 (Hill,
'Addendum');
: four versions in Pearse Papers;
: A.L. Lloyd and Isabel Aretz de Ramón y Rivera, eds., <i>Folk
Songs Of The Americas</i> , New York, Oak Publications,
1966, p.170. |

33 On Baker's demise *POSG*, 9/2/1889, p.4; *POSG*, 16/2/1889, p.4; 20/2/1889, p.4; Bodu, op.cit., p.98; Trotman, *Crime*, pp.92-93, 130. Carnival 1890: *NE*, 21/2/1890, pp.2-3. For the Ordinance, see Appendix 5. Carnival 1891: *POSG*, 10/2/1891, p.4, 6; Bridget Brereton, 'Sir John Gorrie: A Radical Chief Justice Of Trinidad (1885-1892)', *Journal of Caribbean History*, 13, 1980, p.65; Spottswood, 'Discography'; *POSG*, 17/2/1891, p.6; Inniss, 'Folk Lore', pp.115-116; Crowley, 'Supernatural', p.244; *POSG*, 23/1/1889, p.7.

34 POSG, 1/4/1891, p.6; POSG, 7/4/1891, pp.4-5; NE, 8/4/1891, p.3; POSG, 14/4/1891, pp.4-5; TRG, 15/4/1891, pp.587-590; POSG, 17/4/1891, pp.4-5; POSG, 21/4/1891, pp.5-6; POSG, 28/4/1891, p.4; POSG, 16/6/1891, pp.3-4, 6-7; NE, 17/6/1891, pp.2-3; and unpublished items in the Andrew Pearse Papers: Anastasia Coombs, interview by J.D. Elder, Santa Cruz, 30 June 1951; Fred Goerge (Bloody Bay), notes following a version of *Pisener rivier* [or *Congo Bara*], 8 March 1951; Miss James, notes of interview re. Arouca riot, undated; Pearse 'Music in Caribbean' and 'Music in Popular' (the mss notes).

35 Data on Tennessee Jubilee Singers compiled from: Doug Seroff, ed., '100 Years From Today: Selected Items Of Musical Matters Drawn From The Black Community', 78 *Quarterly*, Vol.1, No.5 1990, pp.56-62; Doug Seroff, ed., '100 Years From Today: A Survey Of Afro-American Music In 1890 As Recorded In The Black Community Press', 78 *Quarterly*, No.6, 1991, pp.52-63; NE, 11/2/1891, p.3; NE, 1/4/1891, p.3; NE, 8/4/1891, p.3; POSG, 1/5/1891, p.4; POSG, 22/5/1891, p.4; POSG, 16/6/1891, p.4. Spanish Waltzes: POSG, 1/12/1891, p.4. Venezuelan Ball: POSG, 8/12/1891, p.4, Carnival in 1890s; George H. Masson, 'Progress of Health Conditions in Trinidad and Tobago', in Alfred Richards, comp. *Discovery Day Celebration 1927: Souvenir*, Trinidad, Franklin's Electric Printery, 1927, p.40. Carnival Songs: Chalamelle, *Reflections*, pp.21-22. Particular Songs:

Louis Camille : Herskovits field recording, Toco, Trinidad, 1939 (Hill 'Addendum')
 : Patterson and Belasco, *Calypso*, pp.8-9
 : Ambard, POSG, 19/2/1950, p.4
 : Mitto Sampson, 'Old And New Calypsoes Compared', TG, 30/1/1954, p.6
 : A. Mitto Sampson, 'It's Calypso Time ...', *Clarion*, February 1954, p.2, 9

The murder of Eligon is reported in POSG, 7/7/1891, p.4; Camille's initial arrest (for fraud) is noted in POSG, 24/7/1891, p.4; the inquest verdict on Eligon and charge of Camille for his murder in POSG, 25/8/1891, pp.5-6.

Capitan Gabar bas : Quevedo, 'Calypso', p.3
 : Paul E. Knapp, 'The Politics of Calypso', *Negro Digest*, 8, No.2, Dec. 1949, p.81
 : Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41

In the latter source, Lord Executor remembered a different resolution/verse:

*Pas moen vlei descends La Brea,
 Ouweh vishi Mama moen*

He said the song was performed by such as Charlie 'Don Don', 'Maxwell' of Tunapuna, or '"T" Jewel' from George Street.

36 TRG, 17/2/1892, p.221; POSG, 23/2/1892, p.3; Shull, 'Pierrots'; Fahey, 'Divergence'; POSG, 1/3/1892, p.4; Inniss, *Trinidad*, pp.97-98; Brereton, 'Sir John Gorrie'.

37 POSG, 1/12/1891, p.4; Spottswood, 'Discography'; Retired Warrior, 'Old Time Carnival'; Joseph Clarke and Anthony, interview, Pearse papers; POSG, 14/2/1893, pp.2-3; POSG, 15/2/1893, p.3; POSG, 16/2/1893, p.2; Brereton, 'Carnival', p.47.

38 Toll, *Blackening Up*, pp.37-38; FP&TN, 14/2/1884, p.3; for the profound effect of Foster's songs see William W. Austin, "*Susanna*", "*Jeanie*", And "*The Old Folks At Home*": *The Songs of Stephen C. Foster from His time to Ours*, 2nd ed., Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1987 - he discusses *Poor Old Joe* (under its original title *Old Black Joe*) pp.234-235; POSG, 14/2/1893, p.3; POSG, 20/1/1894, p.3; POSG, 22/1/1894, p.2; TRG, 10/1/1894, p.31, 33-34; Chalamelle, op.cit., p.10; POSG, 23/1/1894, p.3; POSG, 25/1/1894, p.3; POSG, 7/2/1895, p.3; see also Crowley,

'Traditional Masques', p.196; and Charles Jones, *Calypso & Carnival Of Long Ago And Today*, Port of Spain, Port of Spain Gazette, 1947, p.25. Jones' evidence suggests that *Pisse-en-lit* was absorbed into early-morning 'Old Mask' parades. *POSG*, 30/1/1894, p.3; *POSG*, 7/2/1894, p.3; *POSG*, 6/2/1894, p.2.

39 Brereton, *Race Relations*, p.157; *POSG*, 2/3/1895, p.3; *POSG*, 27/3/1895, p.3; *POSG*, 7/2/1895, p.3; *TM*, 28/2/1900, p.10 [in their banner for 1902, White Rose stated they were established in 1896: *TM*, 12/2/1902, p.10]. Clarke and Anthony, interview, Pearse Papers; Shull, 'Pierrots'; Neal Fahey, 'Divergence'; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.197-198; Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, p.93; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; *POSG*, 18/2/1896, p.5; *POSG*, 19/2/1896, p.5.

40 Pearse, 'Carnival', p.190.

VI THE INCORPORATED CARNIVAL AND OTHER EVENTS: CARNIVAL AND SECULAR BLACK MUSIC IN TRINIDAD 1897 - 1920

Carnival And The Development Of Calypso 1897 - 1920

The amalgam of forms of traditional music and celebration that came to be represented in Carnival at the turn of the nineteenth century can be seen to stem from many different kinds of social institutions. The slave dancing societies with their elected hierarchies of kings, queens and others, provide a primary focal point for this evolution. In addition to gatherings mentioned previously there were subscription or bouquet balls, at which the king and queen of the evening wore a nosegay. The participants dressed in their best clothes, and both creole and African dances were performed. Similar practices continued after the ending of Apprenticeship, especially at *belair* drum dances held to celebrate special occasions, such as Emancipation Day, or other fêtes. The hierarchal structure of these organisations appears to have been founded in equivalent African and European traditions.

Carnival bands also had their kings, queens and other notables, whether they reflected historical personalities and events, or denoted the prowess of stickfighting champions; and the fidelity of their followers. In this African and European elements also coagulated in Carnival institutions, as did cultural influences from the Orient, and Latin America.

While the most persistent exchange of ideas was between African-American and European-American traditions, these extra influences sometimes featured in Carnival descriptions published during the nineteenth century. For example, in the 1840s 'wild Indians', or 'Indians of South America', were played by Spanish-speaking peons who had migrated from Venezuela. Similar influences apparent in the 1870s-1880s were the '*borrique*' and 'Venezuelan may-pole dancers'. By 1879, if not before, other migrant groups represented in Carnival included Chinese, and bands depicting East-Indian 'Hosé'.

This pattern adds weight to the view expressed by Pearse that by the 1860s folk culture in Trinidad comprised four main strands; ex-slaves and their children (sub-divided into French and English plantation traditions); descendants of non-slaves of African and mixed ancestry; free Africans; and Spanish-speaking peons (usually of Native American and African genealogy). Their principal language was French Creole. Less ready to merge were migrants from China, Portugal and the Indian sub-continent. It has been demonstrated, however, that the separation of the last named was, in part, the result of coercion by the colonial authorities.

The British administration, in turn, did not preside over a united superstructure. There were continuing antagonisms between the French landed gentry and British settlers and officialdom. There was also competition between Christian religious doctrines of Roman Catholic and Protestant persuasions. The law, churches, schools and manners and customs of the elite, however, were all institutions with which the folk had to find some form of accommodation in order to survive. Thus, during the last quarter of the century the *diametre* formed themselves into self-perpetuating units. These managed to survive by communal activities revolving around drum dances, at which dancing, singing and stickfighting were supplemented by eating and rum drinking. Such *bandes*, like the plantation slaves before them, were divided into English-Creole and French-Creole-speaking groups. In the 1870s, however, the English Creoles were principally migrants from Barbados who had come to Trinidad in search of work. Thus, while song lyrics throughout the nineteenth century were usually composed in French Creole a few were performed in English. This is confirmed by reports in the historical record.

The association of some drum dances with particular types of song, most notably *belairs*, is apparent. This may be true also for 'calypso' if Abbé Massé's 1882 description of a dance with this name can be relied upon.

Caliso, or *cariso*, the precursor of what was to become the twentieth-century vocal music known as calypso, was remembered to have been originally a form of vocal music accompanied by goatskin drum and shac shacs. Lord Executor (dean of old-time calypsonians) also recalled that it was usual for the singer and his audience to dance during

a performance. This is a positive link with Massé's 'calypso' dance, but further supporting evidence has not been uncovered. *Caliso* was sung in French Creole and was popular among 'the lower levels of Trinidad society'. It incorporated songs from other French-Creole-speaking islands in the Caribbean. As has been noted in the previous chapter, Executor stated that 'the "more decent people" used to sing Martiniquan songs'.

Whatever the provenience of the song and social status of its performer, *caliso* would have been affected by the legislation controlling drum dances. This, together with the banning of the drum in Carnival parades, slowly altered the culture of the *diametres*. The change, however, was not without violent confrontations, such as the 1891 Arouca Riot. Of those charged initially with participation in this fracas, one was an East Indian known as Chinavaz, and another a 'Spanish boy' called Esperanza Gomez. Others, as has been mentioned, were of French Creole ancestry, or had migrated from Barbados. This again demonstrates the mixing of cultural influences taking place in Trinidad at this time. In addition, it has been shown that all the Creoles who were sentenced, whether of local or Barbados origin, had stickfighting monikers. The latter were still remembered in the 1950s. They parallel the names adopted by chantwells for Carnival performances. Alongside their usual names, songsters in this period sometimes had a singing name and a different name for stickfighting. This attitude towards titles may represent a link between the process of change during slavery when African names were altered to representations denoting European ownership, or 'conversion' to Christianity. Some blacks may well have viewed such changes as an additional form of masquerade in their relationship with whites.

By the mid 1890s, especially among socially mobile black creoles, licensed drum dances gave way to dancing to the accompaniment of string bands. In the same period, as has been described in Chapter V, tamboo bamboo accompaniment was introduced for stickfighting bouts among the *diametre*. These distinctions were not exclusive, however, 'gentlemen' stickfighters continued to participate in the sport, and string band music had widespread appeal.

Carnival bands appear to have adopted and adapted folk structures used for drum dances and rituals that became known as 'tents'. There are reports of vernacular constructions built for similar purposes in other islands in the Caribbean. Originally, they were temporary shelters made of bamboo and covered with palm fronds. They housed the drummers. This points up the diversity of religious and secular ceremonies, including structures and artifacts, that came together in Trinidad Carnival celebrations.¹ Such facts are especially evident in the organisation and activities of Fancy Bands. They dominated the turn-of-the-century Carnivals and were responsible for the change that made the singing of 'calipsos' in English a new fashion in the island.

Lord Executor (true name Philip Garcia), remembered that the first 'tent' run by one of these bands 'was established on Rose Hill by the "Rose Hillians"' and that 'Iere was a "Cobotown"...band whose meeting place was under a coconut tree next to the Fish Market'. Charles Jones (whose singing name was the Duke of Albany), described these constructions. They were:

built of bamboo, with coconut palms for a roof. [Around the walls were draped] lovely lace curtains, with ribbons to hold them in place and in the centre on a table set there for the purpose [was placed] a lovely bunch of roses or other flowers. For seats there were benches made of bamboo set around the tent or a few chairs. There were no electric lights. In place of that, lamps made of tin or large bottles called flambeaux were placed all around the tent, giving a lovely soft glow to the surroundings.

In line with their ancestry from ritual structures where drums were played, the area for performance appears to have been a circle in the centre with musicians on one side of the ring. Clarke and Anthony recalled that tents 'had a stage with chairs around, just as you have [in] the theatre, with the front row of chairs, and benches for the members to sit'. It has also been shown that some nineteenth-century drum dances were arranged with a raised platform for the musicians and king and queen of the dance.

Fancy Bands were constituted in a hierarchy with elected kings and queens who were crowned at pre-Carnival coronation ceremonies. Members paid contributions which went towards making costumes and other Carnival activities. Further financial support sometimes came from the French Creole elite. Much to the disgust of the pro-English

anti-Carnival lobby and the police, they had earlier financed and otherwise aided some of the stickbands. Commercial interests were another source of sponsorship for these fancy masquerade groups.

For some six to three weeks before the Carnival, depending on the date of Shrovetide, 'practices' were held by each band two or three times a week. Tents provided shelters for members. They met there to learn 'their songs or to discuss all and sundry, the affairs of the band'. The king and queen, together with the band's chantwell and musicians, would sit at one side of the ring, or on the stage. Songs were composed by the chantwell, with topicality a principal theme. The chantwell sang the lead and the chorus was provided by women members of the band. Instrumental accompaniment was by an augmented string ensemble that usually comprised clarinet, flute, string bass, *cuatro* (a small four-string guitar), guitar and violin. Songsters from each band would visit the tents of other bands, assembling one night at one location, a second at another etc. throughout the season. They would compete against one another in song and in a group perform *picongs* or 'war'. These were duels in song in the manner of verbal contests between pierrots and others. In turn, singers would improvise 'stanzas in glorification of themselves and disparagement of their rivals'.

Sometimes the coronation of a band's king and queen took place several days before Carnival and sometimes it was held at midnight on *Diamanche Swa* (or Carnival Sunday evening). Otherwise, at this time, or following the coronation, 'Dame Lorraine' would be celebrated. This was a bawdy folk play with many different characters, overseen by *Met lekol* (Schoolmaster). Participants wore 'vulgar' costumes and sang and danced to string band accompaniment.

Dressed in 'disreputable' clothes, individual band members would participate in Old Mask at *Jour Ouvert* (6.00 a.m., in accordance with the Carnival proclamation). Later in the day bands would don more respectable costumes. They competed against similarly dressed units with the chantwells of each band challenging one another in song when they met on the streets. Full costume was reserved for parades on Carnival Tuesday (*Mardi Gras*). Some bands paraded with string band accompaniment.

It would be wrong to assume that this pattern was fully established by 1897, or rather there is insufficient evidence to make a definitive judgement. Despite the inadequacy of reports in contemporary newspapers, however, an analysis of accounts of the Carnival, from 1897 to 1920, supports the recollections of this period by old-time calypsonians and others.

Lord Executor said that the first full-scale experiments by Creoles in which *caliso* lyrics were sung, part in French Creole and part in English were, in 1898. The initiator of the trend was 'Charlie "Don Don"'. In an earlier source Executor recalled 'the first calypso to be sung partly in English [was] in 1899'. This had a 'half-English and half-patois' chorus:

I am not in de dice
To make it play as I like
Moi pas un zo la
Pu feu zo la shuen par moi

Wenzell Brown, who obtained this song from Executor, explained that the 'French patois has the same meaning as the English in this case. The song itself is a denial by the singer that he has cheated at dice. The first lines of each verse go:

Hear me I do say!
Whenever I do play,
The dice is not mine,
So by that it cannot obey.'

Executor also recalled two other songsters with reputations for spearheading the movement to sing calypso in English in 1898. These were Henry Forbes, known for this pioneering as Inventor (later Senior Inventor), and Norman le Blanc, known as Persecutor (later Richard Coeur de Leon).

The evidence available makes it difficult to unravel the terms used for Carnival songs in this period of change. Most, however, were composed using melodies in minor keys. Initially, it seems, calypsos sung in French Creole became known as Single Tone Calypsos, or, in one source, 'Single Tome'. This has four stanzas to each verse. Two strophes might be identical or two might be alternate, one solo and one chorus. Songs in English were called Double Tone Calypsos. They had eight stanzas to the verse and first line repetition in the first verse. This was known as the oratorical pattern, or 'oration'

style. The first evidence for the terms 'calipso' and 'double tone' appears in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1900. Carnival songs called *calendas* are first mentioned in the same newspaper in 1898. They appear to be synonymous with *lavways* sung in French Creole by *negre jardin* stickmen and their followers (*Port of Spain Gazette* 1908). In 1906 the *Mirror* had noted that 'the music which went up from the bands of *negres jardin* was as usual pitched in the monstrous minor which one may describe as the musical parody on the Gregorian composition'.² For a short period in this era, from 1900 to 1902, when Fancy Bands were at the height of their popularity, it seems that stick men dressed in *negre jardin* costumes played little or no role in the Carnival.

The Fancy Bands 1897 - 1903: 'calipsos' in English - the oration style with string bands

Newspaper reports published between 1897 and 1903 give a much fuller picture of Carnival than their immediate predecessors. Although descriptions remained select, there was a greater willingness to identify the masquerades and in particular the Fancy Bands that became a feature of the period.

Just before Shrovetide in 1897, Trinidad celebrated the centenary of British rule. One of the activities on the Saturday (27 February) was a procession of Friendly Societies. This was described by the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 3 March as 'perhaps the only event of the programme which partook the nature of a popular demonstration'. A considerable number of people took part and the *Gazette* commented how 'the banners, regalias and the dresses of the female members showed that care had been lavished to make a good display and to vie with one another in the attractiveness of the turn out'.

A feature of the *Gazette's* report of the first day of Carnival (2 March) was the '*La Favorita* Band'. The masqueraders were complimented on their neat and becoming dress and the newspaper was pleased to receive them when they visited their office. The band was associated with the store called '*La Favorita*', run by J.R. Metivier & Co. and was probably composed of clerks employed by the firm. Similar membership was to be a

feature of other Fancy Bands who, as has been noted in the last chapter, also adopted the banners and regalia of Friendly Societies in their parades.

After the Carnival the *Gazette* was pleased to announce that there had been just 27 arrests and that these were for only minor offences. Eugene Chalamelle was dissatisfied, although he agreed that events in Port of Spain were not turbulent. In San Fernando, he noted, an old-time stickfighting champion 'General' Buckley had endeavoured to promote the observance of canboulay at midnight on Carnival Sunday. This had been thwarted by the police. Chalamelle was equally indignant at the activities of the ex-mayor and chief magistrate of Arima. During the Carnival celebrations in that town he had dressed as a 'Negre Jardin' and 'before the day was out...found the chance of having a free fight in the middle of the street with a character said to be lower than him'.³ Stickfighting, therefore, was still an underlying component of the festival. Its appeal, although centred on the *diametre*, and those employed as carters, fishermen, tinkers and the like, remained a challenge of physical prowess and fighting skill for some members of the elite.

Prior to the Carnival of 1898 there were several newspaper accounts of music associated with the festival. These provide a very useful starting point for considering musical developments that took place in this era.

On 15 February the writer of the editorial in the *Mirror* was unable to understand how masqueraders in hot clothes, with their faces covered by masks, could 'go dancing and jumping through the hot dusty streets, with crowds of others, to the sound of squeaking clarinets and scraping fiddles singing till almost choked with dust and heat the external "Hi-i-i-yi-yi-"". 'Old Fogey' wrote a letter published in the same newspaper on 19 February that explained the songs were 'almost always of a lewd character' and 'generally in Patois' but 'the hoarse voices of the semi-inebriate songsters' were 'not very audible'.

The *Port of Spain Gazette* (17 February) warned: 'several songs' in rehearsal, 'with the view of their being sung during the Carnival', were of 'a grossly indecent nature' and that 'the Police [should] be on the alert to put a stop to them'. They were 'all in *patois*'. Several days later (20 February), the *Gazette* commented on the 'great preparations' for

Carnival being made by musicians. Practises were conducted late into the night but 'most of the music produced at these midnight revels was not altogether harmonious'.

Police moves to prevent the singing of 'indecent ballads' during the Carnival were to no avail. Reporting on Shrove Monday activities the *Gazette* (22 February) was indignant:

DESPITE the fact that special men were told off to prevent the singing of indecent ballads in which the names of ladies and gentlemen were brought in we regret to state that plenty of these indecent and personal *patois* medleys were indulged in. We hope the police will be more vigilant in that respect today.

On the same day, the *Mirror* gave a more general description of music in the first day of the festival:

Large bands paraded the streets, singing songs and gesticulating in nondescript costumes got up for the occasion in all colours of the rainbow. It was easy to distinguish the vulgar from the more refined masquers. The former were simply tolerated, but among the latter some of the musical efforts were in evidence and there were some good voices among them. Of course the flute and the guiter were in evidence and there was a great deal of that weird musical peculiar to the Spanish descendants of the West.

From this, it is apparent the structure of the event remained similar to that established by newspaper reports in 1871 (discussed in the previous chapter). The music, however, indicates the changes in instrumentation and other aspects of presentation that were a feature of the time.

On the following day the *Mirror* reported how the police had prevented 'a desperate encounter' between two stickbands, Starlight (from New Town) and Junction (from St.James). After having been dispersed prior to fighting, the Junction contingent was 'remustered and stirred by the obscene patois songs' of their chantwell, Charles Pierre. Adopting military terminology, each of the bands was led by a 'Captain'. Members of the Junction Band were arrested as they strove to fight for a second time.

It is evident that such activities had become rare in Carnival. Commenting after the festival the *Port of Spain Gazette* (26 February) affirmed this state of affairs. They were quick to point out, nevertheless, that 'driven from the streets' the 'open exhibition of immorality' had 'taken refuge in the yards and houses of ill-fame which abound in Port of Spain and elsewhere'.

The *Mirror* (23 February) singled out the throng of street dancers throughout the town on the second day of Carnival. 'Each band was accompanied by its own music - flutes, violins or guitars, without drums'. There was, according to the *Port of Spain Gazette* (of the same date) some good singing from a minstrel troupe called the New York Boys (the *Mirror* was less impressed). The *Gazette*, however, still viewed the Carnival as a vestige of an unsatisfactory past, especially in relation to the songs of the majority of the masqueraders. They explained also the method by which officers of the law were avoided:

There was this time less obscenity and less vulgarity but neither were altogether absent. Occasionally an obscene ballad was trolled out in *patois* but the Police could hardly be blamed for not detecting the offenders. They were so well known and immediately they hove in sight "a change came over the dream" or rather the song. And the ballad that reached the ears was demure.

In a subsequent résumé of Carnival activities (published on 26 February) the *Port of Spain Gazette* made further comments on the music:

THE ancient and time-honoured amusement of the people is over for this time. The last *shack-shack* has been shaken the last *Calenda* sung, the last *quatro* strummed, the last clarionet squeaked and quiet reigns once more...Many of the late masquers who have been the most assiduous in chanting the monotonous repetitions which do duty for songs during the carnival (such, for instance, as "*Penny a day, penny a day, penny a day to buy a dejuiner*" *sole et tutti* and *di capo ad nauseam* have almost quite lost their voices.

The lyrics to this 'song of the season' (reported also by the *Mirror* on 23 February) confirm the year identified by Lord Executor that the populace accepted the innovation of mixing French Creole and English in stanzas of Carnival choruses.

La Favorita is the only store band that features in newspaper reports of the festival, although a number of traditional masques, such as clowns and devils, are mentioned. There was a band of 'Venezuelans' and a 'Rajah' band. Snake charmers (like the Rajah's) probably represent the influence of the Indian sub continent.⁴

During 1898 a principal political issue among the elite was the fate of the Port of Spain Borough Council. Negotiations for reform of this institution took place between the Secretary of State for the Colonies in Britain (Joseph Chamberlain), his representative in Trinidad (Sir Hubert Jerningham, the Governor), and members of the Council. The outcome was Chamberlain's decision in August to abolish the city's elected administration

and replace it with a nominated Board of Commissioners. This caused great consternation and bitterness in Trinidad and disbandment was effected only by an ordinance, passed at the end of the year by the Legislative Council, under the hand of the Governor. The last meeting of the Borough Council was held on 18 January 1899, with great protests from its members.⁵

This event, of course, took place in the season of pre-Carnival 'practices' and the *Port of Spain Gazette* (20 January) were quick to observe its effect on preliminaries for the masquerade, at what appear to be the tents of Carnival bands:

Already are preparations being made for this fête as can be proved almost nightly on passing some of our back streets where will be heard rehearsals of the songs which form no small part of these proceedings. On this occasion the now defunct Borough Council of Port-of-Spain will come in for a large share of attention.

The 'noise' generated in the back streets, 'especially Duke and George Streets', was not confined to rehearsals, as the *Gazette* noted early in February. Rum was available at all hours, and rowdies gathered nightly. Further afield (St James Road), the Starlight stickband again featured in a court case. This involved 'one Inniss, the King of the "No Surrender Band"' which had been 'disbanded by the police'. He endeavoured to take over the Starlight fraternity, but was rebuffed. Stones were then thrown into their yard, 'striking those singing'. The newspaper still considered members of all Carnival bands to be 'roughs'. On 8 February, in a subheading, they castigated 'The Example Set By Some Gentlemen' in patronising band activities.

One of the bands which figured in the Court on Monday last bore the high sounding name of the "No Surrender Band" and like similar organisations numbers of this band congregate, we understand, for the practising of ribald songs which are to be sung during the two days of the fête. These songs are for the most part intend to bring certain persons into ridicule and if rumour speaks correctly some of the respectable persons do not think it either undignified or as setting a bad example to attend some of these rehearsals and openly evince their approval and appreciation of these mountebank proceedings which were they lovers of order and public decency they would use every effort on their part to stamp out of our midst as a disgrace and scandal to our boasted civilisation. When men of intelligence and occupying some position in the community give their sympathy and probably substantial support to the carnival as carried out in Trinidad by the lower classes, how can it ever be expected to improve or die out?

The *Gazette* returned to this issue in a long editorial on the history of Carnival published on 11 February, two days before Shrove Monday. They summarised the

evolution of the festival from the time Governor Keate had endeavoured to prohibit masking in 1858. It is evident that 'gentlemen' participants in the masquerade had taken them to task and they were at pains to justify their particular criticism by refocussing attention on Carnival songs.

Our reference was to another feature of the Carnival which, harmless enough in itself, has often been made the means of insulting and annoying individuals. It has always been the custom for songs to be specially composed for this season containing allusions to any notable events that have occurred during the year and some of these are frequently very witty and amusing. So long as they contain merely good humoured satire they are perfectly harmless and it would be very ill-judged on the part of the authorities to interfere, merely because the satire is levelled at persons of high position, but when, as we have reason to believe is now the case, the satire is mingled with gross and vulgar expressions of an offensive nature and coupled with the names of individuals, then it is the duty of the authorities to intervene whether those individuals occupy the highest position in the Colony or belong to its humblest classes. The remarks we thought it right to make and the sense of which we now repeat, were directed against this most objectionable custom and against those persons who directly or indirectly, either by their presence, or by furnishing funds for the purpose, encourage the perpetration of this offence against decency and order. We trust that the Police Authorities are well informed on this point, and whilst we altogether depreciate any interference with the harmless amusement of the people, we also hope that if songs of the kind we have described are heard on the streets on Monday and Tuesday next, that not only the singer but those by whom they are encouraged will meet with well deserved punishment.

Despite, or probably because of its concentrated attack on Carnival songs, the *Port of Spain Gazette* made no mention of the content of those performed in the streets during the festival. The *Mirror* (14 February) had no such inhibitions. They gave a graphic account of the song most popular on the first day of the celebration.

"JERNINGHAM de Governor. Jerningham de Governor" was the burden of a song sung by the first kind of masqueraders which invaded the sanctuary of *The Mirror* office yesterday morning. As this was not exactly the latest news and as ancient history is not in our line, although it may be the strong characteristic of editors of another school, we politely requested to be informed what connection this fact had with their visit. This was met with the astonishing accusation:

"It is rudeness into you
To break de laws of de Borough Council"

We indignantly denied the somewhat ambiguous insinuation and requested further particulars:

"At a noble conference
At de gran' Prince's Building
Mr Laghlin, Mr Agostini
Mr Nance fan de fire 'pon dem'

We were getting more mixed than ever and our confusion was increased as the multi-coloured songsters whirled, stamped and howled more stuff of the same sort. It was no doubt very amusing to the people" in the know as to what it was about" but as we were not in it we could not enter into the fun.

This then was the famous song (for we heard no other) from the singing of which so much untold riot and misfortune was to result. All day long we listened for more but with the exception of a band with a refrain in which the words "Board of Education" were distinguishable, this was the only reference made to recent events thus again proving our assertion that the lower classes have no interest in matters that have formed the subject of animated discussion during the past few months.

Governor Jerningham was composed by Norman Le Blanc, (Persecutor). It is recognised as the first 'calipso' in the English language to have achieved popularity. This acclaim set the trend for the future.

The *Mirror* described several other songs. One, which they could not comprehend, was performed by the 'Never Surrender Mirror Band' who 'invaded' their 'office and were got rid of with difficulty'. There was also 'a bouncing black lassie, with a great deal of neck and still more leg [who] danced down the street, singing "March on! march on! we shall gain the victory"'. The popular song 'I don't like nobody; nobody loves me' was 'frequently sung by offensively affectionate young ladies with very low necked dresses and short skirts of the type worn by the premier danseuse in the ballet'. Minstrels, 'dressed with cocoanut fibre hats' and other appropriate costumes, also entertained. In caricature 'the police band was well represented by a string band'.

On the second day of the festival the *Mirror* (15 February) noted that the songs 'were much the same as those sung on the previous occasion' and singled out the refrain of one more:

Come and see me before I die
The last day of Carnival

There were several store bands, Bonanza, El Popular, Eureka, and La Favorita, as well as advertising groups. Three of the 'Fancy Bands' who were to dominate the Carnival in Port of Spain from 1900 to 1902 are identified for the first time: Artillery, Highlanders and White Rose. The Golden Heart band displayed 'a magnificent tinsel banner'; a forerunner of the painted banners that were likewise a feature of Carnivals in the early 1900s. Masques as well as songs depicted the events of the previous year, including Governor Jerningham in caricature, a mock court case, the Hurricane which

"blew dem Bajans away"' and 'Mr Chamberlain and his Private Secretary'. Traditional elements included black bats, boot blacks, clowns, cow-faced convicts, devils, doctors, naval and marine officers, and a woman with a baby 'which she presented to all her friends and acquaintances'.

Another significant feature of the proceedings was the sanction given by the British administrative class in 'Viewing the Carnival'. This included the Chief of Police, Sir Francis Scott and members of his staff in an official capacity on Shrove Monday, and Scott and his wife who 'were among the sight-seers who drove about the town' on Tuesday (Mardi Gras).

Despite the *Port of Spain Gazette's* continued antagonism, especially towards Carnival songs and those who promoted them (17 February), this greater tolerance by the administration and open patronage by the French Creole elite, signalled a major change in attitude towards the Carnival throughout the island.

Contemporary comments regarding Carnival street songs should be judged against observations (probably culled from Lord Executor) made by Espinet and Pitts in 1944. They noted that: 'at the start of the 20th Century the only calypsoes known to the upper and middle class were the "le'gos". And these "le'gos" were not calypso in its full unadulterated glory but the short stanzas of its choruses stripped of all the humour and other commentary trimmings. As they usually dealt with the top-ranking scandal of the year - or the most recent one - those who failed to hear them in their original composition at the "Carnival practices" also failed to appreciate their significance'.⁶ Those who attended the tents, however, were fully aware of the political and social potential of the medium and it is hard to believe that newspaper editors with longstanding connections in French-creole society were not party to this knowledge.

By January 1900 the change in the attitude of the hierarchy towards the Carnival was reflected in the stance of the editor of the *Port of Spain Gazette*, although with some reluctance. Under the heading 'Carnival Songs' on the 20th of the month, he saw fit to publish the words of a 'calipso', the first full example of such a song and the first appearance of the word 'calipso' in print.

The following has been sent us with a request for publication as being one of the Carnival songs to be sung next month. For ourselves, we fail to see either rhyme or reason in it; but doubtless its composer and his party appreciate it.

1900 MASQUERADE CALIPSO

Sunday afternoon going round the Circular
Circular stimulator *brulé la main moin*

28 December in the year 1899
Trayline and great Little Diamond *brulé Savan la*

Run Mordecal run, run them round the Circular
Mohawk Prince you don't know that Trayline *selera, San Humanité*

People all, People all, I am going to the battle field,
Battle field of Sir Jerningham, 1900, *San Humanité*

Barracks! Barracks! Artillery you don't know the law,
Artillery you don't know the Barracks *fire arm bâca devirer*

Climbing up, climbing up, climbing up Majouba Hill,
We are all a contingent and foremen Calipso

Tell the people for me we coming up *San Humanité*
We coming up, we make up we mind to sing the double tone, *faire yo devirai*.

As is evident, a few words in French Creole remain in this song. In some performances this pattern was to be followed for the next thirty years or so, especially the phrase '*san humanité*', from stickfighting songs. According to an unidentified source in Andrew Pearse's papers two other versions of this phrase might be used as an ending in '*cariso*' songs:

- (i) *san de manite*
- (ii) *san te manitor*

The latter was regarded as a 'higher expression' or rather 'expressive of a higher class of stick player'.

On the basis of the fifth verse of the *1900 Masquerade Calipso*, that pours scorn on the Artillery party, the song may have been composed by the chantwell of the Carnival band named Barracks. This insult might be more subtle, however, for the first line of the sixth verse, concerning the contemporary assault on Majuba Hill, in the Boer War, is attributed to Henry Forbes (the Artillery chantwell) in a 1956 performance by Patrick Jones.

Seven days later the *Gazette* reported the occurrence of regular rehearsals for the Carnival, and that there would be many bands, including one (presumably a minstrel troupe) that was 'getting up a repertoire of Jubilee and Plantation songs for the occasion'. On 7 February the newspaper went so far as to give fuller details of some of the bands, praise them for their preparations, and enthuse that 'all the singing will be patriotic tunes in English, a decided improvement on the old *patois* style'. This confirms Lord Executor's recollection that the switch to composing 'calipsos' in English was sudden and overwhelming. The reporter noted that several of the bands would be displaying elaborately painted banners (those for Artillery, Brigade and White Rose were mentioned) and the themes of the masquerade were to be many and varied. Judging by the 25 bands named, British Imperial loyalty and the Boer War provided significant topics.

While it is evident from this and subsequent events that throughout the population there was a special attitude of allegiance towards Britain in Trinidad at this time, some opposition to Imperial grandeur was maintained. This is best exemplified by the 'Laventille Boars' who specialised in 'rowdyism' and had re-christened their hideout on Rose Hill (east of the Dry River) 'Majuba Hill'. On the same day that it drew attention to the Fancy Bands who would be appearing in the forthcoming Carnival, the *Gazette* reported with indignation how two of the 'Laventille' group had been arrested on Rose Hill and, *en route* to the police station, rescued by their compatriots. A police constable was injured in the 'rescue'. The 'Boars' boasted 'of their having defeated the British'. Such vestiges of stickband-like bravado seem to have been rare at this time. For example, the *Mirror* (12 February) noted that up to that time only 'seven persons had applied for permission to disguise as "Pierrots" and the 'issuing of licences' was likely 'to be extended for a few days more'.

With a view to establishing a Carnival that lived up to the expectations of the elite's romanticised view of Shrovetide festivals elsewhere in the world, a prize was offered by Ignatio Bodu (Papa Bodi). He was a former City Councillor (and surreptitious supporter of stickbands). By 23 February the *Mirror* recorded that 'the various bands, many in number, are undergoing vigorous preparation for the prize offered' in this competition.

Their reporter had listened 'to the practise of the "White Rose" on Wednesday night' and commented that 'judging by the manner in which they are trained and conducted by their leader Mr Henry Julian, one should predict for them great success'.

Bodu's competition for a cup to be awarded to the best dressed band was scheduled to take place in Marine Square (now Independence Square) on Shrove Tuesday. Reporting favourably on the first day of Carnival, the *Port of Spain Gazette* (27 February) looked forward with great anticipation to this event.

Describing the Carnival in retrospect (on 1 March) the *Gazette* noted how 'the fête really began fully a fortnight ago when single maskers and bands dressed in full carnival costume, except masks, paraded the streets nightly accompanied by bands of music'.

There were, of course, musical activities on Carnival Monday. These involved the 'crude a la Gregorian tunes' of the majority of the masqueraders, an imitation Police Band (as in 1899) and the Iere band playing 'Spanish airs' that were 'aimed at a purely Terpsichorean effect'. Other string bands were the Excelsior (led by Mr Martinez), the Red Cross Society, and the Liberty Band. The Minstrel troupe (the *Mirror* reported) attracted 'considerable attention by their well rendered songs as well as provoking laughter by their grotesque facial contortions'. Stilt dancers [Moko Jumbie] 'stalked through the streets to the strains of drum and fife'. One was 20 feet high.

With the Boer War and Imperial patriotism as principal themes of the Carnival, on the day of the cup competition the *Gazette* published a composition by the White Rose Social Union as a sample of the songs that had been performed the days previous.

Britain has held her own from the time of the Conqueror
Britain has held her own from the time of the Conqueror
And is prepared to hold it again in the Transvaal, *sans humanité*

France should know she is dead, since brave Napoleon fell
Whose policy is rotten and Government a mere farce
Yet claims that the title as the World's greatest nation
But will never again be the nation that she was, *sans humanité*

She should glance and reconnoitre into her past history
The land which gave birth to the men who were brutes
She should seek to amend the crimes committed *sans humanité*
And remember Robespierre, Danton and Basson, *pasco sans humanité*

France who gives shelter to anarchists of Italy

France who harbours the villains of the world
Who lives in conspiracy with the Russian bear
Should be excluded as a power *sans humanité*

See the big Russian bear only dreaming of expansion
Seized Port Arthur whilst we were politically engaged
Creeping like the snail from Circassia into Persia
When we are at war with the Boers, *sans humanité*

The great Prussian territory land of our grandsons
Should avoid being in colleague with two such worthless nations
But should join hand in hand with Uncle Tom our cousin
And must remain the world's conquerors, *sans humanité*

In the event of hostilities our plan of campaign is laid
We will send the North Sea squadron to the Baltic Sea
And the Mediterranean to the Archipelago
And then will strain the big white Bear *sans humanité*

The Channel Squadron will then guard shameful France
And the North American and West Indian will come to aid
Then the Powerful, Indefatigable, Terrible and Renown
Will patrol the world's waters *sans humanité*

Then rule Britannia, Britannia must rule the waves
Then the Colonies will come in for a share in the pie
Then hip hip hurrah, for Great Britain *pasca devera*
Then Trinidad will claim the skin of the white Bear, *sans humanité*

On the basis of his reputation as 'a singer of the most intellectual songs' this was written by Henry Julian (singing name Iron Duke), known otherwise as Julian Whiterose (White Rose). The White Rose Masquerade band also employed two other chantwells and in 1900 one of these was Pharaoh (Joseph, or Andrew Bernard), another well known songster in this period.

While traditional masques are described in newspaper accounts of the 1900 festival, the emphasis in reports of the second day is on the competition between the Fancy Bands. The *Gazette* (1 March), noted the novel 'adoption of the idea of combination into "Bands" each with a distinctive banner bearing a title or motto and accompanied by a brass or string band of more or less creditable pretentions'. Of these the *Mirror* (28 February) singled out for special mention the Brigade Union, White Rose Social Union, Artillery Company and the Cock of the North Highlanders (known also as Gordon Highlanders, or Scottish Highlanders). The *Mirror* also mentioned the patriotism of the songs and, in its 1 March feature, the *Gazette* gives further particulars of these in relation to the competition.

The Brigade Social Union was headed by its leader and songster, David Scott and was accompanied by a 'clarionet and string band'. Their song 'which was really well performed' was described as 'a fair history of the Transvaal from 1876 to date; and gave evidence of wide reading and no small knowledge of the history of the time'.

The song of the Rose Hill Social Union was described as 'a long version in verse of the glorious reign of "Alexandria Victoria", and, according to the *Gazette*, 'was fully up to the usual merits for loyalty'. This band was probably headed by another songster, Mentor Dominique Trimm (on the basis of a 1901 reference).

The *Gazette* reported that 'the war song' of the Artillery Band 'with a wild and pathetic chorus of "Far far away!" and the bold one of "Fight Britannia fight" was, of course, eminently suitable to the season'. The newspaper's reporter was impressed also with the skills of the band's songster, (Henry Forbes, the Inventor), stating that 'with an ingenuity which did the soloist considerable credit, within a couple of hours of receipt of the news of the surrender of General Cronje and his 8,000 [at Paardenberg, on the 27th], a set of home made verses in celebration of the event were being sung to the usually curiously weird characteristic chant'.

White Rose appear to have performed the song published by the *Gazette* on 27 February (although Patrick Jones recalled two others sung *en route* to the competition).

The Scottish Highlanders do not seem to have had a song, but marched to the accompaniment of a guitar and cuatro band.

The competition was heavily subscribed and a decision on the winner was put off. After parading, and under the sanction of a mounted police escort, White Rose proceeded to the residence of Ignacio Bodu in York Street, where they had been invited. 'Several songs were rendered' for Bodu and his friends, after which the Band's members were 'treated liberally to refreshments' and speeches were made. Artillery subsequently paid a visit to Bodu's house and were given a similar reception.

Although White Rose won the cup, which they received at a presentation on 19 March, in the opinion of both the *Mirror* and the *Port of Spain Gazette* the best band had been that of Brigade.

As with the surrender of Cronje the day before, news of the relief of Ladysmith reached Trinidad on the same day that the seige was lifted in South Africa. Thus on 28 February there were spontaneous rejoicings on the streets of Port of Spain, and elsewhere in the island. Without masks covering their faces many of the bands dressed in their costumes of the previous day and began parading. The police allowed these extra celebrations because of the occasion. The *Gazette* (2 March) considered that the merits of the Brigade Social Union were vindicated when in the afternoon of the 28th they 'went up in a procession to Government House where they were received in the Legislative Council Chamber'. The band's members 'ranged themselves around the horseshoe table; and to the accompaniment of their brass and stringband sang a specially composed song of triumph for the occasion; the tune being the same peculiar wild and almost plaintive chant so characteristic [and they considered] so suitable to the present war'. The song may be one called *Ladysmith* (attributed to 'Scott' Brigade) a version of which was remembered in the 1950s:

60,000 Boers surround Ladysmith
60,000 Boers surround Ladysmith
Lord Roberts with his *manima*
The bayonet charge is the rod of correction
Oh, the bayonet charge is the rod of correction
San humanité

In addition to their tolerant attitude towards the patriotic parades at the relief of Ladysmith, members of the elite (including the Governor and his wife), took time to view the Carnival in Port of Spain. This general attitude of collaboration between all sectors is further demonstrated by the limited number of arrests in the city. Even an anticipated appearance by the Laventille Boers came to nothing. They remained in their Rose Hill lair, now fortified to resemble Majuba Hill in miniature! The celebration in virtually all country districts was also peaceful. The *Mirror* (1 March) reported that bands in Arouca strove 'hard for the empty glory [*sic*] of being considered the premier band... - "the marksmen in Calypso"'.

The Boer War had encouraged a similar spate of patriotism in Britain, which is reflected in Music Hall songs of the period. In Trinidad, this sentiment was again

encouraged after the capture of Pretoria by General Roberts on 5 June. A few days after a 'Pretoria Celebration' was held, but this was an 'elite' event and lacked the popular spontaneity of the demonstrations following 'Ladysmith'.⁷

Although there is evidence to suggest that close harmony between bands and patronage by the elite was again the objective for the Carnival of 1901, continuity with the previous year was broken by the death of Queen Victoria on 22 January. White Rose immediately postponed their practices (*Mirror*, 23 January), and Artillery, Rose Hill and Brigade mirrored this suspension (*Port of Spain Gazette*, 24 January). In San Fernando the Moral Diamond band postponed their ball, in respect for the dead monarch (*Mirror*, 25 January), and bands such as the Aurora Borealis in Arouca held solemn wakes for Victoria in their Carnival tents (*Gazette*, 7 February).

There was great debate as to the propriety for holding Carnival at all. Ignacio Bodu suggested a postponement until Easter (as had happened in 1827, although this precedent was long forgotten). His endeavours met with opposition from the bands, and estrangement from the Carnival. He had arranged for the band leaders to consult the Governor to discuss what action should be taken. They refused to attend, leaving Bodu to meet the Governor alone. Judging by correspondence in the newspapers, the bands seem also to have fallen out amongst themselves. Henry Julian had to defend his position, claiming he had been forced to side with Bodu. Other band leaders identified in the press at this time were:

Reginald Plummer
Mentor Dominique Trimm
F.Toussaint

James Inniss

David Scott

Iere Social Union
Rose Hill Social Union
Rose of England Social
Union
British Heroes Social
Union
Brigade Social Union

In the end it was decided to hold the Carnival at Shrovetide as usual. The rehearsal of songs was resumed at 'practices' such as those in Sangre Grande (*Gazette*, 8 February) and Tunapuna (*Gazette*, 10 February). The latter included a visit of 'leading songsters from the city connected with the "White Rose S.U." of Tunapuna'. One was

'the well-known "Chanter" A.Julien' [sic] who 'afforded much pleasure with his recitation of the customary songs'.

The Carnival took place on 18 and 19 February. On the first day Russell and Company's clown competition was held. The masqueraders sang their 'calipsos' and 'Carnival songs upon the reign of death of Her Majesty' but, the *Gazette* (19 February) felt that 'in many instances' these 'were in poor taste'. Fancy Bands, again with elaborate costumes and banners, took to the streets on Mardi Gras. Together with their music and patriotic songs they received the *Port of Spain Gazette's* approval (20 February). Three days later the newspaper published one of the songs.

The following, which is a fair sample of the memorial verses sung at the late Carnival, has been sent to us for publication:

In memory of Her late Majesty - in Sol Major
[BY G.R.PLUMMER - Duke of Iere]

Chorus

She has gone to rest - Peace be with her departed soul
She has gone to rest - Peace be with her departed soul
She has gone from time - To sweet eternity - she has gone forever
She has gone from time - Poor Queen Victoria Bless her in her grave

Toll the Bells and mourn and lament for our noble Queen
Who throughout her glorious reign successfully has been
A kind protector, a noble patron, and a mother, to one and all
Who has won her subjects love and affections Bless her in her grave

Chorus - She has gone to rest, etc.

A noble Queen to whom one and all have shown their loyalty
In accordance with our wish may she have sweet immortality
And rest with Saints and Angels above for our Sovereign we had loved
So may she rest in peace and sweet eternity Bless her in her grave

Chorus - She has gone to rest, etc.

We must sympathise and mourn and the glories of her name adorn
Bless her for the wisdom that has guided us o'er many a storm
So in sympathy and condolence with the Royal family
We mourn her loss with great sincerity Bless her in her grave

Chorus - She has gone to rest, etc.

Plummer, as has been noted, was the leader of the Iere Social Union. Clarke and Anthony remembered he came from Guyana.

The Carnival in country districts was of a similar pattern to Port of Spain with few arrests and a preponderance of Fancy Bands. The songs at Princes Town were described as 'memorial sonnets' for the late Queen. Her death was also the subject of songs at Tunapuna, where 'the South African war' provided another topic. At this location, bands 'paraded the thronged streets singing their *Calypsos* to the accompaniment of guitars, quattros and shac shacs'. 'Noble tones in Calypso' were also the order of the day in the Carnival at Caura.⁸

A signal of the approaching Carnival in 1902 is an announcement in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 25 January that 'the Eclipse String Band will play tonight at the Queen's Park Café from 7 to 10 p.m'. This was the season of masquerade balls and a court case in the *Gazette* on 31 January revolved around the question as to what was and what was not a facial disguise when persons dressed in fancy costumes walked in the streets to attend these functions. The black man charged with being disguised was Joseph Bernard (known to the police as Andrew Bernard). He was almost certainly also the calypsonian Pharaoh who, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, had left either White Rose or Iere in 1901 and founded the Sweet Evening Bells.

At the time of his arrest Bernard had been 'with others in similar costume to the defendant's, that of a prince of the Elizabethan times, short hose of brilliant hued velvet, elaborately trimmed, a jacket to match and a long silken cloak and broad trimmed flowered and feathered hat, caught up on one side in imitation of the C.I.V. He wore no mask, but his features were completely disguised by a deep covering of powder'. His offence, said the magistrate, in a case that had strong racial overtones, was his white powdered face. As his lawyer pointed out 'gentlemen' disguised in similar fashion had attended 'the Ball of the previous evening at the Queen's Park Hotel' without molestation. Pharaoh was convicted, but even the *Port of Spain Gazette* (in its editorial of 31 January) castigated the magistrate, and the police for bringing the case.

Dancing was a popular pastime in Trinidad, as was discovered by Algenon Aspinall, Secretary to the West India Committee (the planter's lobby in London). He was particularly impressed by the 'dreamy Spanish waltzes' enjoyed by blacks and whites alike.

The programme of a ball to which he was invited (but did not attend), held by black creoles at the Prince's Building, included lancers, mazurkas, paseos, polkas, two steps and waltzes. The titles of some were *A Green Swizz* (waltz), *Oh! Madam looks sweet. By the Maid* (lancers), *It's Time to go a flirting* (two step), *Whiskey and Soda for the Crowd* (paseo), and *You Must be Brisk John* (Polka).

Such entertainments stood alongside, or were incorporated into, activities that took place in tents of Carnival bands during the masquerade season. In 1902, with the crowning of a new Imperial monarch soon to take place in Britain, a coronation ceremony by a San Fernando band was described by a *Gazette* correspondent. The report was published on 5 February.

Last Friday night at the Marquee of the *Standard Social Union* at High Street, San Fernando, a rather novel and interesting scene was witnessed in the coronation of the newly elected Sovereigns of the *Standard Social Union*.

The Marquee was tastily decorated with a profusion of cocoanut boughs and other ornamental foliage draped here and there with coloured cloths, while on the wall were hung numerous patriotic pictures of the South African heroes and scenes of the war. At about 9 o'clock the ceremony of the coronation commenced when Joseph Perreira and Doodoo Baptiste were crowned king and queen of the the [sic] Union by the prince and princess, Tomy Perreira and Pinky Grantham assisted by their secretary; amid the acclamation of their subjects. The Sovereigns then occupied a throne on a chair at the rear of the Marquee while the *Maitre Chantrel* sang several suitable ballads (calypsos) specially prepared for the occasion by a local poet.

The health of the King and Queen of England was then proposed and drunk while the *National Anthem* was rendered after which the health of the newly crowned Sovereigns was drunk during the singing of *Rule Britannia*. The usual carnival calypsos were then sung by the band up to 10 o'clock when the band adjourned to a recherche luncheon which continued with songs etc., up to the early hours of the next day. The ceremony was very unique and created quite a sensation in the district which might be judged by the hundred of persons who gathered to witness it.

This, and the repertoire played at the dance detailed by Aspinall, provides a general indication of the kinds of music with which Fancy Bands were associated during this period.

One Port of Spain Carnival band that did not participate in the 1902 festival was the Victoria Social Union. They had made their first appearance following the Queen's death in 1901, and may have been successors to Artillery. Street parades by the latter had featured a small cannon that fired blanks. Charles Jones and Clarke and Anthony all

recalled this, and Jones also remembered that an accident had stopped the practice. A court case reported in the *Mirror* (13 February) shows that the accident took place on 13 January at a rehearsal of the Victoria Social Union, and a woman's leg was amputated as a result.

Ignatio Bodu seems not to have been directly involved in the Fancy Band competition in Port of Spain in 1902. This was held at the grandstand, the Queen's Park Savannah, on Shrove Tuesday (11 February). The same day, describing Lundi Gras celebrations, the *Gazette* noted that the usual bands had 'paraded the streets with music, singing and dancing'. In their account of the second day's festivities they attributed 'one of the principal causes of the marked improvement' in the Carnival to 'the numerous string bands', some of which had given 'very good' performances [that] bore evidence of long and careful practice for some days before'.

The principal Fancy Band rivals were the same as in 1900 and 1901: Brigade (whose 'King' in 1902 was Allan Sealy), and White Rose (under 'Lord Iron Duke' - Henry Julian). White Rose were first to arrive at the Savannah. *The Gazette* (12 February) thought the playing of their music was a 'disappointment' in comparison with other bands in the competition. 'After some singing', the newspaper reported, 'the White Rose gave way to the Brigade Union'. When the latter had grouped themselves:

The leader from a position immediately in front of the stand sang to an accompaniment on guitars and cuatros a most patriotic "*callypso*" and brought down thunders of applause which was redoubled on the singing of the chorus by other members.

'For some time', the report continued, 'these two were the only bands on the ground and they formed in regular order and marched side by side along the grounds singing against one another'. These theatricals were performed with great elan by both parties. White Rose were then awarded the cup for the best dressed band, and Brigade received a silver bronze clock for the best painted banner.

Following this:

Some time after the award had been made the two bands assembled separately in front of the stand and led by their chief "chantrells" spiritedly sang callypsos, the words of which unfortunately were not heard by all; though judging from the cheers following each verse seem to have been very popular.

Other similar bands also presented themselves to the judges at the grandstand.

At the conclusion of the competition the bands paraded the city indulging in their various songs and exhibiting their gorgeous costumes and banners to the satisfaction of the onlookers.

In San Fernando, Fancy Bands (including the Standard Social Union) had also paraded in the streets on Carnival Tuesday 'singing their strange monotonous calypsos to the clash of cymbals and the picking of guitars and cuatros' (*Gazette*, 13 February). Reports in the *Mirror* (of the same date) show that similar (but less elaborate) competitions and music were a feature of Carnival festivities in other country districts.

The *Port of Spain Gazette* was so impressed with the change in the Carnival that, in their editorial of 14 February, they supported a proposal for a further Fancy Band competition to be held during the forthcoming celebration of the coronation of Edward VII. Bands would parade on the Queen's Park Savannah and be awarded prizes for dress, singing and best banner. No evidence has been found that a competition took place in Trinidad when the King was eventually crowned in London, on 9 August.⁹ His coronation had been postponed from 26 June, because of illness.

There was a greater emphasis on the Carnival in country districts, in newspaper reports of the festival in 1903. As early as 22 January, rehearsals by the Brigade Union in their 'gaily decorated and brilliantly illuminated' tent in Arima were reported. On the day following the *Gazette* also noted how bands in Arouca and Tacarigua were busy 'rehearsing songs for the Carnival'.

Activities in tents in Arima also received attention on 30 January, their construction and decor being described alongside the rehearsing of 'songs with stringed instrument accompaniment'. Bands in Tumpuna had also begun their practices. On 1 February the *Gazette* reported how 'two very respectable carnival bands' in Maracas were 'practising their native songs and choruses to the musical tinkle of the mandolin, the twang of the Spanish [guitar]...and the regular beat of the cuatro'. At Sangre Grande there were four local bands preparing to compete for prizes for best costume and song. Iere, led by Eddy the Confuser, was to have music by the Julian Francis String Band.

On 5 February the *Port of Spain Gazette* noted a change in the approach of the White Rose Social Union of San Fernando.

The music of various "calypso" etc. is an improvement on last year's and a noticeable feature is that the songs are not composed in order to ridicule any person in the community, as is the case with other bands, but the words are merely based on local events of importance and in praise of their union.

They also announced the coronation of the king and queen of this band on the 11th of the month.

In the first three weeks of February, the *Gazette* announced or described coronations of kings and queens of Carnival bands at several locations. These were the Trafalgar Social Union in Arima, one of two principal bands in Maracas (either Admiral or Brigade), Sweet Diamond Bells in San Fernando, Melbourne Social Union in Port of Spain, Sweet Evening Bells in St Joseph, Rosehillians in Tacarigua, and the White Rose Social Union in Tumpuna. At Arima there was a diversion by rival bands outside the tent of the Trafalgar Union during the coronation. Following the ceremony 'the band proceeded through the streets to the dwelling of the Queen to the song *Cheer boys cheer*, and the dancing was kept up till morning'. A counter attraction was created by the Brigade Union when the Rosehillians were staging their coronation at their tent in Tacarigua. The Rosehillians were also let down by 'the Beginner' (possibly Cat the Beginner, an early calypsonian) who was to have performed the ceremony. In Tumpuna, following the crowning of their king and queen at the White Rose tent in Brazil village, the king gave 'a grand reception' at his residence 'ending with a ball lasting into the small hours of the morning'.

This activity by Fancy Bands in country districts, based on the model set by bands in Port of Spain for the past three years, was in marked contrast to the conduct of Carnival in the capital. While some bands (such as Melbourne) remained active in the city, the majority of the principal singers-band leaders did not participate. This was on account of post-Carnival criticism of the banners in 1902 and, it seems likely, other points of conflict between the hierarchy and the populace.

It is evident from prior correspondence and reports of the Carnival in 1902 that genuine local origin and the judging of banners in competition had become issues for dispute in that year. In addition, Patrick Jones remembered that 'the ministers of religion got themselves together and criticised the banners' saying they were 'more suitable to religious processions and so on'. Lord Executor recalled that 'King Pharaoh' had 'offended public morals by using religious symbols on his banner'. As a result of these complaints, Jones said, 'the bands the following year resigned', together with the 'songsters' and 'calypso went away'. The scattering of singers Executor put down to 'competition', remembering that 'Norman le Blanc was first to leave the capital, for St Joseph, where he carried on the "White Rose" band'.

There is no evidence in 1903 reports of Carnival in Port of Spain to support Executor's assertion that 'banners were abolished by "the government"'. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (25 February) went so far as to express surprise that 'several of the leading bands owing to some reason or another had dropped out' and comment on 'the absence of banners'. The *Mirror* noted that 'small flags' were used as a substitute.

These newspaper observations substantiate the recollections of both Jones and Executor regarding the demise of the majority of Fancy Bands in the city. The *Gazette* (26 February) confirms the presence of Norman le Blanc as king of the White Rose band in St. Joseph where other bands also 'accused them of having included among them members of White Rose from the city'.

At St. Joseph, and elsewhere outside Port of Spain, the competitions for Fancy Bands usually had two or more categories, the principal prizes being for dress or presentation, and singing. Outside the competitions bands paraded the streets with well-rehearsed music and sometimes engaged 'in friendly competition in song'. Some traditional masques and activities are reported, such as pierrots in Maracas and Tunapuna, house to house visits by bands in Tacarigua, and in Tunapuna door to door singing by Christy Minstrels. 'Men dressed as women' also evaded the police at the last location. There was no stickfighting. When it was threatened, as in St. Joseph and Tunapuna, the police either confiscated the sticks, or barred the stickmen from entering the village. In

Port of Spain, however, there was a reappearance of 'the dangerous practice of free "sticklicking"...by certain bands of roughs known in the masquerade world as *neg Jardine*'. This turn of events was also recalled by Patrick Jones. The *Gazette*, which had noted this presence of stickmen on the second day of Carnival, also observed the reappearance of another aspect of *jamette* culture in the city. On Shrove Monday they were affronted by 'women dressed in more or less indecent costumes' - known either as 'matadors' (high class or retired prostitutes) or *jamet/diametre* women.

Although it mentions neither the *neg Jardine* nor the 'women' the *Mirror* published the fullest account of the Carnival in Port of Spain in 1903. Participants on the Monday included string bands, masques such as the peacock, strolling acrobats, boxers and even a giant 'puss in boots'. Unlike Lundi Gras in 1902, when some skirmishes appear to have taken place on the edge of the festival, the behaviour of the masqueraders 'was very good'.

On Mardi Gras in 1903, the *Mirror* singles out twelve Fancy Bands for mention, five of which had appeared in previous Carnivals. Another was a minstrel troupe (the Royal Minstrels) which, 'sang some excellent songs including "Honey", "I can't tell why I love you" and "Love's old sweet song". There was a decline in the standard of costume worn by 'the "queens" and "kings" of the bands. Discipline may also have begun to break down. In Tragarete Road 'two rival queens who had centred their affections on the same king, and disregarding the fact that they were attired in all their regal robes, pitched into each other in a very determined and unqueenly manner'. Fighting was quelled by the intervention of 'the two kings and their subjects'. Late in the evening there were several arrests for flour throwing.¹⁰

The 1903 Carnival in Port of Spain reflects a general change in social attitudes in the city. The spirit of compromise that had maintained support for friendly competitions among the majority of the inhabitants had gone. Since 1902, one way or another, actions by different sectors of the hierarchy had alienated many, especially in the French-speaking community. Disaffection was current in all classes. The elite, denied a forum since the abolition of the Borough Council, took issue with the authorities regarding plans to place stringent controls on the supply of water. This provided a flashpoint for resentment and

resulted, on 23 March, in what is known as the Water Riot. Sixteen were killed, forty-three wounded and the Red House (seat of the Legislative Council) was burned.¹¹

This event caused great resentment throughout Trinidad and prevented further accord between the majority of the population and the colonial administration. The annual celebration of Carnival was to reflect this difference of attitude for several years.

The return of the stickbands 1904 - 1907: stickfighting kalendas

The Water Riot raised serious questions about the way in which Trinidad was being governed and a Royal Commission was appointed to investigate the disturbances. They arrived in Trinidad in April 1903, and presented their report to the British Parliament in July. This was followed in Trinidad by a trial of twenty-two persons indicted for riot. One was Johnnie Blades (known as Johnnie Zizi). Of stately build, he was a famous drummer, stickman and dancer of the kalenda. Zizi received five years while Lolotte Borde (a *diametre* woman of corporate stature) may have escaped incarceration because the jury could not agree a majority verdict. This is the likely source of a single tone *caliso* sung presumably when Zizi was released from gaol.

Se vwe, se vwe, lajol dajewe
Se vwe, se vwe, lajol dajewe
Johnnie Zizi alle lajol
I soti gwo ko Lolotte Borde

Women (presumably from the *diametre*) had played a prominent part in the initial assault on the Red House - dancing and singing in the street as they approached the building, before throwing stones.

In December 1903, four prominent members of the intelligensia were tried for inciting the riot. One was the radical black lawyer E.M.Lazare. The case was dropped against R.R.Mole. J.C.Marresse-Smith, H.N.Hall and Lazare were found not guilty. A member of the Rate Payers Association, and former leader of the Port of Spain branch of the Pan-African Association, Lazare had written an indignant letter to the *Mirror* in 1902, complaining at the injustice of 'Pharaoh's' conviction for premature masking. This points

up links between some songsters, Carnival bands, members of the black elite, and a radical political commitment found in certain songs from the period. Atilla, for example, reported one by Fijonel:

The Brave, the brave
The Brave, the brave
Hundreds were sent to eternity
In the riot of 1903
The people say no taxation
Without representation
The police answered with bayonet and gun
And brutally started to shoot them down

The *Port of Spain Gazette* was fully aware of the likely content of songs and portrayals in caricature that would appear in the masquerade of 1904. Prior to the Carnival it was apprehensive of police attitudes, especially in the light of their part in the massacre of the previous March. The Carnival was to take place on 15 and 16 February and in a well informed editorial, published on the tenth of the month, the *Gazette* noted:

As is only reasonable to expect after so eventful a year as that which has elapsed since last February the Carnival of this year bids fair to be much fuller than customary of local references both in action and in song. We know for example that the water ordinance, the riot, the commission of enquiry, the trial of the Ratepayers, that of Sergeant Holder, and the forthcoming departure of his Excellency the Governor, will all be subjects of "songs" at the Masquerade of next Monday and Tuesday; and more than probable is it that several personages in high position who have in the course of the past year rendered themselves more than usually obnoxious or pleasant to the general public will also come in for their share of notice, favourable or otherwise.

The reference to the trial of Sergeant Holder relates to a court case that would be held immediately following the Carnival. Among those killed in the Water Riot was Eva Cavallo who, according to oral reports, was bayoneted by her former paramour, Holder. At his trial Holder was accused of shooting Cavallo in the abdomen with his personal pistol (not one issued officially). On exhumation, to find the bullet, circumstances appear to have allowed opportunity for tampering with the body before examination by a doctor. Considerable but conflicting evidence meant that Holder was found not guilty of this dastardly crime.

Atilla has noted a number of songs that fit several of the categories defined by the *Gazette*. Reports of the Carnival also establish that there were similar masques devoted to repercussions of the riot.

Some of the 1904 masqueraders represented international issues. There was a band of Japanese reflecting the contemporary Russian-Japanese confrontation, and there were individual masques that personified the Anglo-German blockade of Venezuela (December 1902 - March 1903). The United States (also the subject of a masque) had consolidated the Monroe doctrine (their sphere of influence in the Americas) in the protocols of peace. The British and Germans raised their blockade on 11 March 1903 but Castro, the Venezuelan president did not cancel his counter blockade of Trinidad, until just before the Carnival in 1904. This was the subject of a calypso recalled by Patrick Jones:

I asked Castro open blockade
Castro would not hear
I asked Castro open blockade
Castro would not hear
I asked Castro open blockade
Castro would not hear
You see this thing, strangers seeing misery.

Although their presence was becoming less significant, several fancy bands appeared in the Carnival of 1904. Some of these masquerade groups had participated before, such as the Highlanders, the Lancers Union, Sweet Evening Bells and Sweet Morning Bells. Others were new to the event - for example, the Old Father Christmas band (or Winter's Frost). Traditional masques included bats (in two bands, Bat Destroyers, and Leap Year Bats), Christy Minstrels, clowns, mock policemen (one of whom was mistaken as an official by a regular member of the force), a mock trial, and wild Indians.

The police, whose actions in the Water Riot had been much criticised, were given special instructions 'not to interfere with the songs and take no notice of them even though they contained allusions to Public Officers'. The *Mirror* (17 February), could report that at a late hour on the final night of the festival not one arrest had been made 'due to the forbearance of the police' and the *Gazette* (18 February) went out of its way to praise the police for the way they had handled the festivities. There was evidence on both days, however, of a few fights between rival bands. On 17 February, the *Gazette's* principal censure had concerned 'that rougher element known as *negre jardin* and their partisans'. They had assembled 'in parts of the town less frequented by the police and indulged in

stickfighting [and] bottle and stone throwing', Colonel Swain recalled, in 1916, that he had seen 'about six hundred men with sticks marching about in disorder'.¹² Thus, while the arrangements of the police had sustained good order (in the eyes of the establishment), stickmen and their entourages had re-established their position, in a period of social disquiet, as an antithesis of colonial propriety.

Joseph Belgrave, writing in 1932, has provided a vivid recollection of stickbands in this era (quoted in Chapter II). In addition to identifying the names - geographical locations, costume, songs and musical accompaniment of these bands, he describes the way in which they 'danced' in formation as they traversed the streets.

As well as stickfighting, these men danced about the streets to the strains of this form of music ['calenda' chants, 'sung in patois', accompanied 'by the beating of bamboos and bottles with a spoon']. It was a kind of drill-dance, carried out with grace and symmetrical exactness. As they marched along one could see the excitement which anxiety brings to those eager to meet the foe in battle.

This drill-dancing to rhythmic accompaniment has its parallel in Lafcadio Hearn's description of the way in which two rival (non-stickfighting) bands conducted themselves in the Carnival of 1888, in St. Pierre, Martinique (Chapter V).

A description of *negre jardine* bands, published in the *Port of Spain Gazette* just before the Carnival of 1908, augments Belgrave's observations on these stickfighting aggregations in the 1903-1907 period. They quote from a leader in the *Teacher's Journal* (organ of the local Teachers' Association) that criticises several forms of masquerade.

Others less disposed to run, jump and skip about in grotesque habiliments may be seen in bands dressed 'a la negre jardin' parading the streets with fearful looking gasparee sticks in hand. The last are generally not many - eight or ten men composing a band; but what is very remarkable is the great fascination they exercise by their senseless parading, for whereas eight or ten are actively engaged in taking what they choose to call their pleasure, there is always a large crowd of a hundred or more following and bellowing with the utmost power of their lungs the ridiculous *lavway* by which the principal actors are distinguished.

It is the business of these *negre jardins* to use their gasparee sticks with great freedom and *eclat* on the heads of members of rival bands wherever the police are not in evidence or whenever a favourable opportunity presents itself. This is the way they amuse themselves - battering each others heads and making skilful flourishes of a pugnacious nature with their lovely gasparee sticks.

The *lavway* in this description is synonymous with the *la voix* identified by Lion (Chapter II). Noted previously, this music was described by the *Mirror* in 1906 as the

'monstrous minor' and, from Belgrave's account, was the 'calenda' chanted in 'patois' to the accompaniment of tamboo bamboo and bottle and spoon.

These reports of stickbands set the scene for the Carnivals of 1905, 1906 and 1907. In these Lieutenant Colonel Brake (the Inspector General of Police), and his Deputy (G.D.Swain) had to devise methods to keep the peace and rebuild confidence among the black creole population alienated by the actions of Brake, and those under his command, during the Water Riot. Swain was not part of this group, having taken up his appointment in September, 1903.

In its pre-Carnival editorial of 10 February 1904, the *Port of Spain Gazette* was of the opinion that Swain (as Deputy Inspector General) was of a 'thin-skinned disposition' and likely to over-react at what he might perceive as the impropriety of many aspects of the masquerade. In this they appear to have misjudged his character, both on the evidence of his subsequent actions and his own recollections. For example, on his retirement in 1916, Swain reminisced how when he had arrived in Trinidad 'Sgt Major Empson told him if he went about he would be killed, as in the back yards of the town were people who had heaped up stones to assault the police. He [had] replied that notwithstanding that, he intended going round. The Sergeant Major said he would be taking his life in his hands. At all events he went to the yards, and everybody took off their hats and spoke to him with the utmost politeness and civility'. Swain subsequently withdrew the staves, with which the police were armed, first in daytime patrols, then at night.

This combination of trust, courage and determination was to ensure that in tandem Brake and Swain would find means of reducing Carnival violence to a minimum without physical conflict between the constabulary and the populace. The second move made by Swain in this respect was to post police in pickets at particular locations. Stickbands were dispersed and, stickmen arrested. This procedure was first employed during the Carnival of 1905.¹³

Reports in the *Gazette* show that the pre-Carnival period in Port of Spain was somewhat turbulent in 1905. There was a disturbance at a Carnival tent in Charlotte Street on 3 February, and on 11 February Sophia Mattaloney was assaulted by Carry

Watson (in self defence). Remembered by Atilla as a singer of *calisos* Mattaloney had also been involved in the confrontation at the Charlotte Street tent. She was one of a group that egged on Joseph Johnson in an attempt to gain entrance without a ticket. A stick fight between two men in disguise, 'Man Cocoa' and Theopas Mason, took place in Duke Street on 21 February and on the following day a band of thirty or forty men dressed in costume, 'with mimic swords and other weapons, and blowing cow horns', were apprehended in Duke Street. These may have been dressed as wild Indians, as were another band stopped by the police in St. Paul's Street. A dozen men, accompanied by followers (not in costume), 'rushed about the street shouting out Indian cries, and waving about their play swords and thrusting about their lances'. Each of these occurrences was the subject of a court case.

The Carnival took place on 6 and 7 March and reports of the first day in the *Mirror* and the *Port of Spain Gazette* show that the stickfighting bands endeavoured to stage physical conflicts but were curtailed by the police. In addition, a band of Venezuelan soldiers (comprising, it seems, mostly women), staged a mock battle using imitation rifles, once the police had ascertained the replica weapons were 'not harmful'. Many of the early morning '*jouvert*' groups, the *Mirror* noted, 'were attended by bands of music more or less discordant, which, added to the songs peculiar to the season, helped to usher in the brief reign of the Lord of Misrule'.

In its coverage of the second day of the festival the *Mirror* pinpointed 'an excellent band of music' that accompanied a 'very conspicuous' band of masqueraders dressed in yellow and black (led by Mr H. Valère) and also complimented the attire of the Sweet Morning Bells. The *Gazette*, however, observed that 'there was a marked absence of regularly organised bands - better known as "social unions" - and those that made their appearance seemed not to have laboured with the intention of vieing with one another in a point of costume or other distinctions'. This newspaper complained also about the 'carnival songs'.

Although it is not expected that the effusions of the carnival bands should excel in literary attainment, yet in many past instances they have abounded with at least some degree of originality and local pointedness: which cannot fairly be said to

have been the case with those under review. Despite the labours of months devoted to the various bands to the practising of what is known in the masquerade world as "calypsos" the entire carnival muse seemed to have degenerated in to meaningless fragments of verse, occasionally broken by the refrain of "one bois" - a sentiment which we learn found its origin with a masquerade celebrity on being defeated in the course of stick fighting.

Almost certainly this song was about the famous stick fight between Eugene Myler (of the Belmont stick band) and Fitzzy Banray (of the Typin stickband, based in George Street). Myler won the confrontation with one blow - 'one bois', which was commemorated in a *kalenda* chorus remembered by Atilla the Hun:

Fitzzy caree, Myler reve
Un bois faire yeux devire
Les Fitzzy tombe
Tout des yeux despere

Charles Jones (the Duke of Albany) stated that this confrontation took place in 1894. In the light of regular topicality in lyrics, however, account of the song's performance in the *Gazette* suggests the clash took place in 1905. Myler, described as 'Head Stick Fighter of Trinidad' was charged with wounding one William Peters at the corner of Prince and Henry Streets on Carnival Tuesday in 1905. This was probably not the tussle with Banray; it indicates, nevertheless, Myler was active in this period.

There were several injuries from stickfights reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* following the Carnival, as well as a number of court cases involving the activities of fighters. On Shrove Tuesday, Colonel Brake was instrumental in preventing a clash between the combined Corbeau Town and Woodbrook bands, and the Belmont fraternity. The Corbeau Town group, however, made a determined effort to do battle with their rivals. Some members of this aggregation, who had been in Charlotte and Duke Streets during the afternoon declaiming 'a song in which the words "No Surrender, no surrender" were constantly repeated', were 'prosecuted for having been in a band of more than nine armed with sticks'. Another case involved a band of devils who, also on Mardi Gras, attacked a devil dressed in a different colour. Cyril Freeman, the cousin of the individual devil, went to his rescue and was himself attacked by the devil band and, by the Searchlight Band of masked stickmen. The latter included a man named Andrew or Anderson Bernard (perhaps King Pharaoh?).

Following the Carnival the *Gazette* (9 March) expressed surprise at 'the sudden rise once more into the position of an organised set of bands of what are known as the "*negres jardines*" of the several districts', and their 'unusually predisposed determination to fight each other'. An analysis of the Carnival reports in both the *Mirror* and the *Gazette* shows, however, that a great variety of other traditional masques appeared on the two days of the festival. On Carnival Monday these included 'Old Mask' characters such as boot blacks, bull fighters, dancing bears, fishermen (presumably with nets), itinerant courts of justice, and stilt maskers (Moko Jumbie). A covey of male and female bats were seen on Shrove Tuesday and there were several vehicles with masquers from the elite dressed as clowns, fortune tellers, or strange animals. Sweet Evening Bells won the cup, awarded by Stephens & Scott Ltd., for the best (fancy) band. There were also bands of wild Indians (one dressed in blue costumes, the others in red), who competed for a prize for the best dressed group, offered by the La India hostelry.¹⁴

Patrick Jones recalled that the Carnival began to 'improve' again in 1906, the year in which he and Gilbert Scamaroni founded the Khaki and Slate devil band. This may be true, but newspaper evidence points to this significant change having taken place in 1908 (including the first mention of Khaki and Slate). In 1906, however, as in 1905, the *Mirror* identified a few groups in the tradition of earlier fancy bands who paraded on Shrove Tuesday. They competed at the Ice House (hotel) where prizes were offered for dress and artistic apparel. The Sweet Morning Bells Social Union came first. Others present were Ancient Iere, Modern Iere, and the Victoria Social Union. On the same day (28 February) the *Port of Spain Gazette* noted the presence of Tennessee vocalists (minstrels), 'who discoursed well rendered musical items in different parts of the city' and a 'troupe of musicians well dressed in blue Louis XIV costumes', also a band of Ethiopians.

Alongside the music of the *negres jardins* evident the day previous (the *Mirror's* description has been noted earlier), the first day of the festival saw also 'several bands discoursing really good selections of the Terpsichorean order'. Together with the adaptations of blackface minstrel music from North America, these descriptions serve to

demonstrate the three principal strands of Carnival street music in this period: songs performed in minor keys by *negres jardines* and their followers, dance music (played by neatly dressed string bands), and harmonised minstrel songs, performed by blacks in blackface (or, sometimes blacks in white face).

At least two advertising masques took part in the 1906 Carnival; one in favour of Hoster's beer, the other La India gold medal rum. Another prominent feature was the 'young fellows dressed in bathing suits with towels around their necks'. The *Mirror* complained of the '*negre jardin* and the sinuous female with the unprintable name who usually accompany him', as did the *Port of Spain Gazette*. The latter also expressed its indignation at the fishermen with nets who waylaid 'passers by and under threat of ill-treatment' obtained money from their 'victims'.

The feud between the Corbeau Town and Belmont stickbands continued in 1906. There was a clash at the corner of Chacon and Queen Streets on Carnival Tuesday which was quickly put down by the police, although not without injury to one fighter (who appears to have been of the Belmont fraternity). Albert Watson (a leader, presumably of the Corbeau Town group), was arrested and charged with taking part in the fracas.

1906 may also have been the year of a legendary fight equal in its status to that of Eugene Myler's defeat of Fitzzy Banray. This involved 'Feddy Mungo' (or Freddy Manga) of Belmont and 'Caynan', a leader of the Corbeau Town Band. Reputedly, it took place on Shrove Monday. Mungo disabled Caynan with a blow on the mouth that struck out two of his teeth. Subsequently nicknamed 'The Dentist', Mungo's true name was Frederick Maginot. At his death in 1933 it was recalled how he had been a member of the elite Belmont band named Peema, under the leadership of Eugene Myler. Patrick Jones (as Chinee Patrick - his stickfighting name) is said to have been the composer of a *kalenda* on this victory:

Feddy Mungo, *bationier pour vrais*;
Feddy *c'est undentist l'annee sala*
Parceque e tiray deux dents en Corbeau Town
Sans Humanitay

Another popular song in 1906, according to Attila, was *Pauline* (or *Estomac-libas*). Originating in Guadeloupe, he recalled it was sung by Sophie Mattaloney.¹⁵

In 1907 Sophie Mattaloney again featured in a pre-Carnival court case. On this occasion the action was brought by Amelia Holder against Mattaloney and a woman named Estel, who deliberately collided with and then attacked Holder at a dance in a house on Frederick Street on 26 January. From this and her involvement in previous cases it seems likely Mattaloney was of the *diametre* and might have been a 'matador'. A subsequent case (*Mirror*, 23 February 1909), in which she maliciously wounded a man, adds weight to the former supposition.

Newspaper accounts of the Carnival in 1907 concentrate on the *diametre* aspect of the festival. Other than stickbands, they mention only a few advertising masques, a troop of masqueraders fancily dressed as British sailors, and a well-produced caricature of Colonel Brake. Even an upper class parade of decorated carriages at the St. Clair Oval ended in a fiasco. This had been a great success in 1906, but bad organisation and poor funding in 1907 brought about its demise. Comments in the *Port of Spain Gazette* of 12 February sum up the general attitude of the hierarchy towards the masqueraders and their music at this time.

There was a noticeable degeneracy in character as well as in song, and current topics which have been accustomed to afford opportunities for the local song maker were entirely discarded and in place thereof was substituted a monotonous chorus of ribaldry and meaningless jargon to the strains of which the maskers of the feminine sex in particular wrought themselves into contortions sufficient to explode the already accepted theory of vertebrae and human machination.

On the same day the *Mirror* gave details of the 'somewhat bold attempt to arrange a stickfight between the famous Belmont and Corbeau Town Bands'. During the afternoon of Shrove Monday 'an unholy mob of some 400 men' met one another on the Queen's Park Savannah but were persuaded by Deputy Inspector General Swain not to fight. Swain led the mounted police who escorted 'the Corbeau Town contingent' home. As they marched they sang:

Inspector Swain:
Super Bell in five minutes
I'll blow down the town
Ba mois temp

Pon blow down de town

This song, along with the events, was recalled by Clarke and Anthony.

In a court case, reported on 13 February, the combined stickbands, who assembled to fight Belmont were identified: Corbeau Town (possibly known also a 'Man o' War), Rose Hill (or Rosehillians), St James, New Town and/or Woodbrook. On Shrove Monday morning this combination had defeated the 'Typing Band' at the corner of Henry and Queen Streets. Arthur Betty, one of about six 'head men' dressed in *negre jardine* costume was charged with, and convicted of, having taken part in a procession contrary to the Carnival proclamation. Regular stickmen were not costumed. It was noted that the sticks which these bands carried '"miraculously" disappeared on the arrival of the police'.

On Shrove Tuesday, the police began to practise what proved to be one of the principal methods of controlling Carnival stick fights. They took away their sticks.

The only other song that can be associated directly with the 1907 festival is the 'monotonous masquerade refrain in which the "Bonanza's" motor van afforded a universal theme'. This disdainful description formed part of the *Port of Spain Gazette's* report of Tuesday's Carnival, published on Ash Wednesday (13 February). One day later, they complained not only of the stickfighters but 'worse than all, the indecent behaviour of the women in the streets who seemed to imagine that because their faces were hidden they had unbridled licence to misconduct themselves'. They bemoaned, also, how 'the people have harked back to the same old thing' with 'usually meaningless' songs and 'commonplaced' and 'monotonous' music.

Such criticism returns to the attitudes of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, as does a report in the *Gazette* concerning Christmas festivities in 1907. This complained of the 'baccanalia' and how 'even the conduct of church services on Christmas Eve was more or less disturbed by the vulgar vapourings of bands of persons who, without the slightest compunction, wended their way along the public streets amidst the most disgusting scenes which their feelings evidently prompted them to indulge in'. The *Gazette* recommended Carnival-like regulations for the Christmas season, although none were introduced.¹⁶

In the event, 1907 proved to be the apex of the revival of past *diametre* culture in Carnival. From 1908, reports of the festival and other evidence indicate a slow change in the way in which the masquerade was celebrated. This culminated in a renewed interest in patriotism at the commencement of the First World War.

'Hackneyd' refrains, tamboo bamboo, and Devil Bands 1908-1912

There are two factors in the administration of the Carnival that changed in 1908. First, G.D. Swain had succeeded Colonel Brake as Inspector General of Constabulary. Second, Bonanza (Smith Brothers) organised a well-supported competition for the best dressed band. Bonanza, whose 'motor van' had featured in the street songs of the 1907 Carnival, were also joined by Wilson's (another Port of Spain retailer), who ran a parallel competition.

Just before the Carnival, on 1 March, the *Port of Spain Gazette* published one of its regular tirades against the celebration. As with earlier complaints and comments this provides useful contemporary evidence for the festival and its music. After hoping for improvement in the masquerade following the provision of prizes by 'three or four of the leading firms', they turned their attention to the Carnival songs:

Next year prizes should be offered for good part singing which should result in making the people learn to appreciate a better class of music than those who usually wind up with the hackneyed *sans humanité* pitched in the minor key. Music is one of the arts of which people are particularly fond and that they have the facility of acquiring skill in this art is generally admitted; but such music as is heard at Carnival is not of the kind likely to give a visitor a very favourable impression of the musical talent of the people. It has of course its distinctive features and the Venezuelan impress is very strongly marked in the basic parts; but its chief failing is the lack of the charm of variety.

The complaint against singing in the minor tone was to be repeated time and again, as was the campaign against the stickfighting phrase *sans humanité*, used to conclude each verse. The identification of a Venezuelan component in the music confirms a trend that began in the late nineteenth century.

In its summary of activities on the first day of Carnival the *Mirror* (3 March) expressed a contrary view of the musical ability of carnival bands.

The units in question made 'their round of the streets and offices entertaining those establishments with songs, dances, instrumental selections and other more or less funny business'. Their musical instruments were 'guitars, banjos, and quattros'. From this, and a description of a 'Yankee coon band' who regaled the staff [at the *Mirror's* offices] with a couple of plantation ditties sung in good style and added a sort of clog dance', it seems that minstrel troupes were the subject of the *Mirror's* observations.

In its report on the activities on Shrove Tuesday the *Mirror* maintained its criticism of the music. Its object was the tunes played by competing bands as they marched through the streets. They complained that "'God save the King" and "Rule Britannia"', were the predominant British songs performed and the only 'brave' exception (in European-style music) 'the strong notes of the "Marseillaise"' played by a band 'led by M.Louis Arenal, the French globe-trotter'. In the light of the many earlier objections to Carnival music, this criticism appears to have been aimed at the compromise presented by bands competing for awards for best costume. It is indicative of a superior attitude towards the festival that, at times, was adopted by virtually all sections of the hierarchy as a means of sustaining their belief in values of European 'high' culture.

The first three prizes in the Bonanza competition were taken by the Tiger Cat Social Union (sponsored by a liquor store in Belmont), the Khaki And Slate devil band, and the Crown Lion Social Union. (Crown Lion was another Belmont liquor store). Tiger Cat also took first prize in Wilson's competition, with Crown Lion placed in second position.

Regular masques included clowns, court luminaries, a giant-headed individual, soldiers, and a spate of 'Yankee sailors' (occasioned by a recent visit of the U.S. Pacific fleet). There were also numerous people dressed in the costume of a king's jester. Possibly at this time, Colonel Swain prohibited the '*Moko Jumbie*' which he had found 'to be indecent'. The efforts of the police to control stickfighters by confiscating their weapons, were very successful. Good relations with both masqueraders and the general populace were maintained.

The oratorical pattern which, since 1900, had become a feature of calypsos sung in the English language, was not confined to performances in calypso tents. Eloquent

speeches on contemporary topics were featured by other inheritors of the wordsmith tradition, exemplified in the nineteenth century by the pierrot or *pays roi*. The latter's twentieth-century antithesis (in terms of costume) were the shabbily dressed Pierrot Grenade. This description may conform with the two 'nondescripts' who visited the offices of the *Mirror* on the morning of Shrove Tuesday. One, dressed 'in a swallow tail coat, beaver hat and yellow knee breeches' (which did not match either the hat or coat) 'proceeded with a most graphic, harrowing and-oh! it was an 'orrible tale of the assassination of poor King Carlos'. This concerned the death of the King and Crown Prince of Portugal, who had been killed while driving through the streets of Lisbon on 1 February. On occasion, therefore, topicality can be seen to have been a feature of masques, orations by individual masquers, and the songs of Carnival band chantwells.

Word play in singing was not exclusive to Trinidadians, as is demonstrated by a report of the Carnival in San Fernando, published by the *Mirror* on 4 March. In 1908, the Golden Star band had as their songster 'a native of Little England' (Barbados). The report continued, 'this son of Bimshire had more adjectives and adverbs at his disposal [in comparison with other singers] - no matter whether they were misused or not'. With this advantage, Gold Star won the singing competition.¹⁷ Similar tournaments in Port of Spain, with prizes awarded by benefactors, are not noted in the press until 1911.

That there were no organised song competitions between bands in the capital did not mean that masquerade groups did not sing *fatigues* or *picongs* against one another when they met whilst parading in the streets. The tradition of sung challenges probably originated in the activities of stickbands in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, if not before. With the advent of Fancy Bands, however, sung insults were not intended to arouse the ire of opponents with a view to physical conflict. The Duke of Albany, Clarke and Anthony, and others, each remembered stanzas from the early 1900s that originated when chantwells, at the head of their respective bands, disparaged their rivals in song as they marched through the town. Newspaper reports of Carnival verses, such as those printed in the *Mirror* in 1909 and 1910, and the recollections of Atilla, show the practice continued into the 1910s.¹⁸

The *Mirror* noted that Carnival of 1909 commenced 'with cries of "*jou ouvert*". This, on the basis of the evidence of Charles Jones, was the same cry that Lafcadio Hearn had heard sung by a group of *diablesses* (female devils) during the Carnival of 1888 in St. Pierre, Martinique:

"*Jou ouve?*" (Is it yet daybreak?)'
[chanted by the 'tallest among the Devilesses', who always walked in front of the band, to the response by the rest of the contingent]

"*Jou pa' nco ouvrè'?*" (It is not daybreak)'

In parallel, Jones ascribed the same cry to 'the band of Old Mask called Jour Ouvert' who chanted this call and response phrase 'as the bells struck six on Monday morning'. 'Dressed as the proverbial witch' they 'wore tall hats, long black robes and carried long sticks to lean on'.

In 1909, the *Mirror* went on, Old Mask also included 'the usual hideous and dirty looking maskers making the greatest noise on old tins, graters and other discordant instruments'. Other characters 'early on the warpath' were 'the fishermen, baliffs and similar gentry who [made] Carnival a commercial affair'. These, or equivalent representations, are classified by Charles Jones under the category of Old Mask [Ol' Mas'] in his recollections of this period.

There were three competitions on Shrove Tuesday. One was run by the La India establishment for the best dressed wild Indian band. It was won by the Blue Indians of Belmont. The other two were for the best dressed band, and cups in both instances were awarded to the Khaki and Slate devil band. This group, reported the *Mirror*, was attended by:

'minstrels in the shape of a string band, which was decidedly refreshing in its departure from the conventional tune [sung by most of the other groups] and giving a new one to which the members of the band sang the following:

"Monarchs and warriors come one come all,
Monarchs don't you hear the bugle blow,
It's time to satisfy King Lucifer at the gate"

repeating the last line in a different way...All the members were uniformly dressed as also were the musicians, and they walked in time to the tune as they sang.'

The *Mirror* stated that 'there was an absence of organised singing despite the last six weeks of regular practise

"You can't beat the Saylor Boy"

being the universal refrain with but slight variation'.

'Saylor Boy', a successful Trinidad race horse, was celebrated by a Belmont-based masquerade band, the Saylor Social Union. In parade, the *Mirror's* reporter heard them "'Singing Gloria" to themselves and saying they were "bound to rule the day".'

A few more 'of the doggerels sung about the streets' were also printed by the *Mirror*:

"Merry Sandy yon dunno
You can't beat they Saylor Boy, you can't."

and to the same tune:

"I didn't tell you so,
They can't stand we fire brand, they can't",

and finally, sung by a picturesque little band in cream and blue colours:

"I didn't want to bother but I must go, (*bis*)
And claim the cup Mardi Carnival".'

The *Port of Spain Gazette* was as unenthusiastic as usual about the songs and the festival in general, although it gave a fair report of the second day's proceedings. In a post-Carnival editorial (25 February), their complaints and observations harked back to late nineteenth-century attitudes.

Despite being disguised, Percy Joseph (alias Gold Chain), was spotted by the police on the first day of the Carnival. The king of a masquerade band, 'Gold Chain' had beaten his 'chantwell' Joseph Assam for not singing loud enough at a practice on 3 February. A warrant for his arrest, on a charge of assault and beating, was issued two days later. He was convicted and sentenced to three months hard labour. It is tempting to believe that Assam might be the correct name for one 'Ashton' against whom, Atilla the Hun remembered, Moro the Rebeller sang a *picong* during the Carnival of 1910:

But look at Ashton going down the road
But look at Ashton going down the road
King Corbeau Master Booker A Doll
Finger Smith *qui jenre ou yay*.¹⁹

In its report on the first day of Carnival in 1910 (8 February), the *Port of Spain Gazette* was consistent in its criticism of 'the same ribaldry, indecent gestures, and meaningless jargon (doing duty for song)'. On the same day, however, the *Mirror* took a different attitude in its coverage of the event. While not complimentary toward the masqueraders, or their songs, it provided a detailed description of some of the refrains heard on Shrove Monday. In the early morning 'J'ouvert' parade when 'the dirtiest shabbiest and most grotesque costumes imaginable' were worn. The paper noted the song of one group disguised as prisoners:

'Hold your cup for the ginger tea
Hold your cup the matron behind you'

Other verses heard during the day included one reflecting a crackdown on stickfighting by Eric Blackwood Wright, a magistrate who had taken up his appointment in Trinidad in November 1909:

As far as could be gathered there was hardly any fighting, which is easily explained by the following refrain:

"I don't want to fight,
'Cause I 'fraid Mr Blackwood Wright'.

The report continued:

The races, as usual seemed to have been the chief topic of the monotonous ditties, the following being the most popular, in celebration of Sangschaw's victory:

"Come down with your Sangschaw *manema*"

The Barbadians sang:

"Houghton ran away and
You can't find the Saylor Boy".

To which the local patriots replied:

"Houghton win the race, but
We still love the Saylor Boy"

The cricket was the next subject of their song and a fine band of cricketers representing the Trinidad eleven, with implements, umpire, silver cup, &c. &c, went about singing some very original appropriate refrains, such as:

"Hurrah! hurrah! Trinidadians gained the victory
Barbadians ah! You fell like Lucifer
Constantine, Constantine
He can play the cricket fine
Mr Hart took up his bat

Mr Small sent down his ball
Cipriani bowl the men
And he gained the victory
Sans Humanité!"

The recent fire at Alston's lumber yard was alluded to in the following manner:

"Going round the town, I heard the alarm
Alston burning down (D.C.)
Insurance Company has to pay the expenses"

The almost forgotten romance of the nun and the leper was also touched upon.

There were many other similar refrains which could not be easily caught, but on the whole the singing was a trifle better than last year's.

As is evident, these choruses were performed by individual masquerade groups as they paraded the streets in competition. Thus bands representing the race horse Sangshaw, and the All Trinidad Cricketers participated in the competition for the best dressed band, organised by the 'Bonanza' store on Mardi Gras. The cup was won by Red Dragon (a devil band).

On the basis of Atilla's evidence, 1910 is probably the occasion that a *picong* was composed against the winners of the previous year, Khaki and Slate, whose 'Lucifer' had been imprisoned for theft. This was an era of devil bands and Atilla recalled several of the *picongs* from the period, performed one band against another. Lyrics to the songs were part in French Creole and part in English. Atilla also remembered two songs from Barbados that entered the Trinidad repertoire at this time *He Is A Dude* (or *See My Little Brown Boy*) and *Payne Dead* (or *Murder in the Market/Stone Cold Dead In The Market*).²⁰

The pattern of the masquerade in 1911 remained similar to that which had begun in 1908, when the police, under Colonel Swain, began systematically confiscating weapons from any stickfighter who chose to appear in the streets. The *Mirror* (28 February) once again provides a useful summary of the music performed on the first day of the festival. There were more spectators than participants but 'small hustling bands of masqueraders' appeared as the day progressed. They:

jumped all over the streets, shouting at the pitch of their voices their various senseless chants. The meaning of them was shrouded in patois, but others were distinctly obscene.

Saylor Boy and Mickey Cipriani, however, were the principal themes though the Barbadians with Houghton also occupied a very prominent position.

The paper went on:

There was a gratifying absence of several forms of objectionable masks, such as "nasty-masks", fishermen, etc. The negres jardins and pierrots were few and on the whole in this direction there was a great improvement. With regard to the others, they were the usual disguises, but a pleasant feature was the increase of string bands and the decrease of tinpans, bamboo, graters and bottle and spoon bands.

The use of bamboo stamping tubes in Carnival parades is first confirmed in this account, although it shows that they had become a familiar sight by this time.

On the same day the *Gazette* complained of masqueraders 'from every nook and corner of the city and its surroundings' who repeated '*ad nauseom* [sic] the meaningless refrain of "Oh poh me one, too much uh dem pun Sailor Boy" the solitary variation being the chorus of :- "Too much Barbajan in de lan' de most uh dem is cartah man"'. This song, *Po' Me One*, was well remembered into the 1950s, by old-time carnival participants. Another popular calypso that dates from 1911 was recalled by Egbert Moore (who took the name Lord Beginner, when he became a calypsonian in the 1920s). Composed by Norman le Blanc, the song described the death of a Canadian jockey named Charlie Phair. He was killed riding a horse named West Dean in the Turf Club races at the Queen's Park Savannah, Port of Spain, on 2 January. Beginner also confirmed that many of the Carnival chants in this period were sung in French Creole, including songs of longstanding (dating from the nineteenth century).

As has been noted, 1911 is the first year for which a Carnival song competition can be confirmed in Port of Spain. Organised by the '"Jubilee" establishment"', the cup for 'the most original song on a local topic' was won by a band named Peep Of Day. Second were the Fighting Cocks. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (1 March) also reported that the cup for the best dressed band (presented by the Petit Glacier Establishment) was won by the Red Lion Band. The Red Dragons came second. For the third consecutive year the La India Establishment sponsored a competition for the best band of wild Indians. In 1911 this was won by the Belmont Wild Indian Band. Traditional masques that maintained their presence in the festival included bakers, Barbadian cooks, clowns, devils and sailors.

Post-Carnival court cases featured several men of East Indian ancestry who were indicted for being armed with sticks. One, named Tambie, is probably the Chin Tambie recalled in the 1950s, and may be one of the 'Tumblin Brothers' whom the Calypsonian Wilmoth Houdini said had taught him stick play.²¹

The reminiscences of such as Houdini (Frederick Wilmoth Hendricks) and Beginner, together with those of Atilla the Hun, serve to confirm newspaper accounts, and show the interrelated nature of calypso and other Carnival music in this period. This is especially true of the string bands who played different classes of music for different social functions throughout Trinidad society.

The reports of black dance orchestras in the late 1840s by Charles William Day, and the mention of the Creole band in the 1860s, by José M. Bodu, are likely to refer to string-based units. It has also been shown that during the 1890s a Spanish (or rather Venezuelan) impress became a significant component in the repertoire of Trinidad string bands. Local 'Spanish' compositions by J. and Albert Coggins (who may be the same person), and performances by the Coggins String Orchestra are noted between 1890 and 1896. At the time of the Carnival of 1898 the *Mirror* could single out flutes, violins or guitars, without drums, in parades. The music played was associated with people of 'Spanish' descent. In the same year the *Port of Spain Gazette* indicated the popularity of the cuatro and clarinet as well as the ever present shack shack. These instruments all became associated with the accompaniment of calypso singers when they performed in the tents of Carnival bands.

During and outside the festival this complement, together with the piano, provided the music for dances. Thus, in 1902, the Eclipse String Band played at a pre-Carnival dance and also paraded in the streets during the two days of celebration. Newspaper evidence shows that the string band led by Mr Martinez was engaged similarly on occasion. There was also 'Belasco's Renowned String Band', whose appearances at a Fête Champetre (1903), Carnival Ball (1904), a pre-Carnival Agricultural Show (1905), and a Carnival Concert and Fancy Dress Ball in Princes Town (1907) are all noted in the press. Denis Walton ran another of these units.

According to a report in the *West India Committee Circular* (7 May 1912) an all-string aggregation with a slightly different purpose was founded early in 1911:

The amenities of social life in Trinidad have been added to by the formation of the Trinidad Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Orchestra organised on January 11th 1911 by Mr D. E. Hyndman in co-operation with Messrs E.Durity, M.Bornu, W. Woods, D. Figeroux, J.A. Joseph, G. Durity, A.McIntosh and J.D.Donawa. Its object has been to afford pleasure. Under the careful direction of Mr D. E. Hyndman much progress has been made. The repertoire of the orchestra includes classical as well as popular music and its services are in constant demand not only for Home Concerts but also for amusing the inmates of the different Government Institutions. During last year an inaugural "At Home" was held at Greyfriars Hall, Frederick Street, Port of Spain, on May 29th in the presence of some of the leading musicians of Port of Spain and an appreciative audience.

Other concerts followed with a view to raising funds for the purchase of 'musical instruments for the band'. A photograph shows that the orchestra had an all-male complement, comprising black and 'coloured' creoles and one individual of Chinese ancestry. There were two banjo players, four mandolinists, a cuatro player, four guitarists and two players whose plucked cordophones are not distinguishable. (Only nine of these performers were named in the *Circular*).²² The broad base of their repertoire gives an indication of the versatility of string musicians in Trinidad in this period.

Musical diversity and its relationship to the Carnival is exemplified further in a pre-festival report published by the *Argos*, on 15 February 1912:

For the past month persons were seen in gorgeous costumes wending their way through the City, some bound for the spacious commodious ballrooms that the city boasts of, some for the decorated tents (made of bamboo) where they assemble to practise carisoes (masquerade songs) and regulate other transactions.

Music is generally supplied by those [band] members who possess a little of the coveted art. They arm themselves with guitars, quartros [*sic*] shac-shacs, veras, and two short pieces of bomboo [*sic*] which they strike one against the other. Occasionally a stray violinist is seen among them. The chantrels (leading songsters) assume the highest titles possible, such as "King Pharaoh", "Prince Bismark", "Duke of Wellington", "Lord Ironside", etc. Some of them are very amusing, for while singing a competition (careso combat), they try to outclass each other by exhibiting the amount of scholastic training they possess. By far the best of our City chantrels is "Executor", at whose command the others surrender verbally.

Other aspects of the festival mentioned in this dispatch included wild Indians (and their special language), stickfighters, and friendly house visits (culminating in dancing - waltzes, paseos, cakewalks, etc. - to 'harmonious strains').

The *Argos* confirms a pattern of pre-Carnival dances, in ballrooms and as part of a tradition of house-to-house visits. By implication, ensembles generally featured string instruments. Larger more sophisticated orchestras were employed in the dance halls. The instruments specified to accompany 'chantrels' in the tents of Carnival bands show a mix of string and percussion. (The two pieces of bamboo struck one against the other are known as *qua qua*). As has been noted, Charles Jones indicated that the flute and clarinet were also used in Carnival-tent accompaniments.

Picong or 'careso combat' between leading songsters was also recalled by Charles Jones. The article in the *Argos*, however, is the earliest contemporary reference found for this singing tradition. Likewise, it is the first mention found for the indomitable calypsonian Lord Executor. King Pharaoh has been identified previously. As with British nomenclature the Duke of Wellington may be another sobriquet used by Iron Duke (or Julian White Rose).

The Carnival of 1912 (held on 19 and 20 February) was not well received by either the *Mirror* or the *Port of Spain Gazette*. The former's report of the first day expressed disgust at:

the masquers as they paraded the streets creating a din with tin pans, graters, bottles, spoons and bamboos, with here and there the tinkle of a discordant cuatro, guitar or flute &c. A shriek here, a yell there, a long drawn droning chant, a fierce war whoop [were also singled out].

As usual, the *Gazette* complained of 'indecent gestures' and 'Carnival' ditties [that] were equally ribald and meaningless'. The 'money mendicants' received opprobrium but there was consolation in reporting that the 'net catchers' (fishermen) had been stopped. In addition, 'sticks were taken away from roughs although [the weapons had been] dressed up like broom sticks to escape detection'.

Teams of masqueraders playing bamboos accompanied by percussion seem to have become a prominent feature of early-morning Carnival parades in this period. Their emergence in the festival may not be coincidental with the rigorous control of *battonier* bands but another counteraction to suppression by the authorities. In all this, stickfighting

kalenda and tamboo bamboo represented the defiant and sometimes violent extremity of black creole society, that did not conform with colonial ideas of decorum.

More acceptable to the *Gazette* (and, by inference, the *Mirror*), were the "Yanks" with their banjoes and tambourines. The double play of blacks masquerading in black (or white) face was lost on the colonial hierarchy.

The *Mirror* and the *Gazette* continued to express their dissatisfaction with the Carnival songs in respective reports of the second day of the festival. The former identified clowns, devils, drunken sailors and wild Indians as the most popular costumes. Results of two competitions were announced in the *Gazette*. That run by the Tiger Cat establishment (for the best dressed band) was won by Navy Dock, with the Imperial Syndicate coming second. The first prize in the La India competition went to the Dry River Wild Indians.²³

Trinidad Paseo: the first commercial recordings by a string band, 1912

At the end of April 1912 the *Port of Spain Gazette* announced enthusiastically that Lovey's Band - one of the island's foremost string bands - was soon to embark on a tour of the United States. By implication, the visit was a result of 'intense delight' in their performances 'expressed by the number of tourists, chiefly American, who [had] lately visited' Trinidad. The Americans had 'strongly advised' the Band to make the trip.

The *Gazette* reported Lovey's ensemble had sustained 'an all-conquering existence [for] over twelve years'. This suggests it was founded in the same period calypso began to be sung in English. It might have been the 'Port of Spain String Band' who provided the music for a 'Grand Disguised Concert' given by the Stingo Cricket Club just before the Carnival in 1899. Creole dance music - 'Spanish Valses and Paseos' - was Lovey's speciality. 'The particular time and plaintif minor characteristic of this style', the newspaper noted in 1912, could not 'fail to meet with the approval of those who [heard] it'.

Like the 'professional band of Port of Spain', encountered by Charles William Day in the late 1840s, 'the majority of' Lovey's band had 'no technical knowledge of music and for the most part play[ed] by ear'. Each musician, however, was 'a master of the particular instrument he play[ed] and at the same time [could] play with considerable skill half-a-dozen other instruments'.

The reliance on playing by ear, by most of the members of the Band, indicates that this was a longstanding tradition in creole music in Trinidad. It almost certainly dates from the time slaves began to adapt musical instruments of European design for their own purposes and existed throughout the nineteenth century. At the same time, this demonstrates the underprivileged position of the majority of black musicians in the island. They probably had little opportunity to learn European music formally, even if they had so wished.

Lovey's ensemble epitomised string bands in Trinidad during the first years of the twentieth century. Their primary instruments were:

<i>braga</i>	Cleto Chacha
clarinet	W. Edwards
<i>cuatro</i> (or <i>quatro</i>)	C. Eugene Bernier
	F. A. Harte
double bass	Patrick L. Johnson
flute	P. Branche
guitar	D. Black
	L. Demile
<i>triolet</i> (also listed as mandolin)	Louis Schneider
piano	E. B. Butcher
violin	George R. L. Baillie (Lovey)
	-first violin and leader
	L. Betancourt - second violin

[The exact design of the *braga* has not been determined. It is assumed the *triolet* is a form of mandolin on the basis of the *Mirror* listing Schneider as playing the last named instrument].

Described as the 'Trinidad Dance Orchestra' for their American tour, the twelve members were fitted out with uniforms for the first time. They were scheduled to depart on the Royal Dutch Mail Steam Ship '*Saramacca*' on 7 May.

The evening before they left for the United States a farewell concert was organised for the benefit of the Orchestra. It was held at the Prince's Building under the patronage of the Governor of the Colony, Sir George R. Le Hunte. Funds were raised to help pay local expenses incurred by the band's members during their trip abroad. The Orchestra appeared in their new uniforms and played a Spanish Waltz, Two Step, Waltz and Paseo from their latest repertoire. All of these were received with zest. Other musicians also took part, including the banjo player G. Durity, of the Trinidad Banjo, Mandoline and Guitar Orchestra.

On the morning of 7 May 'music enthusiasts' besieged the Queen's wharf in Port of Spain in order to give a grand send off for Lovey's ground-breaking expedition.

The '*Saramacca*' reached New York on 13 May. It is not known what engagements the Orchestra was able to secure in the United States. They did, however, make commercial recordings for the two principal competitors in America: the Victor Talking Machine Company, and the Columbia Graphophone Company.

On 20 June 1912, eight titles were recorded for Victor. They comprised five Trinidad Paseos, two Spanish Valses and a Tango Argentino. Some of the composer designations were to members of the band. The recordings were released in four consecutive couplings in Victor's Latin American series. They were credited to 'Lovey's String Band' on record labels. In a 1922 Victor Spanish American catalogue, however, they were described as by 'Lovey's Mixed Band' or 'Banda Mixta Lovely' in the respective Trinidad and Venezuela sections. This may be a reference to the mixed-creole ancestry of the band's members, evident in a photograph published in a Columbia catalogue. Unfortunately, the black and white image is not distinct enough to distinguish the band's special instruments but the trim of their uniform confirms a description in the *Port of Spain Gazette* of 27 April 1912. This states that the costumes were 'made in the form of a dinner jacket suit of a dark green material, with a crimson roll collar and trimmed in gold'. Each member wore a white shirt, bow tie, and a peaked cap.

Much less is known of the session the band undertook for Columbia. It is believed that this also took place in June 1912 but the number of titles which were recorded is

uncertain. Of those that have been recovered three were described as Vals, and three as Paseo. As with the Victor releases some of the composer credits were to members of the Orchestra. The group was described as 'Lovey's Band, Trinidad, British W.I.' or '*Orquesta Tipica de Trinidad reconocido por Banda de Lovey*' on record labels. These records seem to have been issued in a special series for the Trinidad market and, in some instances, Columbia's popular Spanish-American catalogue.

The rhythm descriptions in the recordings available indicate that Vals and Spanish Valse, together with the Tango Argentina, were generally allocated to titles expressed in Spanish. The Paseos (designated 'Pasillos' in Victor's 1922 Spanish American catalogue) were usually creole titles. Examples include *Discie You Doan Know De Law* (Columbia L29), *Pauline* (Columbia 2727), *Oil Fields* (Victor 63790) and *Trinidad Paseo* (Victor 63793). The first named is possibly an instrumental version of a calypso, while *Pauline* may be the melody for *Estomac-li bas*, the French creole song which Atilla states arrived in Trinidad from Guadeloupe in 1906. Some tunes, such as *Mango Vert*, are recognised Trinidad folk melodies, although they might also be cross-fertilisations with others from the circum Caribbean.

The 1912 recordings by Lovey's Band present a useful cross-section of popular dance music in Trinidad at this time. They also give some indication of the way in which this music had evolved from a complexity of influences both inside and outside the island. The 'Spanish' element in the Orchestra's repertoire meant that record companies perceived a market for their music in countries other than Trinidad and, in particular, Venezuela.

It is not known when the Band returned to Trinidad. Advertisements for their recordings for Victor, however, began to appear in the *Port of Spain Gazette* from 17 August. These were placed by Strong's Piano Warehouse (a local agent) and Waterman the Hatter (who claimed to have been the first in Trinidad to have received the records).²⁴ Contemporary advertisements for Lovey's 1912 recordings for Columbia have not yet been located.

'Songs without words' and the demise of the *diametre* bands 1913-1914

'Lovey's full String Band of 14 men in Costume' were one of the attractions at a Concert in the Prince's Building on 28 January 1913. This was just before the Carnival, a celebration that the *Port of Spain Gazette* once more criticised in a pre-festival editorial (on 2 February). They attacked 'The Crying Shame of Trinidad' on grounds of immorality. This was a regular complaint. Of greater interest is a list of past suggestions for the Carnival's 'betterment'. None of these, they claimed, had been put into effect:

prizes awarded on voting tickets: prizes for bands, male and female characters, local songs and local music, obscenity or vulgarity in dress or costume to disqualify any competitor; the confining of the carnival procession to a few streets of the town; prizes for best decorated vehicles, floral tournaments, organised competitions, etc.

Several of these ideas were to be incorporated in the festival as the century progressed.

Following the celebration in 1912 the *Argos* had pinpointed the main costume that caused 'offence' to the prudish in the elite. These were men and women dressed as *Diametres*. On the demise of the stickmen, these stylised costumes depicting underworld characters were one of the last vestiges of late nineteenth-century Carnivals. The *Argos*' reporter believed that the dry goods merchants held the key to reform:

For instance, instead of having their show cases dressed with samples of "*diametre*" men and women and such like monstrosities, might not the Frederick Street merchants substitute figures of continental peasants, Spanish toreadors, milkmaids, Danish women etc.

These merchants, he suggested, should offer prizes 'for the best dressed band of a certain costume exhibited in their show cases'. In addition the Government was advised to prohibit the *Diametre* costume.

Reports of the Carnival in 1913 reflect this general attitude towards the event. Held on 3 and 4 February, there do not appear to have been any organised competitions during the two days of the festival.

'A rotten show' was the gist of the description of the first day in the *Port of Spain Gazette* (4 February). No 'obscene songs' were heard, but 'indecent gestures' were seen in 'plenty'. The *Mirror* (of the same date) gave further information on the music:

As to the "singing", this department was always considered absurd and by some even disgusting but in spite of that there were still one or two grains of sense to be

picked out of them, but this time it is impossible to apply any epithets to the "songs" for there are none; all that is heard being the twang of instruments or the beating of bamboos. In some isolated instances one gets a hint of something relating to Reform and another song which is extremely obscene but on the whole the carnival refrains are songs without words.

A similar sentiment was expressed in the *Gazette* on the day following, noting how the bands 'sang (?) the same "meaningless nonsense"'. The report hardly mentioned the costumes of the masqueraders. Coverage of the second day of Carnival in the *Mirror*, however, provided some particulars:

There was the same throwing back of the shirt and dress which characterises the *diamette* man and woman. There were a few bands which deviated from this course, however, but these could be counted on the fingers of one hand. The chief of these were "Navy Dock", "Demonites" and "Dragons" who were all disguised as demons. There was a goodly sprinkling of Wild Indians and clowns, the former of which seems to be the substitute of the "*negre jardin*", which has been put down by the police, the swords of the Indians forming effective weapons in a general mix up.

There was one decorated vehicle that had travelled to Port of Spain from San Fernando.

One of the songs of the season (though not necessarily performed in the streets) was almost certainly Lord Executor's *Mr Pointer the Labour Member*. This reflected on the visit to Trinidad in October 1912 of Joseph Pointer, Member of the British Parliament for Attercliffe (Sheffield, Yorkshire). Elected on the ticket of the fledgling Labour Party, Pointer had come at the invitation of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association, for whom he lobbied in the House of Commons. According to Atilla, the *Port of Spain Gazette* attempted to lampoon Pointer and Executor composed a double tone calypso in response:

Hand me the <i>Port of Spain</i> ,	} [Repeat]
And read the <i>Mirror</i> once more again,	
Zee gee dee, zee gee dee marble stone	
Ah what a burning shame	
They sang a schoolboy quotation	
To a man of education	

This became a famous riposte.

Strong's Piano Warehouse advertised Lovey's recordings for Victor as 'Masquerade Music' in the *Port of Spain Gazette* during the period of the Carnival'.²⁵

The singing of 'obscene songs' (and old-time lyrics in French Creole), the beating of bamboos in procession, and the presence of bands dressed in *Diametre* costumes indicates the strength of resistance by masqueraders to continuing calls by the elite for

reform of the festival. This is true also for those dressed as wild Indians who took on something of the mantle of the suppressed *negre jardin* stickmen.

The defiant stance of the *Diametre* bands in the Carnival of 1913 - when they appear to have flaunted themselves in a way that caused great offence to the authorities - led to the masque being banned. The costume was prohibited for the first time in the Constabulary Notices for the Carnival of 1914. There was an immediate response by masqueraders. Some bands changed their vestments at once to close equivalents such as the Millionaires Union and Tourist Syndicate, both of whom participated in the 1914 festival.

The call for renewal of sponsorship for Carnival competitions was heeded in 1914. Two were organised by the proprietors of the Humming Bird Bar of New Town and the Green Coconut Tree of St James. An advertisement placed in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 14 February indicated that these hostelrys were:

offering PRIZE CUPS (one each for the best dressed Carnival Bands attired in the most original costumes each band to be composed of 25 or more members). Six bottles (at each establishment) of the famous 7 YEARS OLD SPECIAL RUM [was to] be awarded for the best song or chorus in which the merits of the drink sold at these establishments forme[d] the theme.

There was a special condition that the 'songs or choruses *must not* include the meaningless *sans humanité*'. This was part of a longstanding effort to alter the traditional form of calypso and *lavways*. The majority of songsters and masquerade choruses continued to ignore this interference, as the *Gazette* (25 February) was to confirm in its report on the second day of the festival:

none of the bands sang any properly composed songs, most of the songs having a jingle of words uttered with lightning-like rapidity and ending with the monotonous *sans humanité*.

They were also disappointed with the 'Yankee troupes', of which there were only one or two. None 'sang anything lively as in former years'.

The day before the *Mirror* had declared that the first day of Carnival had been 'not worth looking at': 'the disguises [were] poor, the singing wretched and the weather bad'. There were also one or two fights, including a confrontation involving a King and Queen

of a Red Indian band and a bystander who attempted to take on the whole band. Lovey's band provided the music for the 'Hermitage Dance', held at the Prince's Building.

In its report of 25 February the *Mirror* was much more positive about the second day of the masquerade. There were 'many more bands, well organised and dressed, with string instruments...'

The competitions at the Humming Bird were won respectively by Cavalry (singing) and Sons of Evil (dress). The last named (a devil band) also received a special prize at the Green Coconut Tree. Similar competitions were held at the Surprise Parlour. In these Athlete won the singing prize, and the Columbine Yankee Band the prize for the best song on a 'Yankee Shaker'. Red Dragon took the award for dress. At the Souls in Purgatory Hall prizes were given to the Demonites, Millionaires Union and Imperial Syndicate (in order of merit).²⁶

The revival of sponsored competitions (in particular the introduction of categories for singing), together with the advent of recordings by local performers, were to have a profound effect on the evolution of Carnival music.

Iron Duke In The Land and Bagai sala que pocheray moin: the first commercial recordings of 'calipso' and kalenda, 1914

It is believed that personnel of the Columbia Graphophone Company visited Trinidad in about August 1914, to make further recordings by Lovey's Band. As with their 1912 session for the same company, few particulars are available. The records that have been recovered indicate that the dance rhythms the band performed remained much as before. Three Valses, two Paseos and a Trinidad Tango are known to have been recorded. Composer credits for some of these melodies link them to leaders of other Trinidad string bands. In particular, these are the Valses *La Caja*, by J.A.Coggin, and *Centenario*, by Dennis Walton, and the Paseo *La Criolla* by Coraspe Martinez. Assuming they are the same personalities, each of these band leaders has been mentioned previously.

While Columbia's early operations in the Trinidad market remain shrouded in obscurity, this is not the case for the Victor Talking Machine Company. Alerted by the success of their 1912 recordings by Lovey (and those released by Columbia), in mid August 1914, they sent a representative, Theodore Terry, to organise sessions in the island. Their engineers, George K.Cheney and Charles Althouse, arrived in Trinidad on the S.S. *Matura* on 27 August, and by this time, Terry had made arrangements with a number of performers. The *Mirror* (28 August) published a similar account of the Victor Company's objectives to that quoted from the *Port of Spain Gazette* (Chapter I). The former, however, stipulated 'Paseos' instead of 'Pasillos' and 'Calypso' instead of 'Carnival' songs. They also provided a few extra particulars:

We understand that Mr Henry Julian, formerly of 'White Rose' has been practising assiduously for the above purpose and that several other bands and performers have been engaged.

Excepting 6 September, recording sessions were held every day between the 3rd and 16th of the month. Victor's principal artist was the pianist and well-known string band leader, Lionel Belasco. Henry Julian (Iron Duke/Julian White Rose) recorded under the sobriquet J.Resigna. As noted (in Table V) the other participants were Jules Sims (whose *kalendas* were sung in French Creole), S.M. Akberali and Gellum Hossein (of East Indian ancestry), and the Orquesta de Venezolana de Chargo (probably made up of Trinidad creoles, some of Venezuelan origin).

Unfortunately, the majority of 78 r.p.m. gramophone records issued from these sessions have not been recovered. Much of the evidence available about them, therefore, is secondary and more open to interpretation than would otherwise have been the case. In addition, as has been pointed out in Chapter I, many of the recordings were not released, probably as a result of the First World War. The 'Kinds of Music' represented have also been discussed in Chapter I. The 'Trinidad Paseos' (most of which appear to have been instrumental versions of local songs), together with the 'Calipsos' and *kalendas*, will be considered further.

One of the melodies in the first category was *Po' Me One* (Victor 67029). Performed by Belasco's Band, this was almost certainly an instrumental of the song

popular during the Carnival of 1911. The composer credit was to 'J. Whiterose' (presumably the singer, Henry Julian). In the same light, *La Bonanza* may be the melody for the song about '"Bonanza's" motor van' reported during the Carnival of 1907. Described as 'Albert's Paseo', this could be a reference to 'A. Vincent' who received credit as composer in the performance by Belasco's Band (Victor 67031).

Both of these paseos were released in the first batch of the Victor Company's 'New Creole Records' that went on sale in Trinidad just before the Carnival of 1915. *Saylor*, a later Belasco release, was presumably the melody for one of the Carnival songs about the racehorse 'Saylor Boy', reported in the festivals of 1909 and 1911. The composer credit for this record was again to 'J. Whiterose' (Victor 67388).

Some of the other 'Trinidad Paseos' released by Victor, and performed by Belasco's Band, included *Meet Me Round The Corner* (67033), *Mr Driver Blow Your Horn* (67388), *See Me Goin' Down De Road* (67397) and *Slow Brakes* (67028), all by a composer named 'Jerry'.

Unissued recordings of this type include *Papa Gorrie* (the melody of the song from the early 1890s mentioned in the last chapter), *Cecilia* (presumably the same tune as the song recorded in the 1920s), *Doggie Doggie Look Bone* (perhaps the song for which Edric Connor printed the words and music in 1958), and *Nobody's Business* (possibly the theme known first from folk song collections in the United States and, subsequently, in Jamaica and West Africa). 'Julian' (Henry Julian, once more?) was noted as composer of *Doggie Doggie Look Bone*, while Belasco's cousin, the violinist C[yril]. Monroe, received the credit for *Nobody's Business*. He was also the 'composer' of several other items recorded at these sessions.

A number of melodies played by Belasco's Band that were not released were recut by Belasco as piano solos in New York in August 1915. Victor issued the latter and this suggests that some of the original recordings may have been faulty. Several were described as 'Trinidad Paseos' in 1914 and, therefore, form part of this discussion.

Two of these tunes emanated from Barbados, *Buddy Abraham* and *Little Brown Boy*, and exist in several subsequent versions. The last named is the song Atilla called *He*

Is A Dude, which he remembered became popular in Trinidad in 1910. The words for two of the other melodies concern the reaction of Trinidad creoles to migrants from Barbados: *Bajan Girl* and *Not A Cent, Not A Cent* (the song Patrick Jones dated to the last quarter of the nineteenth century). *My Little Man's Gone Down De Main* was the tune for a calypso about Trinidad migrants seeking work in Venezuela:

I have a little man and he gone down de Main
 To work for money for me
 I have a little man and he gone down de Main
 To work for money for me
 Aye *bandoola*, aye *bandoola*
 Aye *bandoola*, aye *bandoola*

The information located regarding these paseos suggests that they represent a broad cross-section of tunes for songs popular in Trinidad during the last quarter of the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth centuries. The melodies also give some indication of the pattern of migration of people to and from Trinidad in the same period; as do the Spanish American dance rhythms, also recorded by Belasco's Band at this time. The same can be said for the Orquesta de Venezolano de Chargo. In addition, Belasco performed four piano solos for Victor in 1914. *Anita* (a Vals Espanol) and *Nora* (*Pauline*) (a Trinidad Paseo) were released in Victor 67399 but, unfortunately, his renditions of two black North American ragtime compositions, *The Junk Man Rag* (by Lucky Roberts) and *Maple Leaf Rag* (by Scott Joplin), were not issued. Each represents the earliest known recorded performance of these piano rags by a black musician in the Americas.

It seems that the Victor Company's engineers did not take down titles of the vocal performances they obtained in 1914. Only descriptions of the kinds of music performed were printed on record labels, or in company catalogues. As Table V indicates, there were five Single Tone Calypsos, one Double Tone Calipso, and two Native Trinidad Kalendas. One of the Single Tone Calypsos was not issued. Titles for all the other performances have been located in contemporary newspapers. The names of the songs are:

(i)	<u>Single Tone Calypsos</u>	(performed by J. Resigna)
	<i>Belle Marie Coolie</i>	Victor 67035
	<i>Hooray Jubal Jay</i>	Victor 67375
	<i>Iron Duke In The Land</i>	Victor 67362

- | | | |
|-------|---|---|
| | <i>Ringin A Bell</i> | Victor 67035 |
| (ii) | <u>Double Tone Calipso</u>
<i>Bayonet Charge By The Laws</i>
<i>Of Iron Duke</i> | (performed by J. Resigna)
Victor 67387 |
| (iii) | <u>Native Trinidad Kalendas</u>
<i>Bagai sala que pocheray</i>
<i>moin</i>
<i>Ou belle philomen(e)</i> | (performed by Jules Sims)
Victor 67377
Victor 67033 |

The 'Calipsos' are described as having 'Chorus and accompaniment'. On aural identification, from *Iron Duke In The Land*, (the only 'Calipso' available, recorded at this time), the accompaniment was a guitar and a cuatro. The 'Kalendas' are described as having 'Chorus and bamboo accompaniment'. On aural identification, from *Bagai sala que pocheray moin* (the only 'Kalenda' available, recorded at this time), the chorus was almost certainly female. This conforms with precedent. In addition, the clash of bottle and spoon augmented the sound of the stamping tubes, just as it would have done had this bamboo band been marching in a Carnival procession.

There is little documentary evidence for some of the calipsos recorded by Henry Julian. A verse of *Belle Marie Coolie* (Beautiful Marie, the East Indian) is printed in the 'Foreign Section' of Thomas W. Talley's famous pioneering collection of *Negro Folk Rhymes*, published in New York, by Macmillan, in 1922. The lyrics are in French Creole with an English translation. The song concerns black-East Indian male-female relations.

It seems likely that *Hooray Jubal Jay* is the song W. Austin Simmons recalled as 'Ho-ray Ho-ray'. This was chanted by tamboo bamboo bands when they paraded in Carnival, in the era before the flowering of steel bands (after the second World War). Further particulars have not been found.

Iron Duke In The Land, for which a complete text is available, is a song of self praise from the driving force behind the Fancy Bands that dominated Carnival in the early 1900s. Julian details some of the positions he held in the band's hierarchy before he became Lord of Resigna, the Iron Duke, whose White Rose Union was 'superior' to all others. In his third verse he comments:

At my appearance upon the scene
Julian come down with blazing sword
And [see him] shouting an order

Calling, screaming, to all the agony
And see his magnetizing mantle
See it glinting, gleaming and swaying
Jumping this way bawling
'Clear de way White Rose, *joli diable ré-ré-o*'.

The chorus follows (which also served as his first verse):

Iron Duke in the land, Fire Brigade
Iron Duke in the land, Fire Brigade
Bring the locomotive, just because it is a fire federation
Bring the locomotive, just because it is a fire federation,
Sans humanité

The final verse runs:

It was a modern manifestation
Of that elder civilisation
That in the Carnival celebration
Of the Social organisation
Which causes the minds and extension
Of all the population
I Julian singing a Social recording
With White Rose Union
Sans humanité

The performance ends with another chorus.

A review of 'Julian White Rose's ' first Victor 78 rpm coupling, published in the *Mirror* on 8 February 1915, implies that *Ringin' A Bell* was one of his 'compositions in creole' and its subject was 'Carupano Rum'.

It seems likely that the 'Double Tone Calipso' *Bayonet Charge By the Laws of Iron Duke* was the song Patrick Jones said had been performed by Pharaoh as the White Rose Band marched to the Carnival competition in 1900:

Pharaoh bend the ankle on them
Is to blow them down, is to break them down
Pharaoh bend the ankle on them
Is to blow them down, is to break them down
And the bayonet charge, by the command of Iron Duke
At the Carnival
And the bayonet charge, by the command of Iron Duke

Of the *kalendas*, the French Creole words of *Bagai sala que pochery moin* have proved very difficult to transcribe. The context of the lyrics, therefore, is not clear. No information has been located for *Ou Belle phillomen(e)*.²⁷

It has been demonstrated that there was a strong element of tradition in the songs, and some of the 'Trinidad Paseos' recorded at these sessions. Older melodies and lyrics

retained an attraction for the performers as much as they did for recording engineers seeking music to market as nostalgia. There was a significant element of local pride in both these and the more contemporary compositions. Pride too, that the prestigious Victor Company had come to Trinidad to make recordings of local music. In this respect the H.Strong Piano Warehouse ran a series of daily advertisements in the *Port of Spain Gazette* from 5 to 22 September (omitting the 7th of the month). These stated 'New Victor Records Are Now Being Made by the Victor Experts in Trinidad'. The advertisements ended five days after Victor had completed their recordings.

In common with the recordings by Lovey's Band, these sessions also included a representative sample of Spanish American dance rhythms (especially those from Venezuela) and some elements, such as the ragtime pieces, from North America. Only one conventional waltz was recorded, *Ne m'abandonne pas* by Belasco's String Quintet (Victor 67397).

Such outside influences can also be illuminated by advertisements placed by retailers during the Carnival period. A random sample from 1902 to 1913 offers musical instruments (string in particular), sheet music and (by 1911) 'Gramophones' plus a wide range of gramophone records (in the languages of migrant groups in Trinidad). In 1913, at the same time that Strong's were advertising 'Masquerade Music' by Lovey's Band, they also had stocks of 'Popular Piece Music'. They singled out what they called 'Latest Ragtime Successes'. In general, these were not rags but Two Steps from North America. British-produced sheet music also circulated, as did British gramophones and gramophone records.²⁸

How this impinged on Carnival music is unclear, especially in the light of the commitment of black creoles to traditional forms. The fact that Carnival music had been recorded commercially, however, slowly began to change the status of both local music and musicians in Trinidad.

The Kaiser: Carnival and the First World War 1915-18

'Victor Records: Mr Belasco's Band Fine Dance Music: Creole Songs by Julian White Rose' reads a headline in the *Mirror* on 8 February 1915. In brackets, under this heading, it states '(Passed by the Censor)', a reminder that since 1 August 1914 the British Empire had been at war with Germany.

The arrival of the first batch of Victor's recordings of Carnival music was received enthusiastically by the newspaper's reporter. Praise was lauded on the selections by 'Mr Lionel Belasco's string band' and the quality of the recordings. A large stock was 'on hand' and they were recommended as 'just the thing for drawing room parties'. This was the pre-Carnival season and it is evident from this comment that a market for this dance music was perceived among those in the elite who had money to purchase both gramophone records and machines on which to play them. Sales of the records were brisk.

The vocal items also received favourable audition:

A novelty in creole music is afforded in calypsos after the rendering of 'Julian White Rose' the celebrated chanter, whose voice has lost none of its sweetness. His compositions in creole on 'Belle Marie Coolie', 'Carupano Rum' etc. are good; while the Bamboo Band 'Kalendar' is a new feature which will appeal to lovers of originality.

'A large supply' of these was 'expected soon'.

Five days later the *Mirror* (13 February) published Victor's press notice that signalled official release of the records. (There were eleven couplings, including three by S.M.Akberali, chanting verses from the Koran). The Victor Company's approach in announcing these releases indicates the way in which they perceived markets for their local records and the popularity of the performers whom they had recorded:

The records, which we are today placing before our many friends in both Trinidad and Venezuela were recently recorded by one of our best experts, who was sent to Trinidad with a special recording outfit. This, of course, put us to a great deal of expense and much work. Everybody will no doubt appreciate how fortunate we were in being able to obtain a repertoire of such beautiful local selections by Belasco's Band, which organisation is under the able direction of the popular and eminent leader Lionel Belasco, whose fame has spread to the smallest hamlets of Trinidad and Venezuela. The list comprises the best-known paseos and waltzes in these localities and produced by composers of acknowledged merit, such as

Gomez, Belasco and Cedeno. The popular singers Jules Sims and J. Resigna contribute with some typical melodies of Trinidad which are sure to please all people who are fond of this class of music. An important addition to the collection is a small number of sacred Mohammedan chants by the eminent artist S.M. Akberali....

At the same time that Victor and their agents were trumpeting the arrival of these records 'Just in Time for Carnival', Muir, Marshall & Co. (the exclusive agents) were advising purchasers to 'Dance by Lovey's Columbia Records' and to 'Refuse Imitations'. In one advertisement it was stated there were '38 Records to Choose From'. This is the only indication of the extent of Lovey's recording sessions in 1912 and 1914.

The availability of recordings representing musical styles associated with the Carnival probably had little initial impact on the festival. Lord Beginner remembered that the principal influence on calypsos at this time was the advent of the war. There was a renewal of patriotism for England and this sparked another fashion for singing calypsos in English. 'But what made this more so', Beginner recalled, was 'the big-shots began taking an interest in Carnival'. Prizes were offered and competitions judged by the English elite, who had previously stood aloof from the celebration. This discouraged the use of French Creole on two counts. First, the 'big shots' maintained that they 'couldn't speak patois' or at least pretended they could not, in order to sustain a distance from 'the man in the street'. Second, calypsonians began to employ 'big English' (high-sounding words and phrases) to impress the 'big shots' and reciprocate for the interest shown in their music. Beginner's view was not the whole story. Emphasis on high-sounding words has been shown to have been a feature of black culture throughout the English-speaking West Indies. In Trinidad, of course, word play was one of the attributes of the *pierrot* in the nineteenth century. The use of the technique in calypso can be seen, in part, as a continuation of this tradition. In line with Beginner's recollections, however, the trend towards sponsored competitions for song as well as dress gained momentum in the mid-1910s.

The Carnival of 1915 was held on 16 and 17 March. The daytime activities of the masqueraders on Shrove Monday hardly received mention in the press. In keeping with the serious situation in Europe, a Grand Allies Dance at the Prince's Building was held on the evening of the same day. This was covered by both the *Mirror* and *Port of Spain*

Gazette. Proceeds from the function (which included a supper), were distributed to the widows of soldiers and 'wives of those...on the firing line'. The music for this successful event was provided by Lovey's String Band with, according to the *Gazette*, 'the result that enjoyment was writ on the faces of all, even those who did not trip the light fantastic toe'. The band, noted the *Mirror*, played 'select pieces, there being a complete absence of carnival airs, which met the appreciation of the dancers'.

Traditional masques were in evidence in the street parades (presumably on the first and second days of the festival). These included some clowns and bats (although the *Mirror* noted an absence of the former), demons, dragons, sailors and snake charmers. Cowboys, the precursor of the masque that came to be known as the Midnight Robber, are noted for the first time in newspaper reports.

Yankee or 'coon' bands performed in their usual number, as did string bands. The *Gazette* was pleased that there was 'an entire absence of vulgarity so prominent in years past'. They also commented on the music:

'Tipperary' and other patriotic airs superceded to some extent the senseless refrains usually indulged in. The 'Kaiser' in the latter songs came in for rough handling.

On Shrove Tuesday both the Humming Bird and Surprise Parlour establishments ran competitions. Cavalry won the cup presented by Humming Bird for the best dressed band. At the Surprise Parlour the Punjab Regiment (also referred to as Gurkhas) won the cup for the most original band. Their representation in the masquerade was sparked by the war, and, presumably, the presence of the East Indian community in the island. Surprise ran two competitions for singing, both designed to marginalise traditional road marches. The Four Roads Social Union won the cup for the best patriotic song to the tune of *It's A Long Way To Tipperary*, while the Wake Up Yankee Band won the ice pitcher for the best song on Yankee Shakers.²⁹

Despite the severity of the war in Europe, a Carnival was held in 1916. This took place on 6 and 7 March. By this time the Victor Company had released several more vocal recordings from their sessions in 1914. Just before the festival, the H.Strong Piano

Warehouse were pleased to advertise these in the *Port of Spain Gazette* as 'Exclusive Victor Records of Carnival Music'.

Reports in the *Mirror* show that the Carnival of 1916 maintained a pattern that had been established in the nineteenth century. Thus, in their account of the first day of the celebration, they commented:

The majority of masqueraders were half disguised in old clothes or last year's costumes.

The music also received attention:

There was practically an utter absence of intelligible singing or of instrumental music, bamboos which predominated.

Some masques were identified:

Indians and yankees and rough riders were more numerous than clowns.

There was absolutely nothing attractive except perhaps a peacock.

At the same time the newspaper carried an advertisement for a competition of the type Lord Beginner remembered from this period. This offered prizes 'for the best original song on the present war on the first day, and on the second day the best original costume'. The judges were two 'prominent gentlemen in the community'. Who won these prizes is not known.

Although disappointed at the 'preponderance of devils and dragon bands' the *Mirror* was more enthusiastic about the second day's proceedings:

Before noon there were a number of bands to be seen disporting their gay costumes and chanting their songs with a gusto which is peculiar to the second day demonstration.

For them:

The best bands were the Punjabies representing the well known Indian fighters. One group of 'Punjabs' won the prize for the best band representing the Allies in the competition at the Surprise Parlour. Other winners at this establishment were the Belmont *Tourist Syndicate* (for the best song on the Yankee Shaker). The Union Belgium Boys received a special prize, subscribed by the judges. A cup for first place at the Red Lion Establishment was won by the Gold Medal Syndicate. The Chinese shopkeepers of Charlotte Street awarded a prize to the Tempting Creatures (dragons).

Other similar bands are mentioned by the *Mirror* as well as traditional masques, some of which had been seen the day before. They also described the music:

The songs were a decided improvement although there was too much of the general refrain "Tina loose she Baby" and such rot. There were a few good compositions on the War, the Kaiser and the Contingents. The following are a couple: -

Sound the bugle the Kaiser cried
On to war, my only pride;
But to this Old England replied
We must reach to Berlin or die.

SINGLE REFRAIN

The West Indian Contingents going away
Old England forever to rule the day.

'Tina loose she Baby' was probably the song Lord Executor remembered as the first Leggo sung in English:

'Teena where you been'?
'I been to tie me goat in the bamboo'

Leggos (meaning 'let yourself go') have been mentioned previously. They were another form of *lavway*, the road marches based originally on old-time *kalendas*.

The songs regarding the Contingents relate to the formation of the British West Indies Regiment, which was founded to facilitate participation by black West Indian soldiers in the war. The first Trinidad Contingent had left for Britain in October 1915 and were in training. Thus, on the same page as its report of the first day of Carnival, the *Mirror* (7 March) printed a photograph of 'Members of the Trinidad Contingent reading the *Argos* in camp at Seaford, England'. On the departure of the volunteers from Trinidad, the crowds had been greater than those during the Carnival, according to the *Port of Spain Gazette* (8 March). Theodore Roosevelt, however, observed onlookers forming 'a dense mass on the sidewalks' on the afternoon of Shrove Tuesday.

Atila recalled that several calypsonians saw service in the war: Albany, Douglas, Hero, Kandahar, Miller (Eugene Myler?) and Wellington (Henry Julian?). Another source indicates that prominent stickmen also volunteered for service, as did Sam Manning, who subsequently made a career as a vaudevillian and interpreter of calypsos and other folk songs from the English-speaking West Indies.

The presence of 'kith and kin' on the front line in the war against Germany formed the core of an attack on Carnival in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 8 March. They scorned the '"Higher Society" who had enjoyed themselves...in a manner which hardly fell short...[of] what [was] customary at carnival season among them' and, despised the Carnival of the 'poorer section of the population'. There was, they said, 'simply naught but the objectionable and indecent and immoral element of [the festival] on the streets'.

Leaving aside the more positive account in the *Mirror* (which seems much closer to reality), the *Gazette's* editorial view of the street celebration in 1916 provides a useful contrast with their conciliatory attitude during the Boer War some sixteen years earlier:

there was an entire absence of any organised effort at carnival. The usual musical bands were hardly in evidence at all; the old time "bands" with banners flying, accompanied with singers and dancers giving specially rehearsed exhibitions, were practically non-existent; and even the decorated cars, carts and cabs were surprisingly few and poorly got up. Groups of rowdies, some with sticks, which the police very properly and promptly confiscated, and accompanied by a few kettle drums or fiddles paraded the streets [yet, the writer believed, interest in the festival had waned as a result of the war].

In essence, this was the swan song of the Carnival as it had been played during the first quarter of the century. Three primary factors changed the event. First, the war itself; second, the retirement of Lieutenant Colonel Swain as Inspector General of Constabulary (in August) and; third, the appointment of Major Sir John R. Chancellor as Governor on 1 June.³⁰

Swain, in his farewell speech to the constabulary, drew attention to the improvement in the conduct of the populace in celebrating Carnival during the thirteen years he had spent in Trinidad. It is evident that his firm, but understanding, methods for policing the festival had had a profound effect (although he claimed no special credit). This grasp of local affairs was lost on his departure.

Swain's wisdom was no longer available, a new Governor was in post (inexperienced in the ways of Trinidad), and there were the terrible circumstances of the war in Europe. The anti-Carnival lobby were therefore able to persuade the authorities to limit the festival further in 1917. Chancellor issued a *Gazette Extraordinary* on 12 January which contained a constraint additional to the usual Carnival provisions. This

stipulated that: 'Persons will not, during the Carnival, be allowed either alone or in bands, to walk or drive about the public streets masked, or to walk or drive about in bands in disguise'. Chancellor published a special message at the same time, explaining his decision was based on the grounds of the great sacrifices that had been, or were being, made by those serving in 'His Majesty's Navy and Army' in defence of the British Empire.

A 'Constabulary Notice' reinforced Chancellor's Proclamation, making clear that 'during the approaching CARNIVAL the wearing in public of Masks of any description will not be permitted' and 'Processions or Bands of Persons in Disguise or Fancy Dress is also forbidden'. Dated 8 January this was signed by Lieutenant Colonel Geo. H. May, the new Inspector General of Constabulary.

The days of the Carnival were 19 and 20 February. The new restrictions appear to have been observed by all but a handful of people (whom the police treated with tolerance). A few bands in fancy dress, and one or two others, made merry in the streets but, none wore masks. Dancing was confined to houses or lodge and society halls. Only one slight disturbance received attention, at Carpicharima, on Carnival Monday. The outcome of the new arrangement met with approval in an editorial in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 21 March. There was a belief that the restraints had been accepted by 'the lower orders' and it was recommended that the ban on masks should become permanent. Indirectly, this was a return to the attack on the '*false face*' that had been made in the *Trinidad Spectator* as early as 1846 (Chapter IV).

That the new régime was unpopular is best expressed by a calypso, recalled by Lord Executor, that condemned Chancellor's action:

King's regulation, Government Contingent,
Cannot prevent our masquerade,
Governor Chancellor, '*pas tay connet*,
Sassay fête granmama-moen.³¹

The campaign to sustain a ban on masks and costumes began early in the *Port of Spain Gazette* in 1918. On 6 January they published a leader in which it was suggested that a formal appeal should be made to the public not to celebrate the festival. They also advised that the administration should announce regulations even more stringent than those

introduced the year before. In the event, on 14 January, the Governor issued a Proclamation (No. 7 of 1918), that contained exactly the same stipulations as the equivalent document in 1917.

In 1918, Shrove Monday and Tuesday were respectively 11 and 12 February. True to their standpoint, during the week preceding, the *Gazette* published letters both from the Mayor of Port of Spain and the Mayor of San Fernando, appealing to would-be masqueraders not to celebrate Carnival. These were accompanied by another editorial, on 10 February, appealing to 'Sound Patriotism and Good Sense' from those who might otherwise consider holding some sort of festive event.

The Carnival posed no threat to law and order. On the Monday the *Trinidad Guardian* (12 February) noted that some had been confident that bands would appear. The *Gazette* reported, however, only 'a few solitary individuals parading in the streets in the afternoon...screeching themselves hoarse'. According to the *Guardian* most masquers dressed in the "Barbadian" style. One or two were arrested. The *Guardian* described the music:

The repertoire of the masqueraders was, as usual, a poor one, the only song being heard was one which had for its refrain the downfall of "Kola". Bamboo beating was very much in evidence, the string bands being located in the various dance halls which were open all day and late in the evening catering to those whose inclination lay in that direction.

'Kola', whose true name was Joseph Alexander, was a ruthless police officer who had recently been disgraced.

Dance halls and dancing by no means met with wholesale approval. Just before the Carnival they had been the subject of a clash in letters published in the *Port of Spain Gazette*. These were written by the Reverend C.G. Errey (who called for special regulation), and Lovey (who took Errey to task without damning his sentiment). He pointed out the difficulty of enforcing some of the regulations advocated by Rev. Errey. Indirectly, this view was vindicated in the *Guardian*. They reported a 'certain amount of dancing in the streets' on the evening of Shrove Tuesday. This was contrary to the Proclamation but tolerated by the police.

Dressing and near masking did not receive the same degree of tolerance. The *Guardian* provides details of several court cases to this effect. An East Indian leader of 'a band of five bamboo-beaters', four 'Wild Indians', each with enormous headdresses, and others with similar accoutrements were all fined. Eight men and women 'disguised as ranch boys and ranch girls', who sang 'When the War is Over', marching down the street, were treated in the same manner.

The report of the final day in the *Gazette* expressed satisfaction that 'as it began the Carnival season ended with unwonted quiteness'. In confirmation the *Guardian's* editorial commented that 'the City was spared the infliction of those abominably senseless and tuneless compositions dignified by the name of song which prior to 1917, obtained in Port-of-Spain'. In this earlier era, Atila remembered, the costumes of different bands changed little and 'versatility was emphasised in the songs of rival chantuelles'. With the prohibition of masking in the streets, for two years, and the ending of the war in late 1918, new trends were to develop.

During this period of transition, two popular wartime calypsos were composed by one of the chantwells who had risen to fame at the end of the nineteenth-century. Just before the signing of the Armistice with the Germans there was 'an impromptu Carnival celebration on a Sunday night in October, when it was prematurely reported that the Germans had surrendered'. The *Argos*, Port of Spain's popular evening newspaper, was the subject of the song. It was performed for the occasion by Henry Forbes, the Senior Inventor. The chorus captured the imagination of the masquerade fraternity:

Argos paper, latest telegram
Argos paper, latest telegram
Germans surrender to British commander
Sans humanité

Two verses are reported by Connie Williams, they deal with the improbable 'possibility' of an invasion of Trinidad by the Germans, and the island's Contingents at the 'front'.

When de rumour went roun' de town
Dat de Germans were coming to blow de town
Some, like cowards, remained at home
All de brave run down with stones
Some run with bottles, some run with bricks
Some run with bamboo, some run with sticks

Old Lady Semper run down with she old big *po'chambe*
Sans Humanité

Now listen to what I got-ta say
Trinidadian boys got-ta rule the day
Now listen to what I got-ta say
Trinidadian boys got-ta rule the day
Dey volunteered to fight fo' de King without anything
But listen boys, we got all de rum we need in dis colony
Sans Humanité

The other song, *Run Your Run Kaiser William*, appears to have been composed in the same period. It may have been based on the song *Cheer boys cheer* which, as has been mentioned, was sung by the Trafalgar Social Union in Arima, during the first Carnival after the ending of the Boer War. Similarly *'Argos' Paper* was to feature in the first Carnival following the 1914-1918 confrontation.³²

Keep The Carnival Down Town: the 'Victory Carnival' 1919- the Argos vs the Trinidad Guardian

The spontaneous reaction to the ending of the war was one of religious thanksgiving. On receipt of the news in Port of Spain, on 11 November, large crowds flocked to churches. An official 'Celebration of Peace' was held in the city on 22 and 23 of the same month. This included illumination of public and municipal buildings and, on Saturday the 23rd, a parade of decorated motor cars from Marine Square to Government House. The procession almost certainly featured marching and singing by the populace. A letter from Walter Merrick published in the *Argos* (7 February 1919) recalled how 'during the recent peace demonstration I have ridden behind a band for a quarter of an hour during which time the popular refrain was "no more Kaiser again"'.

Performance of a war-time Carnival refrain in this parade suggests an expectation for renewal of the masked festival at Shrovetide the next year. In January 1919, however, it became apparent to the pro-Carnival lobby that the Governor did not intend to lift the ban on masquing.

When Governor Keate had attempted to ban masquing in the late 1850s, it was reporters in the *Trinidad Sentinel* (a newspaper run by black creoles) who had pronounced

in favour of the festival (Chapter IV). In 1919 the equivalent newspaper was the *Argos*. The publisher of this evening broadsheet was of Chinese ancestry and his editor and staff were black creoles of liberal persuasion. In print they stood out for the festival against the city's two daily newspapers. These were the conservative *Port of Spain Gazette* (whose editor had painted himself into the anti-masquing corner) and the *Trinidad Guardian* (whose editorial line was equivocal). The last named was a very new enterprise. Following the demise of the *Mirror*, in late 1916, the *Guardian's* team had taken over the printing establishment and launched their newspaper in September 1917.

The *Guardian's* owners, therefore, were looking to expand its readership, and sought the main chance for self-publicity in the Carnival agitation. Awaiting the official line, the editor maintained a distance from the demands for a complete restoration of the festival. Writers in the *Gazette* sustained a regular commentary on the evils of the celebration. In these circumstances, it was proponents in the *Argos* who made the running in negotiations with the administration for the renewal of the masqued fête.

The pages of the *Argos*, during January 1919, provide ample evidence for the activities of their coterie. A successful petition was organised in support of their aim, their opponents were attacked in print, and articles expressing their attitude were published. By 26 January the newspaper was able to announce that the Governor had agreed to receive their pro-Carnival deputation and receive the petition at the same time. The meeting took place on 29 January and, after hearing their case, Sir John Chancellor told the delegates that the matter would be decided by the Executive Council.

The next day the Governor recalled the deputation. He explained he would rather not rescind his ban but on consideration that 'the people had understood it as a war measure and would regard it as a breach of faith and a trick on his part if he were to continue the restrictions...he had decided not to prohibit masking'. The Carnival would be allowed on 3 and 4 March on the condition that 'he would hold each member of the delegation personally responsible if any disorder occurred'.

It seems likely that Chancellor was engaged in measures to divide the delegation, both before, during and after the occasions he received them. At their meetings he

attempted to overawe each member by close questioning. E.M.Lazare (one of the *Argos* team, but not present on 29 January) suggested that the Carnival should be held on the Queen's Park Savannah (where the Fancy Band competition had taken place in 1902). This was devised as a fallback but appealed greatly to the Governor.

Once the decision to hold a true masquerade had been made the *Guardian's* representatives took up Lazare's proposal (perhaps with the Governor's connivance). Prior to this, it seems, one of the newspaper's backers had floated the idea of a 'Victory Carnival' and this provided the group with an ideal site.

Two different competitions were launched. The *Argos* committee devoted their energies to organising an event in 'Down Town' Port of Spain, the traditional location for Carnival. The *Guardian's* promoters were more ambitious. They devised a rival tournament to that of the *Argos*, on the Queen's Park Savannah, and became associated with the Carnival in San Fernando.

In Port of Spain, the actions of the *Guardian's* organisation were always ancillary to those of the *Argos*'. As well as having the advantage of the usual area of the city, the *Argos* team cleverly used the slogan 'Keep The Carnival Down Town' in their advertising. In addition, the *Guardian* committee's scheme became associated with what was seen as unfriendly interference by the hierarchy. Their two day pageant on the Queen's Park Savannah proved a failure. In San Fernando, under the patronage of the mayor, the 'Victory Carnival' met with success.

The publishers of the *Argos* referred to their journal as the 'People's Paper' and in Port of Spain they received popular and enthusiastic support for the 'Down Town' Carnival.³³ Stipulations regarding the personal responsibility of each member of their committee for disorder led, however, to a further attempt to change the masquerade and masquerade music. The effect of this, plus other differences in circumstances, will now be considered.

Chancellor Paseo: music in Carnival 1919-1920 - tent admission charges and ballad calypso.

CHANCELLOR PASEO

Argos paper in this colony
For the Carnival victory

CHORUS:

Everybody hail, everybody hail
Everybody hail for Chancellor

Tout ronds paye là

Words by Henry Julien [*sic*]
Air by George Johnson

If these lyrics are by Henry Julian (the Iron Duke), his presence indicates he did not fight with the Contingents in the First World War, for they had yet to return to Trinidad. In turn this implies Julian did not use the sobriquet 'Duke of Wellington' as a singing name (suggested earlier).

Chancellor Paseo was published by the *Argos* on 24 February 1914. The traditional call and response pattern of its verse and chorus stands as a symbol of the past; as do the 'topical' lyrics for "*Argos*" *Tango* (by 'Mr G.Marsello of the Madison Concert Co.') that were printed at the same time. The Latin American dance rhythms distinguished in these titles have been shown to have been popular in Trinidad from the 1890s (with respect to the *Paseo*) and, by the 1910s (for the *Tango*).

The *Argos* printed a number of other songs in the period leading up to Carnival. This was a result of Governor Chancellor's insistence on good behaviour by the masqueraders and, with this in mind, the *Argos* committee's concern to 'improve' the standard of Carnival music. Commencing with the lyrics to *March Boys March Along the Road to Berlin*, sent by 'Mr H.A.Gamble, News Agent with the suggestion that it may be adopted to the tune of "Sailors Afloat" by Tuppe' (*Argos*, 3 February), several of these were a direct endeavour to change the way in which Carnival songs were performed. The words were usually in the form of panegyrics for the *Argos* (and Governor Chancellor), for their part in reviving the Carnival, or in celebration of the end of the war.

Walter Merrick, the prominent black musician, whose ideas for parodies of contemporary British and North American popular songs were published by the *Argos* in his letter of 7 February, shrewdly observed that such tunes were 'all very catchy and known by one and all'. Like others, he was unfamiliar with the melody of Tuppe's *Sailors Afloat*.

It must be remembered, nevertheless, that as early as the first decade of the century patriotic British (or, on occasion, French) themes had sometimes been featured by bands marching through the streets on Carnival days. *Tipperary* had been sung during the Carnival of 1915, and *Rule Britannia* was a regular fallback when patriotism became an issue. Yankee Minstrels had also performed popular North American songs during Carnival from the early 1900s, if not before.

As had been shown, despite the recommendation of catchy airs (popular among whites), several of the songs printed in the *Argos* during the pre-Carnival period maintained local traditional elements in the lyrics. Even a 'Kalenda' (in support of the 'Down Town Carnival') was published in a letter to the *Argos* on 2 March 1919, the day before the festival. Purportedly, however, this was set to the melody of Stephen Foster's *Poor Old Joe*. There was, in any case, a continuing differentiation between the songs used by bands in Carnival parades and the songs performed in the tents.

The particular circumstances of the Carnival in 1919 meant that the respective committees organising the festival in Port of Spain (*Argos*) and San Fernando also paid visits to the tents of masquerade bands. Their aim was to ensure that the lyrics of songs being performed at these locations did not jeopardise the conditions laid down by Chancellor for holding the celebration. This was also the purpose of the specially sponsored Carnival competitions held in both cities.

In Port of Spain the *Argos* committee trod a fine line between so-called 'improvement' and the maintenance of traditional forms. This is best exemplified by the four primary categories selected for competition (i) Costume, (ii) Music, (iii) Conduct, (iv), Special Prizes. In category (i) all bands had to 'consist of not less than TWENTY persons and [had to be] accompanied by at least *Four Pieces of Music*'. There were three

sub-divisions: (a) Best Fancy Dress Band; (b) Best Wild Indian Band; (c) Three Best Individual Masqueraders. In the second category 'bands using bamboos and bottles' were not allowed. Again there were three sub-divisions: (a) Best Band of Musicians, each of which had to 'consist of not less than EIGHT' members and 'be uniformly attired'; (b) Best Creole Song, this to be sung 'either in *Patois* or English' and always 'with a leader (chantrel) and chorus'; (c) Best Patriotic Song. The other categories are self-explanatory.

There was some variation in the primary categories chosen by the *Guardian* for their 'Victory Carnival' competition in Port of Spain. This was also the case for the committee who organised the Carnival in San Fernando. While objectives were similar to those of the *Argos* there were differences in emphasis. A principal aim of all these events was to 'improve' the presentation of the first day of Carnival and, in this respect, all the competitions were scheduled for Shrove Monday.

The *Argos* tournament, held on Lundi Gras in Marine Square, commenced 'shortly after 12 noon [when] the competing bands began to put in their appearance'. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (who 'naturally' sided with the *Argos* against the *Guardian*) noted that 'the first on the spot' were 'the "Midnight Robbers"'. They described their costume as 'fairly original', with the '*cap-a-pie* manner on which they were armed with revolvers, daggers and the like', adding 'to the gruesomeness of their jet black costumes'. The song 'they indulged in' was 'the suggestive and now monotonous refrain:

"*Argos* paper: latest telegram
Germans surrender to British commander".'

The 'Roosters' were the next band to appear and 'the burden of [their] song was to keep the Carnival "down town" as victory would surely be proclaimed from the limits of Marine Square'. This may have been a version of the previously mentioned 'Kalenda' published in the *Argos* on 2 March:

Never mind if you smell horse dung
So you keep the Carnival down-town

If you go in the Savannah you will mash cow dung
So keep the Carnival down-town

Dr Masson say it is bad for the lung

So keep it down-town

Savannah side will be stale in a way
So keep de Carnival down-town

Razor-grass does cut creole foot
So keep it down-town

Caracas don't pen de Carnival
So keep de Carnival down-town

Tram and cab-horse all clear de way
So keep it down-town

To make room for Johony [*sic*] at the break of day
So keep de Carnival down-town

And they all join up and have the fun
So keep de ting downtown

Cold foot and hungry belly no nice
So keep it downtown
So keep de Carnival downtown

This both challenges and insults the *Guardian* in the form of a *picong* (as did the letter in which these lyrics were contained).

This sums up the attitude of the masquerade bands towards the *Guardian's* arrangements. Once they had presented themselves to the judges in Marine Square none made their way to the Queen's Park Savannah to compete for the prizes on offer there. The 'Victory Carnival' Committee, therefore, had to postpone many of their arrangements in the hope that participants would arrive on the day following.

The second day of the festival, however, appears to have continued in much the same way as the day before. The bands kept themselves to Marine Square and its environs, and refused to take part in the 'Victory' competition. Eventually, at about 3.00.p.m., after representations by one of the *Guardian's* committee to an opposite number in the *Argos* organisation, a few bands were persuaded to march north to the other side of town, where they paraded before the Grand Stand on the Savannah. First to arrive were the Crapaud Syndicate and, on positioning themselves 'several men rendered recitative songs the memorising of which was a remarkable feat in itself. The subject...was the favourite of the day, the war and Kaiser William, and lustily the chorus joined in with an energetically sung refrain'. Their final verse was improvised '"That

they had come at the *Guardian's* invitation with a composition to suit any competition".'

The Crapauds were succeeded by the Robin Hobin Hood Band singing:

Robin Hood forever
Merry men in red and green
It's the best band ever seen

H.M.Loyal Convicts then appeared, followed by a pierrot, and the Old English Gentlemen. Only the pierrot did not receive a prize. H.M. Loyal Convicts won first prize for dress, while in the *Argos* competition they had come second in the same category. On that occasion their song was:

Governor Chancellor say, Carnival we all must play
Governor Chancellor say, Carnival we all must play
The *Argos* paper, a champion advocator,
Beg us to play in the very best manner
Convicts shall gain the Victory.
Sans de humanité.

In the musical contests run by the *Argos* prizes for 'best creole song' were awarded to Cavalry (1st), Tourist Social Union (2nd), and Red Cross Syndicate (3rd), while the 'best patriotic song' awards went to *Argos* Band (1st), Britannia (2nd) and Napoleon (3rd). The first prize for 'best band of musicians' was awarded to Headley's Band (a well known string aggregation, that had been playing since at least 1914), with 'Munroe's Band in second place. (The last named was presumably run by Cyril Monroe).

It is unclear whether the admonitions to 'improve' the music of the Carnival bands had any real effect. The majority of songs quoted can be seen to have been traditional in format, although the lyrics may have been 'censored'. In Marine Square the 'Napoleon [band]...marched past to the inspiring strains of the "Marseillaise"' and Britannia 'to the irresistible refrain of "Britannia Rules the Waves"' but, as has been noted, neither of these tunes created a precedent.

The music performed by bands who entered competitions in San Fernando came under greater control from the organisers of the festival. Contemporary popular songs, *Good-by Broadway* and *Over There* were required for performance by bands as they marched along certain roads in procession. In this, and in other respects, the Carnival

Committee were well pleased with the results they achieved, as the *Guardian* reported on 5 March:

a deputation of the members of the Committee visited the bands during their practices carrying out an educational campaign which bore splendid fruit, proof of which was afforded by the fact that there was less indecency in songs this Carnival than ever before. An amusing instance of the change that has been brought about is recorded by the following story: During the competition a member of the Committee went to a band and asked one of the leaders whether the band was taking part in the Calypso Competition, which was the next item on the programme.

"Oh! no" she replied in a tone which showed her dignity was not a little wounded, "we don't sing calypso, we sing rag-time".

The Committee man smiled for he knew that when the Committee made the bold venture of fixing "Joan-of-Arc" as a song for the competition and stipulated that "Good-by Broadway" should be sung along the route they came in for much criticism.

For the Musical Competition another contemporary popular piece, '*Liberty Bell* - a two step by W.K. Mohr', was required to be played by any bands who chose to enter.

In these and other conditions, the San Fernando Committee appear to have believed they were in the process of engineering a complete break with tradition. Notwithstanding, a letter from a San Fernando resident, published in the *Guardian* on 9 March, indicates some bands had declined to participate or otherwise not conformed with the Committee's qualifications. The usual complaint about 'meaningless words set to musicless tunes' was reiterated. 'Even "Kaiser run away"', the correspondent wrote, 'was nowhere in comparison with "Goodbye Broadway, Hello France"'. This last named popular song, 'performed by one of the bands in perfect time and tune' had impressed the writer but appears to have been adopted by masqueraders as a temporary measure in order to reinstate the full festival. The changes in Carnival music at this time were more subtle. For Port of Spain, newspaper evidence not concerned directly with organised competitions, gives some indication in this direction.

On 23 February (just over a week before the festival), the *Trinidad Guardian* published an edition devoted to the 'Victory Carnival'. Articles describing Carnivals in Venice, Rome and (closer to home) Caracas were featured, as well as two pieces on the preparations in Port of Spain. The first, on 'The Makers Of Masks' is the only

contemporary article on this subject. The second, on 'Carnival Bands At Practice' is similarly unique. It establishes the way, at this time, in which masquerade band practices were centred around the performance of local music.

The *Guardian's* reporter visited seven tents, one on the west side of Port of Spain (Woodbrook), two in the 'French Shores' (Princes Street and George Street), three in Belmont (Bedford Lane, St.Francois Valley and Pelham Street), and one in John John (Plaisance Road). He described activities at four of these locations:

At Cavalry, Woodford Street, there was a marked display of enthusiasm. A large benab covered over with coconut branches and liberally decorated with flags and paper balloons had been erected on a spot opposite the A.M.E. church. Inside the benab has been placed in neat rows along the sides several benches on which those who were privileged to gain admission were seated. A small charge of a couple of cents was exacted for entry, but this did not deter people from turning up in large numbers to listen to the airs which should prove exceedingly popular. Long before nine o'clock, the hour fixed for the proceedings to begin, spectators made their way to Woodford Street, so that when Mr E.Briggs and his musicians opened their programme with a lively composition, fully four hundred persons surrounded the benab. The musical instrument[s] of the band here consisted of four pieces...; a violin, flute, quatro and guitar, their blending, soft and low, being very good indeed. Several prominent numbers [sic] of the community who were present, expressed themselves as being quite pleased with what they had heard, the airs being principally patriotic. At George Street, w[h]ere the "Bamboo Band" had also entrenched themselves under a coconut leaf covered hut, the crowd of spectators was not so large as in New Town. But what they lacked in members they made up for by their spirited approval of the tunes which were being rehearsed. Here the musical paraphernalia were confined to the popular "instruments" of the proletariat which consisted of lengths of hollow reeds of bamboo, a small grater operated on by a musician with a stick, a "shack-shack" and the inevitable empty gin flask with a tin spoon as a beater.

The rehearsals in Prince Street were also satisfactory, the efforts of the musicians to interpret aright the calypsos which had been composed for them by a local master of the art being enlivened by the one-stepping of some young girls whose dancing won the loud and unstinted applause of everybody, not excluding two policemen, who preserved order. At Belmont also the rehearsals went through without a hitch. The "Wild Indian" band leading the way with a soul-stirring composition which is sure to attract the attention on Carnival days.

Unfortunately, in only two of the tents described is there any detail of their construction. The Cavalry tent was obviously a large one (benab is derived from an Arawak word for a shelter made of a framework of poles covered with branches and leaves). The way in which it was decorated and the arrangement of the seating conform with the established pattern. The seats were placed around the edge and performers situated in the centre. This layout is also confirmed for the tent of a bamboo band described in a letter to the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 26 February. The writer complains at

the introduction of an entrance fee to witness performances. He bemoaned the dancing to bamboo music by two members of the band's committee dressed in disguise who 'wiggle[d] in the most immoral manner'. A charge for admission is not mentioned in the *Guardian* reporter's description of the Bamboo Band's tent in George Street, but two cents were taken at the entrance to the Cavalry establishment.

Lord Executor remembered that Cavalry (a band of long standing) had introduced a charge as early as 1906 but this appears to have been unusual and probably died out during the 1910s, when free access again became the norm.

Atila places the introduction of regular fees for admission to 1919, 'when "King Fanto", hero of the country districts [San Fernando] visited Port of Spain' at the invitation of "King Dragon" (Clarence Lynch)'. In order to finance this arrangement Lynch 'charged two cents for bamboo seats' at the tent of the Red Dragon Band, 46 George Street. The contemporary charges levied by Cavalry and one of the city's many bamboo bands add substance to Atila's recollection. He also remembered that stick-players began to collect entrance fees from those wishing to watch bouts. These took place in 'tents' situated in yards where they now performed. Bamboo bands often provided percussive rhythm for the stick fighters.

The instrumentation of the Bamboo Band in George Street appears to have been the regular complement associated with this style of music. The string band led by E. Briggs employed at the Cavalry tent also consisted of a familiar set of musical instruments for the accompaniment of calypsos.

Music performed at these locations reflected the social strata that supported the different classes of bands. Cavalry (a Fancy Band) featured 'patriotic airs' witnessed by several prominent personalities in the community; the Bamboo Band of George Street played the 'popular "instruments" [and tunes] of the proletariat'; while the unidentified band in Prince Street featured specially composed calypsos; and the Belmont Wild Indians a 'soul-stirring composition'. In addition, dancing took place at the tent in Prince Street. None of this music satisfied yet another correspondent in the *Port of Spain Gazette*. His

letter of 2 March complained that practices by each and every band amounted only to the production of 'some absurd doggeral consisting of half a dozen words of solo followed by a dozen words of chorus repeated over and over *ad nauseam*'. In this, however, although the writer criticises practices, his letter shows his observations were made about the songs he had heard performed by marching bands.

The general trend of the evidence available demonstrates that traditional features were maintained in spite of the endeavours to make changes in Carnival. This applies to both the masquerades and the music performed during the festive season.

Among the masques seen in the 'down town' competition in Port of Spain were dragons, a maypole (*sebucan*), pierrots, minstrels and wild Indians. There was at least one stilt walker (moko jumbie) and many of the fancily dressed bands who entered the *Argos* competition based their costumes on traditional concepts.

The change in emphasis was in presentation and this also applies to the musical elements. Bamboo bands did not parade in the streets, but they maintained their tents and played their regular music. Calypsos, although 'censored', were still sung (and, no doubt, methods were found of averting the 'censorship'). Even the so-called 'rag-time' pieces adopted in San Fernando met with resistance and were almost certainly sung simply to impress the Carnival organisers so as to secure the future of the festival. Some of these tunes were the same that Walter Merrick had advised should be taken up as parodies in Port of Spain. A bamboo band appeared in the San Fernando competition.

The major alteration in musical activities was the introduction of regular admission charges for access to the tents. It is possible, however, that this was the consolidation of a trend that had started as a means to offset expenses during the previous two years when masquing was constrained.

Although the differences between the pre-war and post-war Carnivals can be seen to be less than they appear at first sight, they signalled the direction of major alterations that were to take place during the next decade. These included the introduction of more and more formal competitions, the separation of the singers from the masquerade bands (groups

of calypsonians ran tents of their own) and the development of a market for recordings of local music.

Lionel Belasco had continued making records in New York annually from 1915 (he appears to have taken up residence there in about 1917) but there were no other recordings by Trinidad musicians in this period. During the Carnival of 1919 it was the 'Exclusive Victor Records of Carnival Music' by Henry Julian and Jules Sims, together with Lovey's recordings for Columbia, that were featured in press advertisements. In addition, to celebrate the end of the war and the return of Carnival, Dick & Wells advertised the latest North American dance music available from Columbia.³⁴

Prospective purchasers for any of these records would not have been the average Carnival devotee, many of whom were having great difficulty in making a living. This abject poverty led to a revival of the Trinidad Workingmen's Association (dormant during the war) and a period of labour unrest. Strikes and disturbances appear to have begun at about the same time as the Carnival was held, and the Governor's conditions for holding the festival may have been imposed because of the possibility of agitation. There is no evidence, however, of any direct link between the 1919 Carnival and the strikes.

The unrest, which took on a tone of racial antagonism, was paralleled by racial confrontations in Britain (and Italy). Even before the war had ended there was an incident involving disabled black soldiers of the British West Indies Regiment and similarly disabled white soldiers in Liverpool. Then, on 6 December 1918, there was a serious revolt by black soldiers of the same Regiment stationed at Taranto, Italy. The issue was discriminatory practises by white soldiers. From the beginning of 1919, and especially in June, there were clashes in several British port-cities between unemployed blacks (usually seafarers) and the white population.

1919 was a period of demobilisation. The experience in Britain at this time, of the Trinidadian musician Al Jennings, explains something of the disillusionment of blacks who had seen service in the war.

In World War I, I was stationed at La Palice and while there we got together a little band for our own amusement. After the war we gave a few concerts for wounded coloured soldiers in London before their repatriation. A war had just been fought;

the West Indies had sent their sons then as they did in this last war [1939-45]. Those concerts were not a success because, as I learnt later, they were for unwanted coloured soldiers - men who were the remnants of thousands who would never see their homes and loved ones again.

Undoubtedly, in the light of their experiences abroad, this attitude represents the mood of soldiers of the Trinidad Contingent on their return to the island on the morning of 24 May. They were met by a 'large motley crowd' at St. Vincent's Wharf, Port of Spain and disembarked to the accompaniment of the Constabulary band playing British wartime songs.

When they were all on land the band struck up the wartime calypso *Cheer Boys Cheer* (or *Run Your Run Kaiser William*) 'which the crowd at once took up'. In formation, the soldiers marched north to the Prince's Building. Here they were entertained to a '"Welcome Breakfast'. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (25 May) notes that:

Lovey's band was in attendance and at once started some favourite selections and it was with difficulty that the boys could keep their seats.

This mood of celebration was short-lived, however, for the troops had reached Trinidad bitter at the way they had been treated by the British authorities, and to find there was no employment. The undercurrent of unrest in the island was inflamed by this and news of race riots in Liverpool (4-10 June) and Cardiff (11 June). A few seamen willing to be repatriated from Cardiff left on 13 June and reached Trinidad on 17 July with first-hand descriptions of their discriminatory treatment. There had also been a race riot in Glasgow, on 17 June and trouble in London one day earlier. Thus, when it came to the time of official Imperial Peace Celebrations on 19 July few black troops attended (although they had been asked to lead the parade). There was racial violence in Trinidad at this time, and in the same period disturbances in Jamaica and British Honduras (Belize). In London, black soldiers had been insulted by not being allowed to take part in the parade.

One way by which news of these events was spread to blacks in Britain, and in the English-speaking West Indies, was via the *African Telegraph*, organ of the Society of People of African Origin. This was edited in London by a Trinidadian, F.E.M. Hercules. Another source of information was the *Negro World* (newspaper of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, founded in Jamaica, but based in New York

City, U.S.A). In Trinidad the *Argos* printed news from these sources. From July 1919, Hercules spread his views in person in the English-speaking Caribbean.

With high unemployment and racial tension in Trinidad, the Trinidad Workingmen's Association became a focal point for dissent. By the end of August, Captain A.A.Cipriani (a creole of Corsican descent), who had been sickened by '"the contempt, humiliation, insults and suffering heaped upon the men of the British West Indies" during the war', had returned to Trinidad. He immediately joined the TWA and encouraged others to do likewise. Membership increased rapidly and, with the backing of the Association on 15 November stevedores in Port of Spain went on strike. After confrontations in early December the administration found it expedient to capitulate to the demands of the strikers.

Connie Williams records two songs associated with this strike. One, entitled *King Flecky*, called on Flecky Keezer 'to lead' the people 'in their strike'. It refers to Dardenell and Hill Sixty, 'both parts of the same hill in the Eastern section of Port of Spain, where the stevedores and poor people lived'. The other was based on the familiar wartime calypso *Run Your Run Kaiser William*:

Raise your flag, ev'rybody, raise your flag!
Fly your flag, ev'rybody, fly your flag!
Hear what the stevedores say,
Hear, boys, here!
Two dawllars a day can't maintain our family

The English say we can live on two dawllars
The English say we can live on two dawllars
But listen to what we say
Listen, boys, listen!
Two dawllars a day can't maintain our family.

Down with the flag, ev'rybody, down with the flag!
Down with the flag, ev'rybody, down with the flag!
Hear what we got to say, and
Cheer, boys, cheer!
[Two dawllars a day can't maintain our family].

In 1920, action taken by the executive was designed to minimise the effect of the surrender to the strikers. Several leaders of the TWA were arrested, imprisoned, and deported. Legislation was introduced, including the *Strikes and Lockout Ordinance* (No. 1 of 1920) and the *Seditious Publications Ordinance* (No. 10 of 1920). The latter banned

the distribution of periodicals such as the *Negro World*. The *Argos* was also eventually forced to cease publication.³⁵ These actions were taken both before and after the celebration of Carnival which was allowed to take place at Shrovetide as usual (16 and 17 February).

Reports of the Carnival in 1920 make no reference to the troubled times in Trinidad. In this it would seem that Governor Chancellor calculated that it was politic not to be seen as an interventionist in a festival with a troubled history and, to allow the celebration as a safety valve for pent-up tensions. With this in mind there was no sponsorship of the Carnival in Port of Spain, although the San Fernando Committee of the previous year remained in charge of the event in that city.

The *Guardian* (28 January) reported the rehearsals for the forthcoming festival in favourable terms noting that 'the masses of Port of Spain are already well advanced in their preparations for celebrating this event'. They described the activities in the tents after nightfall:

In the camps scattered here and there in the area commonly known as "The French Shores" enthusiastic crowds gather to listen to the bands practising their calypsos and to join wholeheartedly in the refrains.

The report complimented the participants on their good behaviour and commented how there was:

something fascinating in the rhythmic contortions and abandon of the feminine dancers at these practices which seem to have a peculiar attraction for strangers such as seaman and soldiers who are regular visitors to the camps.

In addition there was other music such as 'the staccato sounds' of bamboo bands and the music of the dance halls where dancers in costume might 'be seen doing the modern jazz instead of the stately old quadrille'.

A mix of past and contemporary musical trends are represented in this description. There is dancing to the singing of calypsos in the tents of masquerade bands (indicating a circular space remained in the centre); traditional bamboo music; and acceptance of the latest American (and European) fashion for jazz. Attendance by non-Trinidadians in the tents is mentioned for the first time.

The police in Port of Spain expected a revival of bamboo music in the streets and made preparations accordingly. They staged a special practice session in order to familiarise their horses with 'the *bamboo tamboo* that they might not be restive on Carnival days'. The event took place just after dawn, on 4 February and a report in the *Guardian* the following day explains this and other unusual features of the occasion. For example the column heading reads: 'A Carnival Practice; Fine Performance By Police Band; Preparing For The 16th At St.James; Constables Display Talent With "Tamboo Bamboo".

The *Guardian's* correspondent had been attracted by 'the loud but sonorous chanting of the "creole kalendar"' to the 'staccato sounds of the bamboo' coming from the direction of the Police Barracks in St.James (to the west of the centre of Port of Spain). He was astonished at the early hour - a transgression 'of the unwritten canons of Masquerade law by holding a kalendar practise at 6.20.a.m.' - and to find that it was the police who were the performers. His observations provide one of the few extant descriptions of this type of music and also give an indication of the complexity of explaining the development of black culture in Trinidad. The active participation of the police bamboo players represent a role reversal worthy of Carnival itself!!

The director was a tall pleasant faced individual in whom I recognised an old chant of the glorious carnivals of the late 90's. But what astonished me most was the fact that the band was composed chiefly of members of the Constabulary. Some of these had flamboyant flowers stuck in their hats, and were disguised in old bags, flags and sundry unmentionables which gave them a comic and outlandish appearance. I had not been on the scene more than half a minute when the music struck up. It began with the booming sound of the bass bamboo which serves to regulate the time, and after a few beats, a number of the band who played the lighter reeds joined in. The "cutting" (beating) of the finer reeds in rhythmic punctuation between the boom of the bass bamboo was really surprising. The shac shac players and the bottle and spoon operators completed the orchestra and the music was furnished to the chanting of a "single re" by the director in a high-pitched tenor, and then taken up in chorus by the other members of the band, not excluding the orchestra.

The crowd of onlookers attracted by these novel proceedings included children and an elderly woman who began moving in time to the music. A group of mounted police approached the performers and dispersed the band 'some of whose members were

executing the most extraordinary capers with a grace which was born only of practise and good taste.' On completion of this exercise:

the band reassembled this time beating a "kalendar" in *lah minor*. As this favourite chord in creole music was touched, the chorus singers responded with a zest which shewed that they were going through the recitals whole-heartedly. Again the horses made their appearance and this time they were made to walk quietly through a lane which divided the band.

Unfortunately, the 'old chant of the glorious carnivals of the late 90's' is not identified (one is tempted to speculate it was Henry Julian). The system used by the singers to classify different musical motifs based on the tonic sol-fa is exemplified, as are the functions of the different lengths of bamboo that made up the consort.

As can be seen, this form of music went by two names: tamboo bamboo or bamboo tamboo. Its performance reflected the past. Hence the lead singer employed by the police was associated with Carnivals from the last decade of the previous century. There was an innovation in the tents in 1920, however, that changed the way in which calypso was sung. This was the introduction of a new form of the genre by Walter Douglas.

Known usually as Douglas, he also had the monikers Chieftain, Admiral and Railway. The latter was in recognition of his leadership of the Railroad Millionaires masquerade band that he founded in 1921. Following his return from the First World War, Douglas obtained employment as a ticket collector with the government railway company. He told Errol Hill he began singing in the tents in 1920 and in this year, Lord Executor remembered, Douglas 'introduced a new style known as the "Ballad" which was to remain popular until about 1927.' Executor explained that 'the beat was slow, topics were more everyday, local parlance was employed, and many were sung in the Major Keys.' The song that established this pattern was *Doris*:

Doris, you see what you do, you make a fool of you!
Doris, you see what you do, you make a fool of you!
You don't look too well before you leap
But now you have to sit and weep
You took six for a nine
Better you put water in your wine.

Songs performed in Carnival parades, however, appear to have reverted to favourites from before the war. At least, this is the implication of a report in the *Port of*

Spain Gazette (18 February) following the second day of the celebration. In its coverage of the first day the *Guardian* (17 February) also indicates a restitution; in this instance to traditional forms of masquing at *jouvert*:

The customary old masks arranged in odds and ends, chanting and bawling calypsos and other ditties, crept out from their homes and made for the heart of the city, infecting the workday world with the gay and joyous spirit of the Carnival.

Masqued characters included the customary Barbadian cooks, and representations of 'the underworld' such as beggars, burglars, crooks, highway robbers, pickpockets and railroad robbers. There were also those who depicted 'the limbs of the law' but 'unlike the real ones [they] conducted a successful business by extracting many "pounds" (pennies) from their good-natured victims.' In addition:

To brisk or syncopated music the maskers in bands paraded the streets swaying their bodies to the rhythm of tunes.

The report in the *Port of Spain Gazette* of the same day indicates that bands of different types of wild Indians were also present.

As noted, it is the *Gazette's* account of the Carnival on 18 February that shows the music of the bands had maintained pre-war values:

in the matter of song one was intensely bored with the meaningless ditties resurrected from the scrapheap of bygone years....it must have been a complete shock to observe that months of so-called "carnival practice" produced nothing more artistic than a two days monotonous refrain "We want a thousand gen-er-al to follow de Kaiser funeral." The weird reverberations of the "bamboo" bands, with bottle accompaniment, monopolised the major part of the musical element: and it was welcome relief when a Yankee troupe came along with string band rendering of ever popular coon songs.

Music for the 'Carnival "Empire" Dance' at the Prince's Building on the evening of Lundi Gras was provided by Headley's string band.

There was little or no trouble from the masqueraders, although on Shrove Tuesday a bamboo band in San Fernando was involved in a fracas with the police. The competition in that city seems to have followed the pattern of the previous year. An innovation was the appearance of 'about half a dozen pierrots' who delivered grandiloquent speeches at one point in the tournament.

The peaceful nature of the Carnival was itself a masque for the underlying current of disaffection. Evidence for this is provided by Patrick Jones (who, circumstantial

evidence indicates, performed calypsos under the name of Oliver Cromwell, or the Lord Protector). He sang what he called the first political cariso in 1920. This comment on the contemporary situation was entitled *Class Legislation*:

Class legislation is the order of this land
We are ruled with an iron hand
Class legislation is the order of this land
We are ruled with an iron hand
Britain boasts of equality
Brotherly love and fraternity
But British coloured subjects must be in
perpetual misery
In this colony.

Jones remembered that the *Trinidad Guardian* published an editorial stating he should be charged with sedition for this song. This may indicate it was composed following the passing of the *Seditious Publications Ordinance* at the end of March.

One method the British used to hold together their disparate Empire was by visits to Imperial territories by members of the Royal family. Thus, on 16 September 1920 Edward Prince of Wales called at Trinidad on the way home from a tour that had taken him to Australia. His successful stay in the island lasted three days and, with respect to this study, was consolidated by a grand ball at the Prince's Building. At this Lovey's Band provided the music until the arrival of the Royal Party.³⁶

In summary, the links with the Carnival of the late nineteenth century, via the masquerade bands and their tents, can be seen to have been in a state of flux by 1920. This is true especially for the top chantwells who, once regular tent admission charges had been introduced, and the construction and seating arrangements of the tents altered, formed themselves in to groups of competing singers. By the end of the decade, few calypsonians sang at the head of bands parading the streets. Most were associated with tents run only for the purpose of singing calypsos in the weeks leading up to Carnival. The themes adopted by these singers included political topics on occasion. Some of their songs began to be recorded commercially by visiting singers, or expatriates, in New York City, U.S.A.

The appearance of bamboo bands in parades is reported sporadically in Carnival after 1920, although this does not mean necessarily that they did not appear more regularly. Bamboo musicians almost certainly maintained their presence in yards where

they continued their practices and sustained the singing of old-time *kalendas*. These tunes were also featured as road marches by bands whose presence in Carnival is more fully documented. String bands, such as Lovey's, likewise participated regularly in Carnival parades as well as continuing to provide music for festive dances. Instrumental music associated with Carnival was also recorded in New York. Recorded Trinidad Carnival music, from 1921, and its relationship to the creole traditions described in this survey, will be the subject of the next and final chapter.

1 For particulars of Dancing Societies see previous chapters. On bouquet balls in the slavery period, de Verteuil, *The Years Before*, pp.219-221. On *belair* drum dances see previous chapters, in particular, the Emancipation Day descriptions by Cothonay, in Brereton, 'Birthday', p.76, and Encinas, op.cit. Carnival reports are in the previous chapter. Pearce, 'Carnival', pp.190-193, defines the folk society. The *diametre bandes* are described in the previous chapter. On Calypso/*caliso* etc., Massé *Diaries* Vol.4, p.148; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41. References for the 'Arouca Riot' are in the previous chapter as are discussions on the evolution of string bands, and accounts of the switch from drums to tamboo bamboo. On 'tents' see Cothonay, in Brereton, *ibid.*, and Encinas, *ibid.*, and other nineteenth-century Trinidad drum dance references in past chapters. A 'booth' was erected in 1838 by the organiser of the drum dance at the ending of Apprenticeship in Jamaica: Hope Masterton Waddel, op.cit., p.147. Beckwith reports the construction of 'booths' for Jamaican 'Tea Meetings', see references in Chapter III. In Martinique, *échoppes* built in the same pattern for a *Fête Patronal*, are reported by Michael M. Horowitz in his *Morne-Paysan*, p.84. References to similar structures for sacred ceremonies have been omitted.

2 Pitt's 'Calypso', p.41; Charles Jones, op.cit., p.13, 17; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; Mask, 'Carnival of Yore', *TSG*, 19/2/1933, p.18; Owen Rutter, *If Crab No Walk: A Traveller In The West Indies*, London, Hutchinson, 1933, p.104. On 'Dame Lorraine' see Jones, *Calypso & Carnival*, p.21; L.A. Dunn, 'Dame Lorine - Lady of Midnight To Dawn', *TSG*, 4/2/1951, p.3; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.195-196; Patrick Jones, 'Jour Ouvert', *Humming Bird*, Carnival No., 1957, p.19; Raymond Quevedo, 'Dame Lorraine', *Humming Bird*, Carnival No., 1961, p.4. On 'Jour Ouvert': Charles Jones, op.cit., p.21, 25, 27; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.222-223; Patrick Jones, *ibid.* On Fancy Bands: Charles Jones, op.cit., p.27, 31, 33, 39, 41; A.H. Maloney, *Amber Gold: An Adventure In Autobiography*, Boston, Meador Publishing, [1946], pp.227-228; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.197-198. On early calypso and calypsonians: Wenzell Brown, *Angry Men-Laughing Men: the Caribbean Cauldron*, New York, Greenberg, 1947, p.258; Espinet and Pitts, op.cit., pp.30-31; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.* On musical definitions:

calendar : *POSG*, 26/2/1898, p.5, (and Table XV)

double tone calipso : *POSG*, 20/1/1900, p.5
Paul Bowles, 'Calypso', op.cit., p.157

St. Denis Preston, 'Calypso: the jazz of the West Indies', *MM*, 25/2/1950, p.3.

Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*

Quevedo, *Atilla's Kaiso*, p.2, 20

lavways : *POSG*, 25/2/1908, p.7

music by *negres jardin* : *TM*, 27/2/1906, p.10

single tone calipso : Paul Bowles, *ibid*
Charles Jones, op.cit., p.17
St. Denis Preston, *ibid.*
Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*
Quevedo, *Atilla's Kaiso*, p.2, 21.

3 *POSG*, 3/3/1897, p.3; *POSG*, 2/3/1897, p.4; *POSG*, 4/3/1897, p.3; Chalamelle, op.cit., pp.23-25.

4 *TM*, 15/2/1898, p.2; *TM*, 19/2/1898, p.6; *POSG*, 17/2/1898, p.3; *POSG*, 20/2/1898, p.7; *POSG*, 22/2/1898, p.5; *TM*, 22/2/1898, p.5; *TM*, 23/2/1898, p.3; *POSG*, 26/2/1898, p.7; *TM*, 23/2/1898, p.3; *POSG*, 23/2/1898, p.7; *POSG*, 26/2/1898, p.5.

5 Brereton, *History*, op.cit., pp.146-148; *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.20, reprints key contemporary newspaper reports.

6 *POSG*, 20/1/1899, p.3; *POSG*, 1/2/1899, p.3; *POSG*, 7/2/1899, p.6; *POSG*, 8/2/1899, p.4; *POSG*, 11/2/1899, p.7; *TM*, 14/2/1899, p.8. On the importance of *Governor Jerningham* see Quevedo, 'Calypso', op.cit.; his *Atilla's Kaiso*, op.cit., pp.10-11; and Patrick Jones, 'Patrick Jones', op.cit., (which includes a performance of the song). Le Blanc's sobriquet as Persecutor is established in Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.* *TM*, 14/2/1899, pp.7-9; *TM*, 15/2/1899, p.7; *POSG*, 14/2/1899, p.4; *POSG*, 15/2/1899, pp.4-5; *POSG*, 17/2/1899, p.7; Espinet and Pitts, op.cit., p.31.

7 *POSG*, 20/1/1900, p.5; Patrick Jones', op.cit.; *POSG*, 27/1/1900, p.5; *POSG*, 7/2/1900, p.4; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41; *POSG*, 7/2/1900, p.7; *TM*, 12/2/1900, p.9; *TM*, 23/2/1900, p.10; *POSG*, 27/2/1900, p.6; *POSG*, 1/3/1900, p.4; *TM*, 27/2/1900, p.10; *POSG*, 27/2/1900, p.5. For further information on White Rose see: Charles Jones, op.cit., p.17, 33 (he refers to Frederick rather than Henry Julian); Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; 'Ballad Singer Calypso', Pearse Papers; Patrick Jones, 'Patrick Jones', op.cit.; Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.197-198, 200; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41. *POSG*, 1/3/1900, pp.4-5; *TM*, 28/2/1900, pp.10-11; *POSG*, 21/3/1900, p.5; *POSG*, 2/3/1900, p.5; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; S.L.C., 'Calypso Memories That Will Never Die', *TG*, 20/2/1945, p.4. *POSG*, 1/3/1900, p.5, 7; *TM*, 1/3/1900, p.7; Dave Russell, *Popular Music in England 1840-1914*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1987, pp.116-127; *POSG*, 13/6/1900, pp.4-6. Boer War dates checked with Thomas Packenham, *The Boer War*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1979.

8 'Russell & Coy' advertisements, *POSG*, 13/1/1901, p.5, 20/1/1901, p.5; *TM*, 23/1/1901, p.7; *POSG*, 24/1/1901, p.5; *TM*, 25/1/1901, p.7; *POSG*, 7/2/1901, p.5; another wake, by Carnival bands in Tunapuna, is reported by L.A. Dunn, 'Carnival', op.cit., (Pt.2, *TEN*, 26/2/1952, p.11) but the original source has not been traced. Correspondence, editorials, etc. on the propriety of holding Carnival: *TM*, 26/1/1901, p.3; *POSG*, 27/1/1901, p.7; *TM*, 28/1/1901, pp.9-10, 12; *TM*, 29/1/1901, p.7; *TM*, 30/1/1901, pp.2-3; *POSG*, 30/1/1901, p.4, 7; *TM*, 31/1/1901, p.13; *POSG*, 31/1/1901, p.5; *TM*, 1/2/1901, pp.13-14 [the latter names the band leaders (which also included Henry Julian), they had apparently approached Bodu in the first instance]; *POSG*, 1/2/1901, p.4 (letter from Henry Julian, Director of the White Rose Social Union). *POSG*, 8/2/1901, p.5; *POSG*, 10/2/1901, p.5; *POSG*, 19/2/1901, p.4; *POSG*, 20/2/1901, p.4; *TM*, 20/2/1901, p.9; *POSG*, 23/2/1901, p.5; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; *POSG*, 21/2/1901, p.3, 5; *POSG*, 22/2/1901, p.3.

9 *POSG*, 25/1/1902, p.14; *POSG*, 31/1/1902, p.4. Bernard is identified as Pharaoh in a letter concerning the inequality of his conviction by the radical black lawyer E.M. Lazare, in *TM*, 13/2/1902, p.8. On formation of (Sweet) Evening Bells 'Ballad Singer Calypso', *ibid.*; and Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41. *POSG*, 31/1/1902, p.4, Algernon E. Aspinall, *The British West Indies*, London, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1912, pp.155-157; (the earliest visit by Aspinall to Trinidad found in this research, is reported in *TM*, 31/1/1900, p.9). Charles Jones, op.cit., p.33; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.* In 1901, however, newspaper accounts show that separate bands named Artillery and Victoria had participated in the Port of Spain festival: *TM*, 20/2/1901, p.9; *POSG*, 20/2/1901, p.4. *TM*, 13/2/1902, p.7. *POSG*, 5/2/1902, p.3; *POSG*, 12/2/1902, p.5; *POSG*, 11/2/1902, p.3; *POSG*, 12/2/1902, p.5; *POSG*, 13/2/1902, p.4; *TM*, 13/2/1902, pp.7-9; *POSG*, 14/2/1902, p.4; *POSG*, 10/8/1902, p.3.

10 *POSG*, 22/1/1903, p.5; *POSG*, 23/1/1903, p.5; *POSG*, 30/1/1903, p.3; *POSG*, 1/2/1903, p.6; *POSG*, 15/2/1903, p.5 (Arima and Maracas); *POSG*, 7/2/1903, p.6 (San Fernando); *POSG*, 17/2/1903, p.2 and 20/2/1903, p.4 (Port of Spain); *POSG*, 12/2/1903, p.5 (St. Joseph); *POSG*, 20/2/1903, p.5 (Tacarigua and Tumpuna); *POSG*, 8/2/1902, p.4; *TM*, 12/2/1902, p.11; Patrick Jones, *ibid.*; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41, 43; *POSG*, 25/2/1903, p.4; *TM*, 27/2/1903, p.11; *POSG*, 26/2/1903, p.5 Competition reports/results: Arima - *POSG*, 26/2/1903, p.5; Maracas - *POSG*, 27/2/1903, p.5; Princes Town - *TM*, 26/2/1903,

p.11 *POSG*, 26/2/1903, p.5, 27/2/1903, p.5; San Fernando - *POSG*, 24/2/1903, p.3; *TM*, 26/2/1903, pp.10-11, *POSG*, 26/2/1903, p.5; St. Joseph - *POSG*, 26/2/1903, p.5; Tacarigua - *POSG*, 27/2/1903, p.5; Tunapuna - *POSG*, 26/2/1903, p.5, *TM*, 26/2/1903, p.11. There are no reports of competitions having taken place in Port of Spain. *POSG*, 25/2/1903, p.4; Patrick Jones, 'Patrick Jones', op.cit. *POSG*, 24/2/1903, p.3, Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.196-197. *TM*, 27/2/1903, p.11; *POSG*, 11/2/1902, p.3.

11 Brereton, *History*, op.cit., pp.149-151.

12 *ibid.* Extracts from contemporary newspaper reports, *POSG*, 21/1/1925, pp.26-27; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.22; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.* (for this version of the song). Other sources consulted on the riot: Cd. 1661; Cd. 1662; Cd. 1988; K.O. Laurence, 'The Trinidad Water Riot of 1903: Reflections of an Eye witness', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.15, No.4, 1969, pp.5-22; and Henry C. Alexis, 'The Water Riots of 1903', in Reinhard W. Sander, ed., *From Trinidad*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1978, pp.244-252; Eric Williams, *History*, pp.179-188. For this version of Fijonel's song [Quevedo] Atilla, 'Calypsoes', p.13 (a shortened text is in *Atilla's*, p.22, 178). *POSG*, 10/2/1904, p.7. On Holder: Quevedo, *Atilla's*, pp.11-12, 167; Cd. 1988; *POSG*, 18/2/1904, p.5; *POSG*, 19/2/1904, p.5. Carnival reports: *TM*, 16/2/1904, p.9; *POSG*, 16/2/1904, p.4; *TM*, 17/2/1904, p.8; *POSG*, 17/2/1904, p.4. The Venezuelan blockade: contemporary newspaper extracts, *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.26; Miriam Hood, *Gunboat Diplomacy*, London, George Allen & Unwin, pp.163-194; *POSG*, 17/2/1903, p.4; *POSG*, 13/2/1904, p.4; Patrick Jones, 'Patrick Jones', op.cit. Carnival references, *ibid.*; the case of mistaken police identity took place on the Saturday before Carnival, *TM*, 15/2/1904, p.9; *Argos*, 20/1/1919, p.5; *POSG*, 18/2/1904, p.4; *POSG*, 16/8/1916, p.8.

13 Belgrave, 'Reflections', p.16; *POSG*, 25/2/1908, p.7; *Argos*, 20/1/1919, p.5; *POSG*, 10/2/1904, p.7; *TM*, 16/8/1916, p.5; *POSG*, 16/8/1916, p.8; *POSG*, 7/3/1905, p.4.

14 *POSG*, 7/2/1905, p.3; *POSG*, 14/2/1905, p.2; *POSG*, 23/2/1905, p.4; *POSG*, 24/2/1905, p.7. On Sophie Mattaloney's status as a *caliso* singer, Atilla's recording *History Of Carnival*, Decca 17253, made in New York City, 15 March 1935, and his 'Calypsoes', p.11. *TM*, 7/3/1905, p.13; *POSG*, 7/3/1905, p.4; *TM*, 8/3/1905, p.11; *POSG*, 8/3/1905, p.5; 'Evolution of Steel Band (Notes taken at a discussion with Hon. R. Quevedo and Len Pierre on 30/6/53)', Pearse Papers; Charles Jones, op.cit., p.43. *POSG*, 10/3/1905, p.7, contains the first report of the Myler case. Others are in *POSG*, 14/3/1905, p.7; *POSG*, 16/3/1905, p.4; *POSG*, 23/3/1905, p.5; *POSG*, 25/3/1905, p.6. He was discharged with a caution. *POSG*, 8/3/1905, p.5; *POSG*, 9/3/1905, p.4; *POSG*, 8/3/1905, p.3; *POSG*, 10/3/1905, p.2; *POSG*, 9/3/1905, p.7; *POSG*, 12/3/1905, p.3.

15 Patrick Jones, *ibid.*; Bruce Procope, 'The Dragon Band or Devil Band', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, p.275; *TM*, 28/2/1906, p.8; *POSG*, 28/2/1906, p.7; *TM*, 27/2/1906, p.10; *POSG*, 1/3/1906, p.2; Jose Ramon Fortune, 'The Days When Stick-Fighting Was A Major Trinidad Sport', *TSG*, 7/3/1954, p.4a (sport); Alexander Bynoe, '"Freddie Manga" Dead: Old Carnival Stick Fighter', *TG*, 7/2/1933, p.4; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.15, 169.

16 *POSG*, 6/2/1907, p.2, 4; *TM*, 23/2/1909, p.6; *POSG*, 12/2/1907, p.5; *TM*, 12/2/1907, p.2; *POSG*, 13/2/1907, pp.4-5; *TM*, 13/2/1907, p.12; Clarke and Anthony, *ibid.*; *POSG*, 14/2/1907, p.7; *POSG*, 27/12/1907, p.4.

17 Brake is last listed as Inspector General of Constabulary in the *Colonial Office List For 1907*, London, Waterlow & Son, 1907, p.367; Swain is first listed in this post in the *Colonial Office List For 1908*, London, Waterlow & Son, 1908, p.381. A meeting organised by Bonanza, to select the judges for their competition, is noted in *POSG*, 7/2/1908, p.4. *POSG*, 1/3/1908, p.7; *TM*, 3/3/1908, p.15; *TM*, 4/3/1908, p.14; *POSG*, 3/3/1908, p.4; *POSG*, 4/3/1908, p.5; *POSG*, 16/8/1916, p.8.

18 An example of a sung challenge between stick fighters is the previously mentioned report of an encounter between the Starlight and Junction bands in 1898 (*TM*, 23/2/1898, p.3); Charles Jones, op.cit., p.31, 33; Clarke & Anthony, ibid.; *TM*, 24/2/1909, p.2; *TM*, 8/2/1910, p.7; [Quevedo] Atilla, 'Calypsoes', p.13, 15; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.24.

19 *TM*, 23/2/1909, p.6; Hearn, 'La Verette', p.740; Charles Jones, op.cit., p.21, 25, 27; *POSG*, 24/2/1909, p.4; *TM*, 24/2/1909, p.2; *POSG*, 23/2/1909, p.4; *POSG*, 25/2/1909, p.7; *POSG*, 23/2/1909, p.4; *POSG*, 24/2/1909, p.5; [Quevedo] Atilla, 'Calypsoes', p.13.

20 *POSG*, 8/2/1910, p.3; *TM*, 8/2/1910, p.7; *Argos*, 16/2/1919, p.6 (on Blackwood Wright); *TM*, 9/2/1910, p.3; *POSG*, 9/2/1910, p.5; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.24; [Quevedo] Atilla, 'Calypsoes', p.15; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.18, 173-174.

21 *TM*, 28/2/1911, p.7; *POSG*, 28/2/1911, p.9. For later reports of *Po' Me One* see William J. Makin, *Caribbean Nights*, London, Robert Hale, 1939, p.274; Connie Williams, *12 Songs From Trinidad*, San Francisco, Panpipes Press, 1959, p.12; and Lion, *Calypso*, p.75. Beginner's recollections are in Michael Anthony, *Glimpses of Trinidad and Tobago with a glance at the West Indies*, Port of Spain, Columbus Publishing, 1974, p.59, 62. The funeral of Charlie Phair is reported in *POSG*, 15/2/1911, p.5. Reports of the Carnival competitions are in *POSG*, 1/3/1911, p.5, and the court cases in *POSG*, 2/3/1911, p.3. Chin Tambi was recalled by Charles Jones, op.cit., p.43 and, one of Andrew Pearse's informants; Errol Hill, 'The gypsy calypso king wants to return', *TSG*, 11/2/1968, p.12 has Houdini's reminiscences.

22 Nineteenth-century references are detailed in the footnotes to Chapter IV. A composer credit to 'J.A. Coggin' in a 1914 recording by Lovey's Band suggests J. and Albert Coggins may be the same person (Spottswood 'A Discography' op.cit.). References, from 1900, are:

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|-------|---------------------------------|---|
| (i) | Eclipse String Band | <i>POSG</i> , 25/2/1902, p.4 (pre Carnival dance)
<i>POSG</i> , 12/2/1902, p.5 (Carnival) |
| (ii) | String bands led by Mr Martinez | <i>POSG</i> , 27/2/1900, p.6
(Excelsior, in Carnival)
<i>TM</i> , 27/2/1903, p.11 (Carnival)
<i>TM</i> , 8/3/1905, p.11 (pre Carnival ball in Princes Town) |
| (iii) | Belasco's String Orchestra | <i>POSG</i> , 4/2/1903, p.7 (Fête Champetre)
<i>POSG</i> , 18/2/1904, p.4 (Carnival ball)
<i>POSG</i> , 18/2/1905, p.5 (Agricultural show)
<i>POSG</i> , 3/2/1907, p.4 (pre Carnival ball in Princes Town) |
| (iv) | Denis Walton String Band | <i>POSG</i> , 6/2/1907, p.4 (pre Carnival ball) |
- On the Trinidad Banjo Mandoline And Guitar Orchestra, *West Indies Committee Circular*, Vol.XXIV, No.355, 7 May 1912, pp.236-237.

23 *Argos*, 15/2/1912, p.6; Charles Jones, op.cit., p.13, 17; *TM*, 20/2/1912, p.6; *POSG*, 20/2/1912, p.7; *TM*, 21/2/1912, p.3; *POSG*, 21/2/1912, p.4.

24 *POSG*, 28/4/1912, p.11; *POSG*, 7/2/1899, p.6; *POSG*, 1/5/1912, p.8; *POSG*, 5/5/1912, p.10; *TM*, 6/5/1912, p.7; *TM*, 8/5/1912, p.9; *POSG*, 8/5/1912, p.9; *Lloyds List*, 22/5/1912, col.28; Spottswood, 'A Discography'; Victor Spanish American catalogue, c. 1922 [title page, etc., missing in copy held by author] - entries for Trinidad, pp.127-128, and Venezuela, pp.129-130; the illustration from the Columbia catalogue is reproduced on the rear sleeve of the long-playing record *Jazz And Hot Dance In Trinidad 1912-1939*, Harlequin HQ 2016; for background information on this subject see Pekka Gronow 'Ethnic Recordings: An Introduction', in *Ethnic Recordings In America: A Neglected Heritage*, (Studies In American Folklife, No.1), Washington, D.C., Library of

Congress, 1982, pp.1-49, and the discussions on 'The Companies and Their Ethnic Recordings' (pp.xxvii-xxxiii) and, 'Ethnic Recording Series' (pp.xxxiii-xlvi), in the first volume of Spottswood's *Ethnic Music on Records*, op.cit.; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.15, 169; *POSG*, 17/8/1912, pp.7-8; other advertisements are in *POSG*, 20/8/1912, p.7; *POSG*, 29/8/1912, p.7; *POSG*, 31/8/1912, p.7.

25 *TM*, 28/1/1913, p.8; *POSG*, 2/2/1913, p.11; *Argos*, 22/2/1912, p.4; on the *Diametre* costume see Crowley, 'Traditional Masques', pp.196-197; *POSG*, 4/2/1913, p.9; *TM*, 4/2/1913, p.6; *POSG*, 5/2/1913, p.7; *TM*, 5/2/1913, p.6. On the title of Executor's song - Lord Executor: St. Francois Valley - interview notes, 10 February 1952 (Andrew Pearse Papers); on Pointer's arrival in Trinidad - *POSG*, 1/10/1912, p.2; on his visit - Brereton, *History*, pp.152-153; and Brinsley Samaroo, 'The Trinidad Workingmen's Association And The Origins Of Popular Protest In A Crown Colony', *Social and Economic Studies*, Vol.21, No.2, 1972, pp.208-209; on the song - Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.25; this text (which differs slightly from the one in *Atilla's*) is from Sampson, 'Old And New', op.cit.

26 *TRG*, 22/1/1914, p.107; *POSG*, 14/2/1914, p.5; *POSG*, 25/2/1914, p.3; *TM*, 24/2/1914, p.6; *TM*, 25/2/1914, p.2, 6.

27 Spottswood, 'A Discography'; *POSG*, 28/8/1914, pp.7-8; *TM*, 28/8/1914, p.7; *supra*, fn.21 (*Po' Me One*); *POSG*, 13/2/1907, p.4; *TM*, 24/2/1909, p.2 and *TM*, 28/2/1911, p.7, (Saylor Boy); Brereton, 'Sir John Gorrie', p.65 (*Papa Gorrie*); Spottswood, *ibid.*, lists three recordings, all made in New York: *The Song of Cecilia*, by Monroe's String Band (vocal by Lyle Lorieo) - Okeh 65006 (1925); *Cecilia*, by the calypsonian Wilmoth Houdini - Victor 80077 (1927); and *Cecilia*, by Lionel Belasco's Orchestra (with vocal) - Brunswick 7034 (1928); Connor, *Songs*, pp.64-65 (*Doggie Doggie*); Howard W. Odum collected versions of *Nobody's Business*, in Mississippi and Georgia in the first decade of the century - 'Folk-Song and Folk-Poetry As Found In The Secular Songs Of The Southern Negroes', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.24, No.93, July-September 1911, p.275; No.94, October-December 1911, pp.357-358; Paul Oliver discusses commercial recordings by US blues performers in his *Songsters And Saints: Vocal Traditions On Race Records*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p.67; there is an early 1950s Jamaican recording by Boysie Grant - MRS 06 (see Cowley and Noblett 'English-speaking'); two West African recordings from the same period are: *People Go Mind Your Business* by Nehemie Jones (recorded in Liberia) - in the 78 r.p.m. album *Tribal, Folk and Cafe Music of West Africa* (copy held at the National Sound Archive) - and *Nobody's Business But My Own* by Calender and his Maringar Band (recorded in Sierra Leone) - Decca WA 2506; on Monroe's relationship to Belasco, 78 F. Supp. 686; Victor 67672 is the issue number of Belasco's piano version of *Buddy Abraham* from 1915; he cut a piano roll of the tune for QRS in 1924 and, in 1928 his Orchestra recorded a version with a vocalist for the same company (issue number not known); the Lion recorded the song for American Decca in 1939 (Decca 17408) and Sam Manning included a verse in his *Medley Of West Indian Songs*, recorded for the same company in 1941 (Decca 18259); Connie Williams printed a text with music in her *12 Songs*, p.13; Belasco's 1915 piano recording of *Little Brown Boy*, was issued in Victor 67685; Sam Manning recorded a variant of the song in 1925 (*Brown Boy*, Okeh 65008), while Cyril Monroe's (or Belasco's) Orchestra recorded *See My Little Brown Boy* as an instrumental in 1928 (Gennett 20361); A text with music was published by Patterson and Belasco in *Calypso Songs*, pp.10-11; its origin in Barbados and local title, *See My Little Brown Girl*, is confirmed by Andre P.T. Ambard (*POSG*, 19/2/1950, p.4) and texts in 'Barbadian Folk Songs', *Bajan*, November 1959, p.15, and Louis Lynch, *The Barbados Book*, London, Andre Deutsch, 1964, p.188; the piano rendition of *Bajan Girl* by Belasco was issued in Victor 67674; he subsequently cut the tune as a piano roll for QRS in 1924 (QRS 2656) and, with his Orchestra and a singer, recorded a version for the same company in 1928 (QRS R-7031); Sam Manning included a verse in his *Medley Of West Indian Songs*, recorded for American Decca in 1941 (De 18259); the 1915 recording by Belasco of *Not A Cent, Not A Cent!* was issued in Victor 67673, see also fn.2, Chapter V; Belasco's piano version of *My Little Man's Gone Down*

De Main was issued in Victor 67674; the verse from the song is from a performance by 'Anthony' in a field recording by Andrew Pearse; extra particulars on the 'Calipsos' and 'Kalendas' from advertisements in *POSG*, 13/2/1915, p.5; *POSG*, 16/2/1915, p.3; *POSG*, 2/3/1916, p.5; *TG*, 2/3/1919, p.4; on *Belle Marie Coolie* see Thomas W. Talley, *Negro Folk Rhymes*, New York, Macmillan, 1922, pp.225-226; the source of the song is given incorrectly as Venezuela, as is another White Rose Union text *Game Contestants Song* (which also has lyrics in French Creole), p.223; W. Austin Simmonds, "Pan" - *The Story of the Steelbands*, Trinidad, British West Indian Airways [1959], p.5; text of *Iron Duke In The Land* transcribed from its reissue in *Calypso Pioneers*, Rounder Records 1039; *TM*, 8/2/1915, p.9; Patrick Jones, 'Patrick Jones', op.cit.; a slightly different version of these lyrics (attributed to Lord Executor, although this seems unlikely) is in Elder, 'Colour, Music, And Conflict', p.132; there is a partial transcription of the lyrics to *Bagai sala que pocheray moin* in the booklet notes to *Trinidad Loves To Play Carnival*, Matchbox MBD 906 (in which the recording is reissued).

28 *POSG*, 5/9/1914, p.5, *et seq.*; random sample of advertisements, collected in the course of this study - *POSG*, 5/2/1902, p.3 (Davidson & Todd); *TM*, 27/2/1903, p.10 (H. Strong); *POSG*, 16/2/1904, p.5 (H. Strong); *POSG*, 19/2/1904, p.5 (H. Strong); *POSG*, 24/2/1906, p.2 (Pedro Prada); *POSG*, 6/2/1907, p.2 (Wilsons); *POSG*, 12/2/1911, p.4 (Wilsons); *POSG*, 4/2/1913, p.9 (Strong's).

29 *TM*, 8/2/1915, p.9; *TM*, 13/2/1915, p.3; selected advertisements:

Victor: *POSG*, 13/2/1915, p.5 (H. Strong - Just In Time For Carnival)
POSG, 16/2/1915, p.3 (Smith Bros. - New Creole Victor Records)
p.5 (H. Strong - Just In Time For Carnival)

[Smith Bros. (The Bonanza) included the East Indian selections, Strong's did not].

Columbia: *POSG*, 28/1/1915, p.11 (Muir, Marshall - Lovey)
TM, 13/2/1915, p.4 (Muir, Marshall - Lovey)
POSG, 14/2/1915, p.7 (Muir, Marshall - Lovey, 38 Records)

Anthony, *Glimpses*, p.60; *TM*, 16/2/1915, p.3; *TM*, 13/2/1915, p.4; *TM*, 17/2/1915, p.7; *POSG*, 17/2/1915, pp.2-3; *TM*, 17/2/1915, p.3; Daniel J. Crowley, 'The Midnight Robbers', *Caribbean Quarterly*, Vol.4, Nos. 3 & 4, March-June 1956, p.263.

30 *POSG*, 2/3/1916, p.5; *TM*, 7/3/1916, p.7; *TM*, 8/3/1916, p.2; Brown, *Angry Men*, p.262; further information on 'leggos' is in Bowles, 'Calypso', p.157; Espinet and Pitts, op.cit., p.31; Lion, 'How Leggo and La Vouez Were Born'. *TEN*, 2/6/1981; Lion, 'Kalinda-Stick Man Chant: Leggo and La Vouez Part Two', *TEN*, 26/6/1981; on the Trinidad Contingents selected extracts on their recruitment and departure in 1915 are in *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.29; the most accessible article is, C.L. Joseph, 'The British West Indies Regiment 1914-1918', *Journal of Caribbean History*, Vol.2, May 1971, pp.94-124; *POSG*, 8/3/1916, p.11; Theodore Roosevelt, 'Where the Steady Trade-Winds Blow', *Scribner's Magazine*, Vol.LXI, No.2, February 1917, p.185; *TG*, 30/1/1936, p.8 (letter from Raymond Quevedo); *POSG*, 6/1/1918, p.7 (letter from Citizen); *Gleaner*, 1 May 1929, p.10 and Cowley, 'Cultural "fusions"', pp.83-86 (on Sam Manning); *TM*, 16/8/1916, p.5; *POSG*, 16/8/1916, p.8 (on Swain's retirement); *Colonial Office List For 1917*, London, Waterlow & Son, 1917, p.394 (Chancellor's appointment).

31 *TM*, 16/8/1916, p.5; *Gazette Extraordinary [TRG]*, 12/1/1917, pp.103-104; *TRG*, 1/2/1917, p.201; *POSG*, 20/2/1917, p.3; *POSG*, 21/2/1917, p.4; *POSG*, 21/2/1917, p.11; *Trinidad Spectator*, 25/2/1846, p.2; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.41.

32 *POSG*, 6/1/1918, p.6, a contrary attitude was expressed in the *Argos*, 16/1/1918, p.1, 7; Trinidad and Tobago: *Proclamation*, No.7 of 1918, (14 January); *POSG*, 8/2/1918, p.3 (appeal by Mayor of Port of Spain); *POSG*, 10/2/1918, p.3 (appeal by Mayor of San Fernando), p.11 (Sound Patriotism And Good Sense); *POSG*, 12/2/1918, p.3; *TG*, 12/2/1918, p.6; *Argos*, 12/2/1918, p.7; on Kola - *POSG*, 14/8/1915, p.2; *Argos*, 28/2/1919, p.5; the letters *POSG*, 9/2/1918, p.3 (Rev. Errey); *POSG*, 10/2/1918, p.8

(Lovey); *TG*, 13/2/1918, p.6; *POSG*, 13/2/1918, p.3; 'Evolution of Steel Band', op.cit.;; Arthur F. Raymond, 'Origin of the Savannah Carnival and the Development of the Down Town Celebrations', *Humming Bird*, Carnival No., 1960, p.9; other references to 'Argos' *Paper*: *POSG*, 4/3/1919, p.9; Atilla, 'Calypsoes', p.15; Williams, *12 Songs*, p.15; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.25, 181 - Atilla ascribes this song to Henry Forbes, but Gordon Rohlehr, quoting the chorus and another version of the first verse (obtained from Lord Beginner), states that the composer was the Duke of Normandy, *Calypso & Society*, pp.87-88, 545; references to *Run Your Run Kaiser William*: Connor, *Songs*, p.25; Atilla, 'Calypsoes', p.15; Elder, 'Colour Music And Conflict', p.33; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.25, 182.

33 Selected extracts on receipt of news of the signing of the Armistice and the 'Celebration of Peace' in Port of Spain are in *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.30; *Argos*, 7/2/1919, p.5; Ownership of *Argos*, etc. noted in Tony Martin, 'Revolutionary Upheavals In Trinidad, 1919: Views From British And American Sources', *Journal of Negro History*, Vol.58, No.3, July 1973, p.316; background to the agitation for the restoration of the masqued Carnival pieced together from, Raymond, 'Origin', op.cit., pp.8-10; Rohlehr, *Calypso & Society*, pp.87-103; Michael Anthony. *Parade of the Carnivals of Trinidad 1839-1989*, Port of Spain, Circle Press, 1989, pp.18-24 (a one-sided account, taken only from the *Guardian*); examples of the activity of the *Argos* team: 'The Carnival' (editorial, 11/1/1919, p.2); 'The Carnival Petition: Proclamation Not Yet Issued' (16/1/1919, p.5); 'The Carnival Petition: A Perfectly Constitutional Measure' (19/1/1919, p.2); 'Carnival In Trinidad: The Opinion of Colonel Swain: An Open Letter To His Excellency' (from 'Anti-Camouflage', 20/1/1919, p.5); 'Camouflage And The Carnival: A Wolf In Sheep's Clothing: The "Port of Spain Gazette" Exposed' (23/1/1919, p.7); 'The Carnival Petition: His Excellency Will Receive Deputation' (26/1/1919, p.3); *Argos*, 29/1/1919, p.7; *Argos*, 30/1/1919, p.5; Raymond, 'Origin', pp.9-10; *Argos*, 16/2/1919, p.7; *Argos*, 19/2/1919, p.7; *TG*, 23/2/1919, p.12; *TG*, 4/3/1919, p.6; *TG*, 5/3/1919, p.7.

34 *Argos*, 24/2/1919, p.9; Rohlehr, *Calypso & Society*, pp.98-99, prints the lyrics to both of these songs but, unlike the *Argos*, does not indicate the solo and chorus passages; *Argos*, 3/2/1919, p.2. Other songs: *Argos*, 4/2/1919, p.10; 14/2/1919, p.2; 28/2/1919, p.3, supplement, p.ii (between pp.3-4); 1/3/1919, supplement p.i (between pp.6-7); 2/3/1919, p.4. Merrick's letter: *Argos*, 4/2/1919, p.5. Kalenda: *Argos*, 2/3/1919, p.5. Tents: *Argos*, 3/2/1919, p.5 (or 6); Rohlehr, *Calypso & Society*, p.95; Raymond, 'Origin', p.9. *Argos* competition: *Argos*, 3/2/1919, p.2; 16/2/1919, p.7; *POSG*, 6/3/1919, p.7. *Guardian* competition: *TG*, 23/2/1919, p.6, p.12; 4/3/1919, p.6; 5/3/1919, p.7. San Fernando competition: *TG*, 2/3/1919, p.10; 4/3/1919, p.6; 5/3/1919, p.7. Carnival: *POSG*, 4/3/1919, p.9; *Argos*, 2/3/1919, p.5; *TG*, 4/3/1919, p.6; *POSG*, 5/3/1919, p.8; *TG*, 5/3/1919, p.7; Raymond, 'Origin', pp.9-10; the verse from the song by H.M. Loyal Convicts is from a performance by 'Anthony' in a field recording by Andrew Pearse; *POSG*, 6/3/1919, p.7; Headley's String Band performed for a pre-Carnival dance in 1914 - *POSG*, 14/2/1914, p.4; *TG*, 9/3/1919, p.8; 'The Makers Of Masks', *TG*, 23/2/1919, p.4; 'Carnival Bands At Practice', *TG*, 23/2/1919, pp.4-5; *POSG*, 26/2/1919, p.4; Pitts, 'Calypso', p.43; 'Evolution of Steel Band', Pearse Papers; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.36; *POSG*, 2/3/1919, p.7; A photograph of a moko jumbie performing during the 'down town' Carnival in 1919 is one of several illustrations of this event included between pp.132 and 133 of *Trinidad Carnival*, Port of Spain, Paria Publishing, 1988. Belasco's New York recordings in this period are listed in Spottswood, *Ethnic Music*, Vol.5, pp.2889-2892. Some were piano solos but most were by his string orchestra. Included were Trinidadian, Venezuelan and Colombian rhythms, as well as the first recording of the Jamaican tune *Sweetie Charlie* and authentic black-North American ragtime composition. Biographical particulars on his activities at this time are in *POSG*, 17/1/1933, p.7. Sample of newspaper advertisements for recordings of Trinidad Carnival music placed during the period of the Victory Carnival in 1919: H. Strong (Victor Carnival Records) - *POSG*, 25/2/1919, p.7; *TG*, 28/2/1919, p.9; *TG*, 2/3/1919, p.4; *POSG*, 2/3/1919, p.7; Muir, Marshall (Lovey's Columbia Records) - *TG*, 23/2/1919, p.2; *TG*, 26/2/1919, p.1; *TG*,

2/3/1919, p.2. The advertisements by Dick & Wells are in *POSG*, 4/3/1919, p.9; *POSG*, 6/3/1919, p.7.

35 The material on the strikes in Trinidad, disturbances in Britain (and elsewhere) and the Contingents, has been compiled from: Brereton, *History*, pp.160-164; 'Electric Tram Car Strike' (extract from *POSG*, 6/4/1919) in *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.30; W.F. Elkins, 'Black Power In The British West Indies: The Trinidad Longshoreman's Strike', *Science and Society*, Vol.33, Winter 1969, pp.71-75; W.F. Elkins, 'A Source Of Black Nationalism In The Caribbean: The Revolt of the British West Indies Regiment at Taranto, Italy', *Science and Society*, Vol.34, 1970, pp.99-103; W.F. Elkins, 'Hercules And The Society Of Peoples Of African Origin', *Caribbean Studies*, Vol.11, No.4, Jan 1972, pp.47-59; Neil Evans, 'Regulating the Reserve Army: Arabs, Blacks and the Local State in Cardiff', in Kenneth Lunn, eds., *Race And Labour In Twentieth-Century Britain*, London, Frank Cass, 1985, pp.68-115; Fryer, *Staying Power*, pp.298-316; Jacquelin Jenkinson, 'The Glasgow Race Disturbances of 1919', in Kenneth Lunn, ed., op.cit., pp.43-67; Jennings, 'Colour Bar', op.cit.; Joseph, 'British West Indies Regiment', op.cit.; Martin, 'Revolutionary Upheaval', op.cit.; Tony Martin, 'Marcus Garvey and Trinidad', Ch.5 of his *The Pan-African Connection: From Slavery to Garvey and Beyond*, Dover, Mass., Majority Press, 1983, pp.63-93; Roy May and Robin Cohen, 'The Inter-relation between Race and Colonialism: A Case Study of the Liverpool Race Riots of 1919', *Race and Class*, Vol.XVI, No.2, 1974, pp.111-126. Ron Ramdin, *From Chattel Slave to Wage Earner: A History of Trade Unionism in Trinidad and Tobago*, London, Martin Brian & O'Keefe, 1982, pp.54-63; 'Return Of Trinidad Contingent' (extract from *POSG*, 25/5/1919) in *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.30; Samaroo, 'Trinidad Workingmen's Association', op.cit.; 'The Stevedore's Strike', (extracts from *POSG*, 2/12/1919; 5/12/1919) in *POSG*, 21/9/1925, p.30; Williams, *12 Songs*, pp.5-6.

36 *TG*, 15/2/1920, p.14 (San Fernando competitions, etc.); *TG*, 28/1/1920, p.8 (rehearsals); *TG*, 5/2/1920, p.9 (police 'tamboo bamboo' practice); Hill, *Trinidad Carnival*, p.65; and Pitts, 'Calypso', p.43 (Douglas); *TG*, 17/2/1920, p.8; *POSG*, 17/2/1920, p.3; *POSG*, 18/2/1920, p.9; *TG*, 18/2/1920, p.14; *TG*, 19/2/1920, p.9, 12 (Carnival); Patrick Jones, 'Patrick Jones', op.cit.; see also Rohlehr's discussion in *Calypso & Society*, p.105, 546 (*Class Legislation*); *POSG*, 19/9/1920, p.17; *POSG*, 31/1/1937, p.8 (Prince of Wales/Lovey's band).

**MUSIC & MIGRATION: Aspects of Black Music in the
British Caribbean, the United States, and Britain, before
the Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago**

In two volumes

VOLUME TWO of TWO

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VII CONCLUSION

This chapter will be divided into two primary sections. The first will explore concisely the evolution of commercial recordings of music from Trinidad (and other areas of the English-speaking West Indies). The second will discuss aspects of the relationship of creole music from the English-speaking West Indies to the metropolises. Observations will be made in the light of the criteria established and studied in the main body of the work.

In the period 1912 (first recordings) to 1962 (Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago) the majority of commercial recordings of music from the English-speaking West Indies were made and, or manufactured in metropolises in the United States, or Britain. Performed principally by musicians from Trinidad in the period 1912-1945 these have been considered on the basis of their rhythmic descriptions (Table VIII). In the same way, so have the recordings of West Indian Music in Britain from 1948 to 1953 (Table XI).

Here, the relationship of these recordings to the evolution of a market for music from the English-speaking Caribbean will be discussed. For the purposes of this investigation the pattern of commercial development will be divided into four sections that conform with periods of trading. Field recordings made in the Panama Canal Zone during 1943-44 will be used as a point for comparison. These were made in a period when no new commercial recordings of local music were undertaken.

1. Commercial Recordings Of Music From Trinidad And Other Areas Of The English-Speaking West Indies 1921-1962

- (i) Trends in Carnival and the musical diaspora 1921-1941**
- (a) 1921-1934**

In the period 1912-1923 the Victor Talking Machine Company appears to have

made a concerted effort to develop the market in the West Indies for recordings by Trinidad performers. Lionel Belasco's annual recordings from 1914 to 1920 have been mentioned in the last chapter, as have the other recordings Victor made in Trinidad in 1914. In 1921 Victor brought the composer and pianist Walter Merrick and vaudevillian Johnny Walker to New York to make further recordings of instrumental and vocal music from Trinidad.

Merrick, like Belasco, was a formally trained musician, and Walker a stage performer not directly associated with calypso tents. Both, however, performed idiomatic music from the Carnival tradition. In Merrick's case, there were instrumental versions of calypsos with the rhythmic description Trinidad Carnival Paseo, a Valse Creole, a Valse Venezolano, and Paseos from Grenada and, Tobago. The Trinidad items included a Dame Lorraine piece *Come Down Kuffie* (composer credit Julian Whiterose) as well as *Kaiser William Run Away* (composer credit C.Monrose) and a celebratory *Prince of Wales* (composer credit Jerry). Of these only *Kaiser William* was issued (Victor 63061).

Walker's renditions included a representation of a Shouters Meeting, a Trinidad Carnival Calypso and a Trinidad Ragtime Song. A version of *Argos Paper* (composer credit C. Abdullah) was called a Trinidad Kalendar. This was coupled with *Firearm De Fay* (composer credit H.Forbs), which received no rhythm description (Victor 63062). The Shouters, or Spiritual Baptists, had been proscribed in 1917.

The majority of these pieces were of local appeal and associated with recent festivals in Trinidad. Merrick's Vals Venezolano, however, draws attention to similar earlier recordings by Lovey and Belasco that were still being sold in Venezuela. The range of what was available for sale in each country is demonstrated by a sampling of entries from equivalent pages of a 1922 Victor Spanish American catalogue (Table XXIII).

Since taking up residence in New York, Lionel Belasco had also made recordings for Victor of dance rhythms from Colombia. In 1922, as has been noted in Chapter I, his South American Players recorded a series of dance pieces from Colombia, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Trinidad and Venezuela for Black Swan Records. It has also been pointed out that this short-lived black-owned record company was at the time one of the early

symbols of the Harlem Renaissance.

Victor recorded two Trinidad performers in 1923. In July the violinist Cyril Monroe played graceful renditions of Trinidad and Venezuelan waltzes and scintillating examples of popular Carnival melodies. *Trinidad Carnival Songs* and *Sly Mongoose* were in the latter category. Sung versions of the last named piece (which originated in Jamaica) had featured in parades during the 1923 Carnival. A novel vocal interpretation was recorded in August by the vaudeville comedian Phil Madison. Originally from Guyana, Madison recorded another contemporary Carnival street song, *My Neighbour Next Door* and several original compositions. Lionel Belasco accompanied him on the piano.

From late 1923 to mid 1924 four songs about migrants from the British West Indies were registered for copyright in the U.S.A. Three were written by a team of well known black composers active in the music publishing business. The songs were *West Indies Blues* (by Edgar Dowell, Spencer Williams and Clarence Williams), *Black Star Line* (by Dowell and Spencer Williams) and *Barbados Blues* (by Dowell and Clarence Williams). Some were recorded in several versions, most by women blues singers who earned a living on the vaudeville circuit. The records were released in 'race series' that American gramophone companies had developed for marketing black music in the U.S.A. An underlying theme of these songs was rejection of English-speaking West Indian migrants. They were encouraged to leave for their home islands. In the case of the first two pieces there was also mockery of the plans of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association.

The other song, *My Jamaica*, was likewise derisory. It was written by Porter Grainger (another composer active in U.S. black music circles) and S. Monroe (who might be Cyril Monroe). Notwithstanding its content, a recording of this was used as one side of the first release in a new series on Okeh for the West Indian market, launched by the General Phonograph Corporation in mid 1924. The principal singer represented was Trinidad vaudevillian Sam Manning. He had arrived in New York in the same year. One item recorded by Manning for Okeh at this time was *Amba Cay La'*. It was based on an old stickfighting theme sung by bamboo bands during *j'ouvert* parades in carnival.

A sentiment based on the back to Africa ideal of Marcus Garvey is the subject of Manning's *Africa Blues* which he recorded for the Paramount 'race series' in August 1924. The coupling, *Sweet Willie* by Grace Taylor, was later described as 'a typical St. Lucia beguine'. This release (Paramount 12229) proved to be a sole flirtation with West Indian music in a series that is well known for the quality of its blues and jazz performances (but not its pressings). Manning recorded *Sweet Willie* for Okeh in 1925 and on two subsequent occasions.

The first constitutional elections (for limited representation in the executive) took place in Trinidad on 7 February 1925. This was just over two weeks before the Carnival. Captain A.A. Cipriani stood for the Port of Spain constituency and a popular theme *Who You Voting For? Cipriani!* was composed in his favour. He won the seat and, presumably, the song was one of the 'choruses, most of them on local topics' performed by masquerade bands during the festival.

Who You Voting For? Cipriani! was one of several pieces recorded for Victor by Walter Merrick's Trinidad String Orchestra in New York in 1925. Described as a 'Calypso Song' it is useful to note that the tune was based on the melody of *Amba Cay La'*. The vocals were by Charles Abdulla and Lyle Willoughby. They sang together on two other 'Creole Calypsos' recorded by Merrick at this session: *Lignum Vitae* and *Married to You*. The last named was not issued. *Lignum Vitae*, however, was also recorded by Sam Manning and this suggests that all three of these songs date from the 1925 Carnival. An instrumental of *Married To You* by Merrick's Orchestra was issued by Columbia in their Spanish-American series.

Sam Manning recorded a number of songs from other territories in the British Caribbean in 1925. *Brown Boy* was a version of the Barbados song *See My Little Brown Boy* (mentioned in the last chapter), while *The Bargee* probably emanated from Guyana. His *Barbados Blues* was a much more sympathetic composition than the one written by Edgar Dowell and Clarence Williams. The lyrics in Manning's performance of *Sly Mongoose* were the first on gramophone record to reflect the Jamaican origin of this song. Unusually, *Camilla (When You Go Please Don't Come Back)* appears to have reached

Trinidad via his recording. It is reported as a contemporary Carnival chorus in a pre-festival feature in the *Trinidad Guardian* published on 14 February 1926.

The seven choruses printed by the *Guardian* at this time provide one of the few representative samples of calypsos from this period:

There is perhaps one feature of the Carnival which impresses the visitor as being of poor standard and it is a peculiar fact that the choruses heard at "tent practice" are not sung by bands during their march through the streets. Nearly every band adopts some two line refrain, and this leads to the impression that all the singing is nothing but a monotonous reiteration of a few meaningless words. Here are a few of the choruses which have been heard at the tents of the Swedish Millionaires, Tempting Navy Dock, Florient Syndicate and Railroad Millionaires.

THE BANDSMAN'S FATE

It is very sad to relate
How the poor Bandsman met his fate
It is very sad to relate
How the poor Bandman met his fate
While bathing in the sea at To-ba-go
Himself and company
He was attacked by a monster called a *baracouté*
Sans Humanité.

ST JAMES TRAGEDY

Crimes of all description have been done
In this island from time to time
Crimes of all description, have been done
In this island from time to time
The Assee tragedy, Shield is another;
Persadee, we are bound to remember;
But the St.James' tragedy exceed all cruelty.

Another Chorus: -

Mam-my, mam-my, have you heard the cruelty!
Mam-my, mam-my, have you heard the cruelty!
How solemn it was to see
Poor Olga lying in the mortuary
Because she disagreed to marry to Gurrie.

GURRIE'S SONS

They are left alone, without parents without home
They are left alone, without parents without home
For their father's brutality
They are now paying the penalty
And in their misery, we must extend some sympathy

INTERCOLONIAL CRICKET

Hail! O,Hail! For Trinidad has prevailed

Hail! O,Hail! For Trinidad has prevailed.
Demerarians have made their name
Barbados has lost her fame
All victory to the sons of Iere,
Sans Humanité.

THE LANDING OF COLUMBUS

Were you not told what Columbus saw
When he landed, on Iere shore
Were you not told what Columbus saw
When he landed on Iere shore.
He saw the Caribs so brave and bold
The humming birds, with their wings of gold
He was so glad, that he called the Island Trinidad.

THE DYALL FIRE

The Belle Eau Road fire, the jury agreed:
Was a skilful conspiracy.
The Belle Eau Road fire, the jury agreed:
Was a skilful conspiracy.
Emily Dyall she told a tale
To save her sons from the Royal Gaol
But her calamity deserves some sympathy.

CAMILLA'S CONDUCT

Cam-illa! Camilla, when you go don't come back again
Cam-illa, Camilla, with your conduct I must complain
I want to settle down with a Swedish Millionaire
Tell them, one and all
I want to settle down with a decent Bajan girl
In Trin-i-dad.

The Landing of Columbus was composed and sung by Lord Executor. It was the calypso he performed when one of his younger disciples, Atilla the Hun rose to prominence in the tents. Atilla defeated Executor in competition with a song on the unofficial-M.C.C.-Calthorpe cricket team, who played a match against the West Indies during this pre-Carnival period in Trinidad.

Three refrains are mentioned in the press as having been popular with the bands during Carnival parades in 1926: *Camilla*, *Masie's Downfall*, and *Where have you been so long Caroline?* Only one Carnival song, however, was recorded by Sam Manning in New York. This was entitled *Oh Emily!* His other performances were Jamaican 'Mentors' (or Mentos) including an instrumental version of the work song *Hold Him Joe*, (or *My Donkey Wants Water*). These records were made for Columbia and issued in their Latin American catalogue. They marked the end of Manning's association with the Okeh

West Indian series.

Manning's records were not only sold for export. In February 1926 two of his 1925 recordings for Columbia were released as a coupling in their domestic 'race' series. In addition, a session he recorded for Okeh in the same month was marketed only in their catalogue for U.S. black music. A 1927 session, cut for Okeh with the Jamaican bandleader Adolph Thenstead, was also released only in this series. These recordings included new versions of *Lignum Vitae* and *Emily*.¹

Following his accompaniments to Phil Madison, in the period 1923-1926 Lionel Belasco appears not to have undertaken any recording sessions. He had remained active in music, however, registering several pieces for copyright during this time. He also cut piano rolls for QRS in 1924, including *Sly-Mon-Goose*, *Bajan Girl* and *Buddy Abraham*. Remaining domiciled in New York City, from 1927 Belasco started making annual visits to the Carnival in Port of Spain. He became a regular judge for masquerade competitions held in Marine Square.

The link between calypso singers and Carnival bands was becoming more and more tenuous at this time. Organised competitions were consolidating their hold on the festival. In this respect one of the prizes for which Belasco shared the adjudication in 1927 was for the 'Best Singing Costume Band'. This was awarded to the Silky Millionaires. Their appearance in the competition was reported in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 2 March:

Calypso singing by a few bands was very much appreciated. "Atilla" with the "Silky Millionaires" won the plaudits and admiration of all with his song on the bobbing of the hair and rouging of the face by young ladies, the refrain of which was as follows:

Day by day, all the young girls are breaking away;
They bobbing their hair and rouging their face
Wearing their belts below their waist, etc.

Notwithstanding, Atilla, the singer with the Silky Millionaires, was spearheading the movement towards tents detached from masquerade bands and operated exclusively by songsters.

On his return to New York in 1927, Lionel Belasco persuaded the Victor Company to make new recordings for the English-speaking West Indian market. Accordingly,

Wilmoth Houdini, a singer with experience of calypso tents, was brought to the U.S.A. On 1 August, Houdini recorded eight Carnival songs. He was accompanied by Belasco on piano, Cyril Monroe on violin, an unknown cuatro player, and Gerald Clark, another famous Trinidad musician, on guitar.

These recordings of authentic Trinidad music by a calypsonian in New York mark a watershed in the marketing of calypso recordings by gramophone companies. Just as the rise of Atilla as a popular singer in Carnival tents in Trinidad marks a watershed in the adoption of a new approach by calypso singers.

Houdini recorded a selection of popular contemporary and past calypsos. *Day By Day* was his rendering of Atilla's *Young Girls Break Away* (with which the Silky Millionaires had won their competition). Songs from previous Carnivals included *Caroline* (the road march from 1926), *Cecilia*, and *You Run, You Run*. An unissued instrumental version of *Cecilia* had been recorded by Belasco's String Band in Trinidad in 1914. Monroe's String Band, with vocalist Lyle Lorieo, had also recorded variants of these last two pieces - as *The Song Of Cecilia*, and *And She Run, And She Run* - for Okeh in 1925. In addition there was the first in a series of competitive *picongs* recorded by Houdini on his fellow calypsonians in Trinidad: *Good Night Ladies And Gents*. He pressed home the advantage over his adversaries. His position as the only calypso singer with access to the medium of gramophone records meant that they had no means of reply.

At the same session Belasco's Orchestra recorded instrumental versions of three of these calypsos (they were given the rhythm description 'Paseo') and a 'Venezuelan Waltz'.

The success of these releases can be measured by an increase in the activities of U.S. gramophone companies in the English-speaking West Indian market. Early in February 1928 the Brunswick company made their first recordings of this type of music. Two pieces were performed by Sam Manning : *Woman Sweeter Than Man* and *Bouncing Baby Boy*. The first song was an adaptation of two Houdini had recorded the previous August; one with the same title, the other *Day By Day*. *Bouncing Baby Boy* took up a theme that was reflected in a number of Manning's recordings in this period - the

experience of black West Indian migrants in Harlem. In this respect it is not surprising that the coupling was issued in Brunswick's 'race' series 'for special release, New York territory'.

All Brunswick's recordings of English-speaking West Indian music were released in their 'race' series. In mid March, Manning was employed by Brunswick to make a two part comic duet with Anna Freeman entitled *The American Woman And West Indian Man*. Another of their performances was *Goin' Back To Jamaica*. The black North American pianist Porter Grainger played the accompaniments and received composer credits for these titles.

In April, Manning switched companies and made records for the Okeh 'race' series. His *Sweetie Charlie* was the first vocal version of this Jamaican tune to have been recorded. *Lieutenant Julian* commemorated the exploits of Hubert Julian, the black West Indian aviator based in the U.S.A. and his latest plans to fly the Atlantic. *You Can't Get Anything Out Of Me* was another wry commentary on relationships between black North American women and male West Indian migrants. The song was based on a folk melody known usually as *Bromley* and reported in different versions from Barbados and Grenada.

It is evident from the subject matter and melodies represented in these recordings that their intended audience was principally West Indian migrants in the United States. There was also the prospect of sales in islands in the British West Indies, although probably not Trinidad, where Carnival provided the primary market for gramophone records of local music.

The festival in Port of Spain had taken place on 20 and 21 February in 1928. In its report of the first day the *Port of Spain Gazette* noted how 'Calypso bands were not very numerous', but 'the band led by "Albany" and the "Lord Executor" caught the eye'. Good singing by these veterans was not complemented by musicians in costume and this met with disapproval. At the Queen's Park Savannah, the *Guardian* described how 'among the advertising bands "Toddy" struck a distinct note'. In this year, calypso singing competitions were a feature with Albany and Atilla taking prizes. There are few clues, however, as to the popularity of particular Carnival songs in the tents or among the

marching bands. A possible indication of the calypsos that captured the imagination in Trinidad in 1928, therefore, are those recorded in New York by Lionel Belasco following his return.

This is not the place for a detailed examination of the repertoire recorded at the five sessions Belasco undertook in 1928. It is useful to note that they occurred in a period spanning from the end of July to an undertermined point in the last quarter of the year. The recordings were undertaken by four companies: Victor, Brunswick (two sessions), Columbia, and QRS. In all, 40 sides were made, with some duplication of titles (including a few recorded previously). As in 1927, there was a mix of waltzes, pasillos (paseos) and calypsos, with an emphasis on the repertoire of past Carnivals. No vocals were recorded for Columbia. The names of the singers Belasco employed are not specified in record company files. Contemporary calypsos included a version of Atilla's road march *Big Man, Sweet Man* (about *diametre* characters selling rum in the *wang* - a dance place or dance), Executor's *Gumbo Li Li* (about Jules Blades, wordsmith, braggart and *bad john*, who was the son of Johnny Zizi), Hero's *The Whey Whey*, (about a Chinese gambling game played in Trinidad) and Atilla's *Toddy*, (another road march, composed to advertise the beverage with this name).

Brunswick maintained their policy of issuing West Indian music in their 'race' series with Belasco's recordings and Okeh did likewise with a session by Wilmoth Houdini, made on 31 July. Houdini was accompanied by Gerald Clark's Iere String Band and performed a traditional vocal challenge, *Song No. 99*, as well as two calypsos on the virtues of women, *Sweet Like A Honey Bee* and *Sweet Like A Sugar Cane*. His *Uncle Jo' Gimme Mo'*, according to Hollis Liverpool, was 'based on the minstrel song by Morse and Esrom entitled *When Uncle Joe Plays A Rag On His Old Banjo*'. The original song was published in 1912. In this, it serves to demonstrate the relationship of the songs of minstrels in Carnival to the evolution of calypso.

Columbia sustained the flow of English-speaking West Indian music in their Latin American export series with a session in September led by the pianist Jack Celestain. This

included a remake of Sam Manning's *Barbados Blues* in which Manning provided the vocal.

In December, Columbia made two curious recordings featuring Celestain on piano and 'One String Willie' on one-string fiddle. The vocalist was Lionel O. Licorich. He was a black West Indian quartermaster who had played a significant role in rescuing passengers when the liner *Vestris* went down in the ocean off Virginia in November. The lyrics to Licorich's mournful *Baijian Girl* and *I Has The Blues For Thee Barbados*, suggest he was from Barbados.² This was unusual. It will have been seen that most performers who made recordings for export to the English-speaking West Indies in this period were from Trinidad, or had lived in the island.

Wilmoth Houdini and Gerald Clark travelled from New York to Trinidad for the Carnival season in 1929. Clark joined forces with Taffy Palmer (a pianist, on the basis of subsequent evidence), and featured the tenor banjo in 'Palmer, Clarke's Dance Orchestra'. This musical aggregation advertised its availability for pre-Carnival dances in newspaper announcements. These, which emphasise Gerald Clark's role as 'conductor of Clarke's Iere String Band, in the Okeh records on sale locally', suggest the visit to Trinidad was made on the strength of the recordings by Clark and Houdini in 1928. *My Reply To Houdini*, (Decca, 17306), recorded by Lord Executor in 1937, indicates that Houdini staged concerts at the London Theatre (Woodbrook) and Olympic Theatre (Belmont). Possibly he took part in the calypso competitions that, by this time, had become a regular feature of the pre-Carnival season at these cinemas. Houdini's performances ended in ignominy, as Executor asserts:

Then he thought he would give the crowd some fun,
By singing the song *You run, you run*,
And then he started a verse or two,
On pound, plantain and calaloo,
So the crowd got excited and cried out "Sah Sah"
We want we money back, where is the manager,
Look here, me lad, that ballad,
No good in Trinidad.

Houdini recalls the events differently in a verse of his *War Declaration* (Banner B750, etc.) recorded in New York in 1934:

When I came home in nineteen twenty-nine
The songsters declare that I must not shine
They follow me all around the town
In every case they're trying to call me down
People listen attentively
Can't you see it is only through jealousy
That is why they make the scandal about deportation
War declare!

Carnival was held on 11 and 12 February and Douglas won the calypso competition in Marine Square. His masquerade band, the Railroad Millionaires, received the prize for the best singing band.

On his return to New York, Wilmoth Houdini recorded a session for Okeh, with the Monroe-Barrow String Band, on 25 March. The resultant releases proved to be the last in Okeh's West Indian series. They featured two attacks in song against Lord Executor: *Executor Doomed To Die*, (Okeh 65011) and *March* (Okeh 65010). The last named title was coupled with *Constantine*, a panegyric for Learie Constantine, the famous Trinidad cricketer. Constantine had contributed in no small measure to Trinidad winning the Intercolonial Cricket championship, staged in Port of Spain during the 1929 Carnival season.

Lionel Belasco and his Orchestra recorded four, or five, sessions in New York in 1929. These commenced in July with instrumentals for Brunswick's Latin American series. In August, instrumentals and at least one vocal, *Trinidad Obeahman*, (by an unidentified singer), were made for Gennett.

Wilmoth Houdini was employed by Belasco as vocalist in two sessions for Victor in November. The songs appear to have been calypsos from the 1929 Carnival. *Matrimony* and *Warning To Mothers* were identified as compositions by Atilla. *Elaine* and *The Shango Dance* were credited to Garcia (Lord Executor). While other sources confirm Lord Beginner's authorship of the popular *Volga Boatman*, this and *In The Days Of Camboulay* (a celebration of old-time Carnival) are listed as having been composed by Mentor. *Loretto* (credited to Codallo), is a song of derision on Mr Quevedo (Atilla). It accuses him of a woman's downfall. This stresses the bitterness that existed between Houdini and the singers in Trinidad.

Company ledgers show that instrumentals (including versions of two of the above titles) were recorded in December for Gennett by Cyril Monroe's Caribbean Serenaders. The only release available from this session, however, identifies the performers as Lionel Belasco and his Trinidad Orchestra.

With the exception of Lionel Belasco's instrumental performances for Brunswick (which included Colombian dance rhythms), it is evident that most of these 1929 recordings were made for sale in Trinidad. Expatriate Trinidadians in the United States provided an additional market. The extent of sales of similar gramophone records in other English-speaking West Indian islands is difficult to determine, but a few contemporary clues are available.

The primary evidence in this respect is a tour of Jamaica made by Sam Manning in May 1929. This was organised by Amy Ashwood Garvey (erstwhile wife of Marcus Garvey) and also featured the black-American vaudevillian Sid Perrin. Concerts were given at principal cinemas in the island. Accompaniment was provided by local musicians. Reports in the *Gleaner* (Jamaica's most prominent daily newspaper) show that they were familiar with many of the recordings that Manning had made in the United States. They noted how:

We have heard his voice on the gramophone. We have jazzed and sang [*sic*] to his music. We have had all the hilarity of his West Indian productions made by the notable Columbia people.

The titles they mention were recorded for Okeh and Columbia in the period 1925-1928 and reflect the breadth of Manning's West Indian repertoire.

Manning's latest records were advertised in the press during his visit, as was a selection of 'Sacred Music on 10 inch Victor Records'. The latter were drawn from Victor's general U.S. catalogue. They featured a variety of religious performances from black jubilee singers/quartets and preachers to gospel songs in old time-music style and more formal religious tunes by white evangelists. This emphasises the variety of gramophone records available from North American sources.

Some English-speaking West Indian music recorded by Trinidadians appears to have achieved a 'folk' status in Jamaica in this period. Thus, an arrangement by J.R. Howie of Wilmoth Houdini's *Woman Sweeter Than Man* (Victor 80079) is classified as 'Jamaican Folk Music' in the *Catalogue of the West India Reference Library*. The *Gleaner* of 20 May 1929 shows that Sam Manning's version of this song (Brunswick 7026) was also popular in Jamaica.

It is useful to note at this point that field recordings by the Nassau String Band, made in the Bahamas by Alan Lomax and Mary Elizabeth Barnicle in July 1935 included *Uncle Joe* (taken from Wilmoth Houdini's record), *Slide Munger Slide* (a version of *Sly Mongoose*) and *My Woman Is A Secret Murder* (described as a 'round dance from Trinidad').³

The economic depression concomitant with the crash of the U.S. stock market in late 1929 accelerated changes in the U.S. record business. These had begun in February that year, when the Radio Corporation of America acquired the Victor Company. Recording activity continued, but on a much reduced scale. Thus in 1930, only Sam Manning, in January, and Lionel Belasco, in August, made records for consumption in the English-speaking West Indies. Manning's session, for Columbia, reflected his broad-based repertoire, with Guyana (*B.G. Blues*), Martinique (*Femme Martinique*) and Trinidad (*Land Of Humming Birds*), all being subjects for his songs.

The Carnival in Trinidad was held on 3 and 4 March in 1930. Newspaper reports indicate that there were three formal calypso competitions, in conjunction with events staged respectively at the Queen's Park Savannah, Woodford Square, and Marine Square. Lionel Belasco heard several successful calypsos that year at the last named location. One performance was described in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 5 March:

Of the songs sung by individual songsters much praise must be given to Douglass, King of Railroad Millionaires for his ballad on Lord Baden-Powell's visit to Trinidad, his heroic activities at Mafeking and the Jamboree at Arrowe Park, where Trinidad representative Scouts were praised for their good conduct and deportment.

Almost equally popular in competitions was Atilla's song *Products Of Trinidad*. Neither of these calypsos of Imperial or local praise, however, were featured in the two sessions

Lionel Belasco recorded on 12 and 13 August. Sung by one John Reid, the calypsos chosen appear to have been about more down to earth subjects: *Big Mouth Bernard*, (Brunswick 7172), and *Mabel, Give Me My Money Back*, (Brunswick 7173).

An event in 1930, of subsequent significance to the recording of Trinidad music, was the founding of Sa Gomes Radio Emporium, in Duke Street, Port of Spain. Its proprietor, Eduardo Sa Gomes, was born in Madeira, but settled in Trinidad in 1916. His business grew rapidly from small beginnings and included the import and distribution of gramophone records. In this he forged links with the American Record Corporation (which had been formed in August 1929) and the Brunswick Radio Corporation (so designated in April 1930, when they were acquired by Warner Brothers Pictures).

The next session made by Wilmoth Houdini was for Brunswick on 16 February 1931. This featured a novel complement of musicians. As well as piano, guitar, cuatro, scraper and clarinet (doubling on tenor saxophone), there was a cornet, banjo and string bass. The majority of the band were West Indian. The last named instrument, however, was played by Al Morgan (born in New Orleans, Louisiana) and it appears that this combination was used to create a more jazz-like setting for the vocals. Two of Houdini's songs were on depression themes: *The Cooks In Trinidad* and *No Mo Bench And Board* (Brunswick 7192).

There seems to be no immediate association between Houdini's session and the 1931 Carnival in Trinidad, for the festival took place on 16 and 17 February. It was the first celebration that attracted an organised excursion of visitors from Guyana. Such tours were to take place annually. One road march is picked out in newspaper accounts of the fête. The refrain was:

Arima tonight
Sangre Grande tomorrow night.

This song was adopted by Houdini in New York City. He recorded it at his next engagement for Brunswick, in August. The same musical complement was used to accompany his calypsos.

The leader of the band that played with Houdini on these Brunswick recordings was Gerald Clark. His Night Owls orchestra also recorded a session for Crown on 31 December 1931. In this instance, the band reverted to a fiddle playing the high register lead passages, but a saxophone was also prominent in the music. Wilmoth Houdini provided the vocals and sang typical Trinidad calypsos with lyrics centred on characters and events in Port of Spain. Thus, the principal intention of the records seems to have been for export to the island. The rhythm description for all four titles, however, was 'Rumba Fox Trot'; a reflection of the latest U.S. craze (for Cuban music), as well as a more established fashion in dancing.

Charles Jones reports that 1930 was the year in which 'the old singers fell in line with the new-comers and very seldom gave that beautiful rendition they were noted for'. This signals the culmination of the trend that had started in 1919 separating songsters from Carnival bands. Positive evidence for new style tents, run by groups of calypsonians, is an announcement in the *Trinidad Guardian* published on 3 January 1932:

Carnival is already in the air. An application for permission to erect a temporary shed at 74 Henry Street in which the practice of Carnival songs will be indulged has been sent to the Council. No action will be taken in the matter.

This tent maintained its residual association with the Railroad Millionaires via Douglas, the band's longstanding chantwell. Later in the season it applied to hold 'Longer Carnival Practices'; a request that was granted by the police (*Guardian*, 5 February).

A band of singers who call themselves the "Railroad Millionaires", who sing on Henry Street, recently appealed to the Constabulary to allow them to hold their Carnival practices in their tent until 12 o'clock at nights.

This has been granted.

The "Railroad Millionaires" include such favourite calypsonians as the Lord Beginner, Douglas, Lord Executor, Inveigler, Munsie, Span and Butternuts.

(Span was almost certainly Norman Span, who sang under the name of King Radio).

Carnival took place on 8 and 9 February in 1932. The principal comments in the press, on music performed in the festival, relate to competitions in Marine Square. On the Monday the leader of the S.S. Bad Behaviour Sailors (who had 'a very fine voice')

sang on "'whe whe" and "obeah" (*Gazette*, 9 February). The *Guardian* (10 February) reported that on the second day:

The majority of the general bands were heard with the refrain:

"Tiger Tom play tiger cat, don't play centipede and rat"

Also

"Puss Achong was the bowler, and he licked up Demerara"

They were disparaging, however, in terms reminiscent of the past:

It was a little disappointing to find that there was this monotonous similarity of sound especially when one thinks of the many variations to which the single re of local calypso is adaptable.

On the same day the *Gazette* reported on the 'songsters' and singled out "'Lord Albany" [Charles Jones, who] delighted the crowd by singing a few verses on the £25,000 Gift to England'. Other current events also received the attention of the calypsonians.

Just under one month after the Carnival, Wilmoth Houdini recorded a session for Brunswick in which he performed his version of *Tiger Tom Kill Tiger Cat, Damblay, Santapie And Rat* (Brunswick 7229). This road march received the rhythm description 'Pasillo', as did another of his songs. The two other sides were designated Rumbas, in line with contemporary dance trends.

The Brunswick organisation had changed hands again in December 1931, with its purchase by Consolidated Film Industries. They had owned the American Record Corporation since shortly after its inception. This new merger led to a change in marketing strategy by the enlarged ARC. Two sessions for this organisation by Lionel Belasco, in May 1932, became part of the new arrangement, as did a session by Houdini held in November.

Most of the performances recorded by Belasco were instrumentals but there were three calypsos. One was called simply *Single Tone* (supposedly composed by Belasco). The others were *Three Little Girls* (composer credit Douglas), and *The Whe Whe Craze* (composer credit Albany). Vocals on all three were by 'Fritz'. These were, presumably, popular songs from the Carnival earlier in the year. Houdini's November recordings,

however, appear to have been new material worked-up as a contribution to the songs in circulation during the 1933 Carnival.

With a few exceptions all these sides were issued in ARC catalogues that parallel a similar marketing strategy adopted for black music in the U.S.A. In this respect the Brunswick 7000 race series was discontinued (the last issues were from Belasco's May sessions). English-speaking West Indian music was issued in a less expensive special 700 series, using marques known collectively as the 'dime store labels': Banner, Oriole, Perfect, and Romeo. Unlike U.S. practice, however, there is no evidence of exclusive distribution of individual marques by particular stores. Some West Indian couplings were also issued on Melotone (ARC's general line for all types of popular music in the U.S.).

The first six sides ARC released by Houdini in these series were reviewed in the *Daily Mirror* (a new Trinidad newspaper) on 16 February 1933. The reviewer's comments are instructive on the local opinion of calypso recordings on sale in the island at this time:

THE NEW CALYSOES [sic]

DUE to the instrumentality of Mr L.G. Thomas of Thomas Bros., we have been able to get three extraordinarily good records from Wilmoth Houdini, the Trinidad calypsonian now resident in the United States.

We were all very pleased to hear new tunes to these calypsoes. Everybody was tired of hearing the same tunes. It seemed as though calypsoes were incapable of being sung with any other tunes than those which Lanky Belasco and Gerald Clark knew and, which incidently, were known to us from the time we were little kids.

Time and again we heard the same tunes (especially some of Belasco's waltzes) appearing under various names.

But Houdini varied his six tunes so nicely that even the most discerning critic could find very little to comment about.

In one instance he gave us a waltz tune with some very fine passages.

Of course, it was a little old tune changed up to suit modern time, but the fact that Houdini sang the words made us think sympathetically about him and the tune, and I think we have grown to like it a great deal. The other tunes included rumbas and were in the main well appreciated.⁴

It is evident from this review that there was a degree of impatience with much of the Trinidad music being recorded in New York. Houdini, however, had managed to break a monotony in the approach of record producers. This is further exemplified by one

of the songs in this batch of releases, *John[n]ie Take My Wife* (Banner B-704, etc), being adopted as a road march during the Carnival.

Newspapers in 1933 suddenly began to cover the activities in the calypso tents in great detail. This may have been on account of the *Daily Mirror's* sponsorship of competitions for calypsos and Carnival. It also seems to reflect a more general trend among some members of the hierarchy in openly acknowledging the merits of calypsonians. Singing contests, contestants and their songs are given prominence in the *Trinidad Guardian*, as well as the *Daily Mirror*. In addition the tents were visited by the travel writer Owen Rutter, and the novelist and essayist Aldous Huxley, whose accounts provide additional evidence for activities at these establishments.

The Carnival was held on 27 and 28 February but song 'Practices' or 'Rehearsals' began in the third week of January. Initially there were two principal tents - the Railroad Millionaires at 74 Henry Street and the Sunlight Seaside Millionaires at 47 Nelson Street. The competition was intense. This was the year that Atilla the Hun joined forces with a singer who had made his mark the year before as Lion Flaps. Known since 1933 as the Lion or Roaring Lion (his true name was Hubert Raphael Charles), his partnership with Atilla was to be of great significance in the recording of calypsos. Together they introduced the 'first' calypso duet, entitled *Doggie Doggie Look Bone*. Their success with this and a second duet enticed Douglas to join forces with them and in the middle of the season he removed himself from Henry Street to a tent at 44 Nelson Street. From here he worked in conjunction with Atilla, on the opposite side of the road. This team, with Douglas as Judge, Atilla as Mrs Burlington the petitioner, Lion as the respondent, and Inveigler as Clerk of the Court, staged the 'first' full-scale calypso drama; a burlesque of a recent divorce case (also the first in Trinidad).

The *Daily Mirror's* calypso competition was won by Atilla with his song on West Indian federation (he recorded this in 1937 - Decca 17330). Stanzas of *Federation*, together with verses from a calypso by Douglas, praising the *Mirror* (for which he received second prize), and Albany's song on the depression (fifth prize), were published in the *Mirror* on 12 February.

Atila also won the competition at the Grand Carnival Review, held at the Oval, on Shrove Sunday. This with his song *Emancipation Centenary*. The chorus was printed in the *Port of Spain Gazette* on 28 February. He and Lion received a prize for their duet, *Doggie Doggie Look Bone*.

In addition to *Johnny*, there were at least two other popular road marches sung by bands during the 1933 Carnival: *Wash Pan Wash* (a composition by Radio) and *Bournes Road* (almost certainly composed by Executor). These last two pieces, and others (some of which were identified in press reports of the calypso tents), were recorded by Lionel Belasco on his return to New York from Trinidad following the Carnival.

The first of four sessions recorded by Belasco in 1933 was for the American Record Corporation. This took place on 17 May. By 26 May an advertisement was placed in the *Trinidad Guardian* that called attention to the imminent arrival of Carnival once more. Soon to reach Trinidad were 'all the latest calypsoes: *Wash Pan Wash*; *Why Me Neighbour Vex*; *Treasury Fire*; *Bournes Road*'. They had been 'made by Lionel Belasco and his Caribbean Orchestra' and 'recorded exclusively on the famous Romeo Records for Sa Gomes Radio Emporium'. By 1933, therefore, Sa Gomes had perceived the commercial potential of recording popular Carnival songs and selling them as soon after the festival as possible.

Why Me Neighbour Vex was composed by Douglas, and the *Treasury Fire* by Beginner (the fire had taken place in June 1932). Belasco employed E. Peters to sing these calypsos, which he did in a somewhat expressionless manner.

Some of the same songs were recorded by Belasco for RCA Victor who, in the summer of 1933, followed the precedent of the American Record Corporation by releasing their popular material in a new less expensive line. This was the Bluebird label. West Indian (and some Irish) recordings were issued in a B-4500 series. Gerald Clark's Night Owls recorded for this label in August and Sam Manning in October. Manning also recorded for ARC in the same month, as did Houdini; the latter with songs specifically for the 1934 pre-Carnival season in Trinidad.

1933 proved to be the last year that Lionel Belasco made a regular visit to the Carnival in Trinidad. Like his cousin, Cyril Monroe, he had planned to return from New York to live in the island. Monroe did this in 1933. Belasco sought employment in a new cinema venture and fell out with his partners. He lost a breach of promise suit in the Trinidad courts in January and remained domiciled in the U.S.A.⁵

Censorship of songs became an issue in the Carnival of 1934. As early as 15 December 1933 the *Daily Mirror* was offering 'a reward of Fifteen Dollars to anyone giving information to this newspaper which leads to the conviction in a court of law of any "chantrel" who sings nasty songs about a private citizen or citizens.' This was a return to the attitude expressed in the *Port of Spain Gazette* during the late nineteenth century. The *Mirror* went on to explain the background to their campaign:

It is stated that several cases have occurred in the past in which chantrels were bribed to sing vulgar songs, injurious to people who had offended the individual offering the bribe.

These songs were usually sung in Carnival 'tents' during the weeks immediately preceding the celebrations. In one or two instances it is said they were sung in the streets.

A case occurred some years ago to which there was a Court sequel but the practice of making up such songs has by no means disappeared.

People who were made the subject of songs have been known to be approached for money to "buy off" the singers.

Last year vulgar Carnival songs were composed and sung in public about highly placed and respected members of the community. The particular instance is known to nearly everyone in the city.

The last was a reference to an 'alleged' amorous escapade between the wife of a highly placed government official and the then Inspector General of Constabulary. Rohlehr has discussed the issue of censorship in the 1930s and Atilla (and others) provide further information about this and similar controversies.

Editorials were devoted to this subject during the 1934 Carnival season, both in the *Port of Spain Gazette* and *Trinidad Guardian*, but the issue does not seem to have clouded a generally positive attitude towards calypsonians and their activities in the tents.

There were three principal tents in 1934, the Metro Drome (on the corner of Charlotte and Observatory Streets), the Supplies Store Syndicate (on Henry Street), and the

White Star Syndicate (on Nelson Street). All these locations are on the Eastern side of Port of Spain. A troupe of singers headed by Beginner, Executor and Radio ran the first two tents. Atilla, Lion, Iere, and Gorilla were the featured singers in the Nelson Street tent. Performers, however, alternated between all three locations and sometimes appeared in cinemas. Four calypso dramas were staged (three by the White Star Syndicate), and competitions and calypsos abounded.

Contemporary newspaper reports have a wealth of descriptions and, in the light of earlier developments in the organisation and patronage of the tents, it is useful to summarise some of these details. The Metro Drome 'was profusely decorated with flags and streamers, and illuminated with gas lamps, while a five piece orchestra accompanied the "artists" and their choristers'. This orchestra comprised 'banjo, flute, cello, violin, and piano'. In the competition for audiences the Supplies Store Syndicate/Metro Drome tents engaged a woman calypso singer - the first - whose sobriquet was Lady MacDonald. As usual, singers who met with the disapproval of the audience 'were howled down'. Lady MacDonald seems not to have suffered this fate, although she does not appear to have made a significant mark. Extemporisation and 'war' were a feature of performances. A 'war', which completed the performance at the Henry Street tent, was described in the *Guardian* two days later. This:

produced much merriment for the singers as well as the audience, even though at times the words sung were not of a type that could be used at a dinner party.

The following night (again reported in the *Guardian* two days later), a similar troupe of calypsonians were at the Metro Drome. From the account of the proceedings it is evident that, despite his longevity as a songster, Lord Executor had lost none of his skills:

Lord Executor, as usual, led the 'war' and for extemporaneous singing led the way. His vocabulary is large and it is a mystery how he fits six and seven syllable words into the air he is singing.

Some of the competitions were for money, such as the one held at the White Star Syndicate on the same day that Executor won the 'war' at the Metro Drome (10 January). As the *Daily Mirror* had done the year before the *Guardian* ran a calypso competition.

This, however, was for a composition (mentioning the newspaper) to be sung by a Carnival band on the first day of the festival. There were also 'marathon' contests. One was won by Lord Executor at the Supplies Store Syndicate on Friday 19 January:

Among the ballads sung, Lord Executor had the audience spellbound when he sang on the prominent officials and persons who were worthy of merit in this colony. The names of Sir Henry Moore Jackson, as the Governor who removed the Penal Rate, Hon Vincent-Brown and Emmanuel Scipio-Pollard as the legal giants, and Eric Blackwood Wright as a fearless and independent Magistrate and Judge and Inspector Power as the great Inspector.

In addition to dramas, the tent in Nelson Street continued to feature duets sung by Atila and Lion. One was *I'm In Love With Miss Trinidad*, the chorus of which was printed on the front page of the *Sunday Guardian* on 14 January. The press published texts to several songs during this particular season.

The audiences at all the tents appear to have been a cross-section of the community, although the White Star Syndicate seem to have been very successful in attracting lawyers, doctors, and the like.

Alongside tent performances by songsters some troubadour singers devised a role for themselves by performing for tourists on their arrival in Trinidad. A group 'in carnival attire' sang 'Negro spirituals' (or rather Stephen Foster minstrel songs) to passengers from the Swedish-American Line Flagship *Kungsholm*, when it docked on 11 January. 'A boatload of local calypso singers with painted faces, who sang popular songs and calypsos' greeted the French Line Steamship *Lafayette* on its arrival on 2 February.

All this activity and interest in calypso provoked an article in the *Guardian* by a tourist, who asked 'How Did Calypsos Originate?' Writing under the name 'Seer', the article was published on 18 January but, its author had been unable to discover the answer. Lord Executor composed a calypso that provided a solution in part to this quandary:

Would you like to know what is Calypso?
It was sung by the French Creoles years ago
It was danced by the drum in a bamboo tent
And sung in patois for amusement
Now it is played in tone
On an English gramophone

Listen to how Calypso originated
Sung by folks who were uneducated
First by slaves, next labourers from the fields

Would gather and shout, regardless of their needs
Soon after they got their emancipation
It was the infatuation
Of the native population

From Abolition until '98
Calypso was still sung in its crude state
From French to English it was then translated
By N. Le Blanc who became celebrated
Then it was rendered grammatically
In oration, poetry and history
It was the one source of amusement
In Carnival entertainment

In comparing those days
The custom has changed in various ways

This résumé of some of the facts that have been explored in this study sets the scene for the turning point in the popularity of calypso that was to follow the Carnival of 1934.

Another feature of the pre Carnival season in 1934 was competitions between local 'Jazz' orchestras and two from Guyana. Similar events had been held annually since 1932 but an innovation was the arrival of a *vaudeville troupe from the same country*. This included Bill Rogers, a singer and comedian who epitomised black vocal music in Guyana in this period.

The Carnival of 1934 was held on 12 and 13 February and was notable for its orchestral competition. Several local bands participated as well as the Guyanese contingent. The principal road march appears to have been:

Five women for one man
Too much for him.

This is possibly a parody of Radio's popular calypso *Radio And His Fifty Wives* that he had featured in the tents early in the season.⁶

One day after the Carnival the two leading songsters of the White Star Syndicate - Atilla and Lion - set sail for New York City, to make gramophone records of popular calypsos. Selected, apparently, as a result of a singing contest, they were under contract to Eduardo Sa Gomes. He had arranged with Brunswick-ARC to record twenty four sides comprising eight duets, and eight solos each. The titles of the performances had been decided in advance (they were announced in the press on 16 February) and included a representative sample of calypsos written by other performers. Atilla and Lion were

expected to 'have to practice with the Brunswick Company's West Indian Orchestra for about 15 days before making the recordings'. In the event only six days rehearsal was required with Gerald Clark and his Caribbean Serenaders.

The S.S *Nerissa*, on which the calypsonians travelled to New York, docked there on 28 February. After making a test recording on 2 March, Atila and Lion recorded five sides for Brunswick-ARC on 7 March. The following day they made what was to become an historic radio appearance on the 'Fleischmann Variety Hour'. This was heard via station WEAJ in the U.S.A., and relayed to the West Indies, on shortwave, from W2XAF Schenectady. Reception in Trinidad was very poor and a great disappointment in the island. The broadcast, however, was well received in Barbados.

In the United States the programme was a great success. Watched by a studio audience of 1,500, the calypsonians followed a performance by the popular singer Rudy Valee. They were introduced by an announcer who gave a brief résumé of the history of calypso. His facts appear to have been based on the lyrics to Executor's *Origin Of Calypso*. Dressed for the occasion in dinner jackets, and accompanied by Gerald Clark's Orchestra (attired likewise), Atila and Lion performed two of the season's calypsos: *Bad Woman* (written by King Radio), and *Dynamite* (written by the vaudevillian, Johnny Walker). They were a sensation. Rudy Valee became their patron for the rest of their stay. He arranged for them to perform with him at the prestigious Hollywood restaurant, on Broadway. Again, they created a big impression.

Alongside this adulation, two more recording sessions were held. The first, on 12 March, comprised seven sides, and on 13 March they completed the balance of their twenty four titles. That evening Rudy Valee entertained the singers to dinner with 'some of Hollywood's popular artists'. The next day the calypsonians set sail for Trinidad on the *Fort St. George*. This reached Port of Spain on 26 March, and Atila and Lion met with a great popular reception at the waterfront.

The first shipment of their initial releases was expected in Trinidad at the end of the same week. They were advertised for sale by 4 April and comprised seven couplings in

ARC's calypso series (Banner 731-737, etc.) Thus, fourteen of Atilla's and Lion's twenty four sides were issued almost immediately. The remaining ten followed during the year.

In addition to *Bad Woman* and *Dynamite*, calypsos they recorded from the 1934 Carnival included Lion's *Marry An Ugly Woman* (highly popular in New York), Atilla's *Landlord And Bailiff* (composed by Gorilla), and Lion's *Hallelujah When The Lion Roar*. *Dynamite* (based on a particularly gruesome suicide on 5 January) and Atilla's celebrated *Graf Zepellin* (commemorating the flight over Trinidad of the dirigible on 22 October 1933), are examples of topical themes.

Other calypsos reflected on male-female relations, or expressed religious sentiments. In the last category were Lion's *Shango* (based on the African cult in Trinidad, and composed by him in 1932), and two African-Christian Spiritual Baptist hymns: *Mourner's Lullaby* and *Where's Jonah Gone* (performed as duets). Lion's *Soucouyan* (about the *diabless*) was composed in 1933. From the same year were the first of Atilla's and Lion's duets: *Doggie Doggie Look Bone*, and *Psychology*. Atilla's *Local Products* may be the calypso he featured in competitions during the Carnival of 1930. Only one of the songs announced before the 1934 trip was not recorded. A duet entitled *Dorothy* was substituted for Atilla's *Marryshow's Lecture*.

The success of the trip by Lion and Atilla was fourfold. It began to introduce calypso to white audiences in the United States, the colony received advantageous publicity, the status of calypso and calypsonians in Trinidad was raised overnight, and also enhanced elsewhere in the English-speaking West Indies.

In the wake of the Sa Gomes-Brunswick arrangement, the initial response of RCA Victor was to compete with speed. On 28 February they engaged Sam Manning's Rhythm Boys to record two calypsos and two instrumentals for their Bluebird line. Manning's version of *Bad Woman* was rush-released and on sale in Trinidad by mid March. His records, however, were unable to compete with the efforts of the two authentic calypsonians. In June, just before leaving for England with Lionel Belasco, Manning did record four more vocals and four more instrumentals for Bluebird. These, however, appear to have been aimed at markets in other islands in the English-speaking West Indies.

The first response of Wilmoth Houdini to the competition on his doorstep was to make records about up-to-date events in Trinidad. Thus, his six sides cut for ARC early in July included a calypso devoted to a recent criminal trial: *Bandsman Shooting Case*; two on a recent tragic air accident; *Cipriani And Bradshaw's Death*, and *Mickey Cipriani Career*; and *Glorious Centenary*, commenting on the forthcoming one-hundredth-anniversary of the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies.⁷

Three days after this anniversary, 4 August, 1934, a new company was formed in the U.S.A. that was to transform the marketing of calypso records. This was Decca Records Inc. Essentially, the two leading lights in this enterprise were Jack Kapp, who had been responsible for building the U.S. Brunswick catalogue into a profitable venture, and Edward Lewis of the British Decca Company. Kapp provided the acumen in persuading talented artists (including Bing Crosby) to move to the new label. Lewis contributed his outstanding financial expertise and the Decca trademark. The company was launched using British capital. The primary reason for the formation of U.S. Decca was the surreptitious purchase by ARC-Brunswick of the U.S. Columbia catalogue, for which Lewis had been in the process of negotiation.

The launching of U.S. Decca did not have an immediate effect on the commercial recording of music from the English-speaking West Indies. As has been mentioned in Chapter I, however, the British company made records in London by Lionel Belasco on 9 August. Sam Manning sang on four of the titles and the remainder were instrumentals. In the United States ARC continued to record Wilmoth Houdini and at a session on 26 September they obtained six performances of Spiritual Baptist music. This confirms the success of two sides he had made in 1933, and the two items in this style recorded by Atila and Lion. RCA-Victor sustained its interest in expanding the market for English-speaking West Indian music to other areas of the circum Caribbean. In November-December, therefore, they recorded in New York a series of five sessions (comprising 30 titles) by the Guyanese vaudevillian and songster Bill Rogers.⁸

The undoubted success of all this recording activity, in what was for the companies a small minority market, is indicative of a renewal of confidence following the depth of the

economic depression. This is exemplified further by yet another session recorded by Wilmoth Houdini for ARC. At the end of November he made six more titles that were intended for release in Trinidad in time for the 1935 Carnival. These included a panegyric for Marcus Garvey, *African Love Call*. There was also his aforementioned *War Declaration*. The first verse of this threw down the gauntlet to the principal songsters in Port of Spain:

Cable in the morning, send them, tell them I am coming,
So they better prepare for war,
Cable in the morning, send them, tell them I am coming,
So they better prepare for war.
Tell them murder, kill and slay,
War declare at the break of day,
On the Lion and Atilla, and the Lord Executor,
War declare!

The gauntlet was down also, between Jack Kapp and his former employers ARC-Brunswick. In this Kapp was determined to maintain his links with Eduardo Sa Gomes. He undoubtedly saw the potential of commercial advancement with records made by Trinidad calypsonians. This prospect had been established both by the quality and popularity of Atilla's and Lion's recordings in 1934. A new phase in the recording and marketing of calypsos was about to commence.

(b) 1935-1941

Probably by the time Houdini made his *War Declaration* for ARC, Jack Kapp had secured his partnership with Sa Gomes in Trinidad. From the time of the Carnival in 1935, therefore, he arranged to record Trinidad-based calypsonians for Decca annually. This arrangement lasted until the United States entered the Second World War. The records were released in a series beginning 17250. At the same time, Wilmoth Houdini and other expatriate British West Indian musicians in the U.S. continued to make records there, usually for other companies.

The success of U.S. Decca's calypso records was twofold. Firstly, because well-known Trinidad-based performers were featured, there was an especially receptive market

in the island (and subsequently in other British West-Indian territories). They were also popular among the large English-speaking West Indian community in Harlem. Secondly, white American 'society' heard calypsonians on the radio, or saw them in personal appearances during their annual visits to the U.S. for making records. They became intrigued by both the songs and their singers. In addition, U.S. tourists, more often than not in Trinidad, for the Shrovetide Carnival, were captivated by both live and recorded Calypso performances and brought back Decca's records as mementos.

Evidence of advance planning by Sa Gomes and Decca in 1935 is the departure before the festival of three leading songsters to make records in New York. Atilla, Beginner and Tiger ('the new sensation of the season'), set sail on the *Fort St. George* on 26 February.

The Carnival was held on 4 and 5 March and was notable, musically, for the popularity of a road march entitled *Dingo-Lay* (composed by Lion). The *Guardian* (5 March), reported how 'nearly every band had its own distinctive set of words to the most popular of the calypso tunes and they vied with each other to see which could drown the other'. Music was 'provided by the strongest instruments that could possibly emit sounds recognisable as tunes'. In addition to bamboos, 'nutmeg graters, bottles, spoons and other unorthodox musical instruments were pressed into service, sometimes with distinctly successful results'.

Two Guyanese performers appeared on the stages of Trinidad theatres in the period leading up to the Carnival. These were Bill Rogers, whose first Bluebird records were on sale during the festive season, and the dancer Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson. The last named had attended school in Britain and was on his first visit to the West Indies as a professional entertainer. Over the next six years he was to play a significant role in attracting black West Indian musicians to London.

Atilla, Beginner and Tiger had an eventful trip to New York. On 27 February Atilla was arrested in Grenada for using 'obscene language' but released by the magistrate just in time to rejoin the *Fort St. George*. The singers 'entertained the passengers on board during the voyage'. The boat docked in New York on 8 March. On this same

day, in Trinidad, the Legislative Council 'approved of the regulations under section 6 of the Theatre and Dance Halls Ordinance, 1934'. This was designed specifically to restrict the activities of calypso singers in Carnival tents and was to be a bone of contention among songsters for the next fifteen years.

On their arrival in New York, Atilla, Beginner and Tiger were met by Louis Sebok of Decca and taken to the company's offices in the city's business quarter. They also visited the recording plant. Gerald Clark and his orchestra were then introduced to them. The band 'included many familiar faces, among them being Mr Edwards, one of Trinidad's premier clarinetists'. (Walter Edwards had been a member of Lovey's band when it visited New York in 1912). After rehearsing with Clark's ensemble the calypsonians recorded their first session on 15 March 1935. Eight titles were cut. Three more sessions followed and when the final recording was concluded, on 22 March, a total of 34 sides had been made. There were eight solo performances by Atilla, three duets by Atilla and Beginner, seven solos by Beginner, nine songs by the Keskidee Trio (the three calypsonians), and seven by Tiger. The company reported that the records had 'turned out to be of a much higher standard than was anticipated' and paid 'special tribute...to the three singers and to Gerald Clark and his Caribbean Serenaders who provided the orchestrations'.

In line with arrangements made in 1934, Decca organised a radio broadcast by the singers to be transmitted for reception in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas. This took place on 25 March and was received as far away as the Argentines, Canada, and in West Indian islands other than Trinidad. NBC, the company responsible for transmission, assured Decca that the broadcast had been 'short waved' to Trinidad using pre-arranged frequencies and at the correct time, but nothing was heard in the island. It seems likely that this was a case of commercial rivalry; for NBC was controlled by RCA, the owners of the Victor Talking Machine Company. RCA Victor's Bluebird line, aimed at the Trinidad market, has been discussed.

The radio programme, which lasted fifteen minutes, received critical acclaim in the U.S.A. and offers of work for the three singers. These they had to turn down, because of

their contractual arrangements with Sa Gomes and Decca, and the limitations of their immigration permits. Opening with an instrumental by Gerald Clark's orchestra, followed by an announcement, the broadcast featured five songs. The trio sang *Congo Bara* (an old-time kalenda, from the late nineteenth century), and Atilla rendered his *Women Will Rule The World*. Tiger performed his popular pre-Carnival calypso *Marabella Wedding*, and Beginner contributed his song on *King George's Silver Jubilee* (celebrations forthcoming in the British Empire on 7 May). The trio concluded with *Shango* (another song based on the African cult in Trinidad). The calypsonians had also recorded each of these titles for Decca.

Three days after the broadcast the singers set sail for Trinidad on the S.S. *Nerissa*. This boat also carried stock of the first seven 78.r.p.m. records in Decca's 17250 calypso series. The vessel reached Port of Spain on 7 April and a 'fairly large gathering' was 'at the Customs to meet them' when the calypsonians disembarked late on this Sunday afternoon.

Repertoire represented in the recordings by these singers maintained the pattern set in 1934. Topical calypsos described events of local or international significance. Others explored philosophical issues and male-female relations, or expressed religious sentiments. The Keskidee Trio performed a panegyric for Eduardo Sa Gomes, who now had four stores, three in Port of Spain and one in San Fernando. Appropriately this was entitled *Sa Gomes' Emporiums*. A new category was songs directly relating to Carnival. In this respect Atilla contributed his celebrated *History Of Carnival*, and the Keskidee Trio sang the popular 1935 road march, *Dingo Lay*. They also performed *War*, a *picong* against Houdini in New York.

Response to Decca's calypso records by the established record companies in America, centred on Houdini. Bluebird obtained six up-to-date songs from Trinidad written by Douglas and Fitz 'Bonai' McClean. These were recorded by Houdini on 19 March. Ten days later, he recorded four more titles, including a version of *Dingo Lay* as a 'Single Tone Calenda'. These featured conventional accompaniment, although a trumpet was used on the second session. On 5 April, however, ARC recorded Houdini

singing 'Single Tones', 'Callindars', and 'Leggos' to the accompaniment of his Calvary Bamboo Band - a chorus of five voices, with two bamboo men, two gin bottle players, string bass and maracas. This was the first time that such street music had been recorded since 1914. All of Houdini's performances for Bluebird and ARC were released and it seems that he was able to maintain his popularity alongside the competition from Trinidad.

In Britain, Sam Manning was endeavouring to sustain an interest in music-hall reviews featuring black performers, born locally, or from the West Indies. He had been successful with his show 'Harlem Night Birds', that was first staged in the United Kingdom in September 1934. Calypsos were featured in the entertainment. This review seems to have maintained its popularity in the halls until June 1935. By early July, Manning was seeking talent in Guyana for a further theatrical enterprise. In the middle of the same month his West Indian Rhythm Boys recorded four titles for Parlophone. These have been discussed in Chapter I.

Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson was again performing in Port of Spain, Trinidad, in July 1935. He was returning to Guyana from the United States, where he had travelled after the Carnival. In the same month, the Guyanese vaudevillian Ralph Fitz Scott, secured a contract with RCA Victor to make records for their Bluebird West Indian series. Scott had been appearing in Barbados. He recorded his four sessions (comprising 24 sides), in New York in October and November. Back in New York, Lionel Belasco recorded six sides for Bluebird in September. Both he and Scott performed songs relating to the Royal Jubilee earlier in the year.

Wilmoth Houdini's next session for ARC, on 14 October, was significant for his reaction to an international event of African significance. This was Mussolini's invasion of Abyssinia, on 3 October. Houdini's *Ethiopian War Drums* is the first calypso devoted to a subject that caused great consternation in the English-speaking West Indies. His pro-Ethiopian sentiment is expressed in pugilistic language, set to the tune of a war-like *picong*.

Christmas in Trinidad saw calypsonians starting the Carnival season early by staging a 'Christmas Vaudeville Show' on 21 December. In the same period Ken Johnson

made his final appearances in the island. He was *en route* to Britain from Guyana and left for Plymouth on 23 December.⁹

The Carnival of 1936 became an issue of hot debate. As in 1901, the Imperial monarch had died in the period immediately before the festival. Similar arguments were put forward as to the propriety of holding the event. On this occasion, however, the usual roles of the daily newspapers were reversed. The *Gazette* stood for the Carnival and the *Guardian* was against it - demonstrating Franco-creole and English-creole sentiments.

On receiving news of the King's death, at the Crystal Palace tent, on 20 January, Atila immediately extemporised a eulogy:

I am sorry to sing this in Calypso
But we just got it over the radio
That His Majesty died near 12 o'clock
The British Empire joins in sympathy
And sends condolence over the sea
So Trinidad, let us mourn
Our loving monarch is dead and gone

'No Time For Revelry' was the heading of the editorial in the *Sunday Guardian* on 26 January. As in 1901, this sparked a response from the 'Chantrels'. Atila wrote a letter to the *Gazette*, published two days later. He pointed out inaccuracies in the *Guardian's* editorial and established the loyalty of the songsters. At the Crystal Palace tent on Nelson Street, he noted 'we suspended our practice immediately on learning of the sad news and I immediately sang an impromptu announcement which, incidently, was the first intimation to our patrons of the fact'. Two days later the *Guardian* had the courtesy to publish the same letter.

The pro-Carnival argument was most effectively stated by another letter, in the form of a calypso Lion sent to the *Port of Spain Gazette*. This the newspaper published on 31 January.

THE CARNIVAL PROBLEM 1936

(A Reply to a Criticism, published Elsewhere on Sunday last)

A dangerous disease that is worse than leprosy
Is the one that is termed hypocrisy
Is it a pleasure for those who are in luxury
To oppress the less fortunate of this colony?
Why try to stop the Carnival

Which is the Creole Annual Festival?

We the Trinidadians to our late Sovereign are loyal and true
So is it wise to stop the carnival - also business places too
For business [i]s business in any department
As long as it is a money making establishment
For they are all paying licences not merely for fame
And the calypso tents are just the same.

Now if any commercial merchant says that they agree
That carnival should be stopped - it's hypocrisy
For though they are loyal, they prefer their sale
For should carnival be postponed, their businesses would pale;
For the thousand dollars worth of stock brought down for the festival
Might spell bankruptcy if there is no carnival.

Now we the calypsonians have tried our best
To demonstrate our patriotism as all the rest
We could have done no more than extend our sympathy
And sing solemn verses of his biography.
Yet some prejudiced minds have criticised
And try to have our songs ostracised.

Now if any of you are extra loyal and true
Try this while the 'Lion' tells you to do:
Don't let anyone urge you on to the task
But do seven days' penance and six months' fast.
Then you will be considered patriotic and loyal
Without having to affect our carnival.

He that giveth his last morsel of bread
Gives more than he who give gold, Our Saviour said
It's wrong to offer sacrifice with another man's property
And also at the expense of others to show loyalty;
To write criticisms is very hard we know
But still harder it is to compose calypso.

I am sure that the late King who loved his people indeed
To stop our festival would not have agreed
For if in the dead there was any power
He would, to the world, have proclaimed with pleasure
After the ceremonies of my funeral
Let my faithful subjects have their carnival.

To be genuinely sorrowful it's not necessary
To be favoured with a title of high degree
We have all read the tale of who will bell the cat
The mice were only forwarding a [line] of chat
This reminder in verse to you I bring
And to whomsoever the cap fits in him draw the string

HERBERT [*sic*] R. CHARLES
(The Lion)

5s. St. John Street
Port-of-Spain

29th Jan. 1936.

The pro-Carnival lobby was successful and, the festival was held as usual at Shrovetide, the 24th and 25th of February.

On the Saturday before the celebration the Crystal Palace tent staged 'a grand review of the cream of the ballads, duets and dramas that had been drawing big houses, culminating in a big competition'. The *Port of Spain Gazette* (22 February) linked this with the efforts of calypsonians to impress 'the Selectors for the trip to New York for the purpose of making records of their songs'. The following evening (*Dimanche swa*) the same tent 'planned to hold a grand "damme loreen" dance...from 11 p.m. to 6 the next morning, just before King Carnival ascend[ed] the throne'. Thus, traditional practises stood alongside, as well as adapting to, the new circumstances of annual recordings.

A primary theme represented in the festival was the Italian invasion of Abyssinia. Fitz 'Bonai' McLean composed 'two calypso "let gos"' specifically for the new records. His intention was that 'part of the proceeds' from the recordings would 'be given to the Ethiopian Assistance Fund'. The two songs, '*Out the Fire* and *Haile Selassie is the Police and Mussolini the Thief*', were not recorded, however, until 1937.

Three popular road marches were sung in the Carnival of 1936: *Bip, bidip Bip, Mary Ann, le'go me man* (recorded by the Keskidee Trio in 1935), and 'Dey want to come kill me and I burst a lash and they ask no question'. The last two songs were heard 'from all directions' on the evening of Mardi Gras 'while people jumped to the music of bamboo bands'.

The *Trinidad Guardian* (13 March) reports that the three calypsonians selected by Sa Gomes to make gramophone records in New York had left the day previous on the *Oranje Nassau*. Lion, Radio, and Tiger made the trip. The original intention had been they would travel just before the Carnival 'but arrangements for their departure could not be completed in time'. Presumably, the earlier date was thought to be commercially advantageous, with respect to producing records as close as possible to the date of the festival.

The *Oranje Nassau* arrived in New York on 28 March and the Decca company made similar arrangements for the singers to those they had in 1935. The duration of the

stay of the calypsonians was longer, however, and this allowed for a greater number of activities in addition to rehearsals, recordings and the obligatory radio broadcast.

In an era when radio was a principal medium of mass communication these broadcasts were of great importance in establishing calypso and Carnival in Trinidad in the popular imagination in the United States. In Trinidad they also enhanced the self esteem of the inhabitants of the colony, as well as publicising Sa Gomes' interest in selling radios alongside his gramophone records. This suggests a measure of the disappointment in Trinidad when the specially arranged broadcast by the calypsonians on 3 April was not allocated to the short wave frequency advertised. It was picked up faintly, by a stray listener, on long wave instead. This time Decca realised their mistake. NBC was threatened with legal action. A new programme was transmitted to Trinidad on 8 April and heard loud and clear. Both broadcasts appear to have followed the established pattern, with the singers performing items they had cut or, were about to cut for Decca.

Beginning 31 March there were eight recording sessions. The last took place on 11 April. A total of 48 sides (24 couplings) were made. This gives some indication of the increasing popularity of this music. The repertoire was the same mix of topicality, observations on the human experience, religious expression, and specific Carnival performances. *Ask No Questions*, by the trio, was the popular 1936 road march 'Dey want to come kill me'. Tiger's *They Couldn't Stop The Masquerade* commemorated the holding of the festival, while his *The Gold In Africa* was one of three songs dealing with the Ethiopian conflict. Radio recorded his celebrated *Radio's Fifty Wives* and Lion his philosophical *Fall Of Man*. There were also duets, such as the old song *Texilia*, sung by Radio and Tiger in English and French Creole.

Decca were highly pleased with the results. Louis Sebok paid particular tribute to Tiger who 'after eighteen years' in the record business 'was the first artist that he had met to have approached the microphone on fifteen occasions giving first time results'. Tiger was also described as 'the coloured Maurice Chevalier'. All the performers received offers of work that they could not take up because of their contracts.

Among other activities in New York, Lion sang in side shows with the black American vaudevillian Ethel Waters, Radio visited relatives in Harlem that he had not seen for nine years and, on their departure, Tiger 'left a girl breaking her little heart out on the pier'.

The singers travelled back to Trinidad on the S.S. *Stuvessant*; leaving New York on 17 April and arriving in Port of Spain on 30 April. Here a special welcome was given them.

The response of ARC to all this recording activity was to employ Houdini once more in the studios. Their reaction was limited, however, to one session of six sides recorded on 26 April. This included *Fire And Brimstone*, a *picong*. In one verse Houdini criticised Atilla and Beginner, but praised the singers who had come to New York. He even gave credit to Executor, although not at the expense of his superiority in America:

Now let me tell you something my learned friend
There is only two songsters I'm going to condemn
Lord Beginner, he's no good at all, Atilla the Hun, he's a *pipi*-all,
The Lion and the Tiger with their melodious voice
Also Radio and Executor is the people's choice
But I'm holding a sword in my hand to command
Trinidadian calypsonians.

At this stage, the traditional 'war' of words between Houdini and the singers in Port of Spain had lasted ten years, each engagement conducted through the medium of gramophone records.

At the end of 1936 there were two significant events that influenced calypsos sung during the next Carnival. Both took place in the first full week of December. The first was the abdication of King Edward VIII in Britain, the second (which happened almost simultaneously) was the visit paid to Trinidad by the U.S. President, Franklin D. Roosevelt. The President was returning to the United States after attending the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Peace, in Buenos Aires, Argentina. The King's abdication and Roosevelt's visit were, in some ways, symbolical of a decline of British prestige and rise in North American influence in the island.¹⁰

After the performance by Ralph Fitz Scott in November 1935, RCA Bluebird had made no new recordings for the English-speaking Caribbean market. Early in February 1937, however, just before the Carnival, they set up a recording studio 'in the new St. James Theatre building' and proceeded to engage and record local talent. Daniel des Foldes (of the International Division) explained their objectives to the *Trinidad Guardian* on 2 February:

He [intended] to make recordings of folk songs calypsoes and specialised tunes belonging only to Trinidad, so that the records can be sold in America and all over the world, to give Trinidad greater publicity, and to preserve the music of the generations gone by - music which is now in danger of becoming extinct.

Cash prizes were offered for 'Carnival Songs and Ditties on General and Local Topics'.

The real motive was to compete with the successful Decca calypso series on their own territory. King Radio and his troupe were employed to perform the latest Carnival compositions. Singers Ralph Fitz Scott and Bill Rogers were also recorded anew. (They, presumably, had come to Trinidad from Guyana by prior arrangement). The *Port of Spain Gazette* (9 February) described the first two sessions, by Radio (4 February) and Lady Trinidad and Ralph Fitz Scott (5 February). They also detailed the recording process. Other calypso singers recorded at sessions on 6, 7 and 10 February were Tiger, Invader, Growler, Gorilla and Young Pretender. A series of recordings were made by the Trinidad Constabulary Band. These included calypsos arranged by Freddy Grant, a talented Guyanese reed musician, whom the Police Band had engaged in 1933 in an effort to raise their musical standards.

The Carnival was held on 8 and 9 February (two days in which RCA made no recordings). In addition to the regular visitors and musicians from Guyana, there was a contingent from Martinique. This also included an orchestra. In the *J'ouvert* parades on Monday there were two or three popular road marches. These were '*Netty, Netty, Can't Stand the Diggings* [which may be the same song] and *Bip bidip bip*' (from the previous year). The *Gazette* (9 February) noted how the ol' mas performers sang 'or at least shout[ed] refrains such as "Netty Netty" etc. that were almost meaningless, to the accompaniment of noises produced by tin pans etc.'

This is an early newspaper reference to the then nascent steel orchestras, although it should be remembered that similar instruments are reported occasionally in the nineteenth century. An example is 'the tin kettle and salt box' in the Carnival of 1849. Their use in the twentieth century was not new. In 1914 the *Gazette* has an account of a group that assembled every few nights at an 'Ice shop' in Belmont during the pre-Carnival season. They beat 'tin pans' and stamped and yelled 'the latest coon songs'. In the Carnival of 1937, however, bamboo bands still predominated. One was broken up in St. James by a police charge. This appears to have been a very traditional unit for, despite the Carnival proclamation, it also included 'men dressed as women and women as men'. In line with previous periods of social tension, the appearance of this band may be a symbol of economic troubles in Trinidad that were to erupt in strikes later in the year. Stick bands also made a reappearance in the Carnival in Port of Spain in 1937. They were confined, however, to demonstrations of prowess on the stage of the St. James Theatre.

From all accounts *Netty Netty* was the hit of the Carnival. Nevertheless, Helen Cameron Gordon (Lady Russell) heard other calypsos in the tents. There was one on the embezzlement of Treasury funds (probably performed by Atila), one on the accession of the new King, and what appears to have been a version of Radio's famous *Man Smart, Woman Smarter*. RCA recorded Radio singing *Nettie-Nettie*, *Can't Stand The Digging* and *Man Smart, But Woman Smarter*. When they released the last named calypso, however, they retitled it *Woman You Can't Fool My Man*; as Radio had made the song for Decca under its regular title in 1936.

Netty Netty is usually credited to Lion and he was soon to record his version of the song for Decca in New York. Sa Gomes sent four calypsonians to the U.S.A. in 1937: Atila, Caresser (a newcomer), the veteran Lord Executor, and Lion. They left just before Carnival on 6 February, and sailed direct to New York on the S.S. *American Legion*. This arrived there on 11 February.

To keep pace with the competition from RCA, the calypsonians were in the recording studio on 16 February and by 25 February had recorded a total of 58 titles at seven sessions. There was the obligatory radio broadcast on 26 February and the usual

night club and other appearances. The repertoire of the songsters maintained the pattern of previous recordings. In line with the mood in Trinidad there was a marked increase in songs of social commentary. As mentioned, the abdication and Roosevelt's visit to Trinidad, were two of the topics. Others, were poverty, the forthcoming coronation of a new King in Britain, and the boxing bout between Joe Louis and Max Schmelling (a duet by Atilla and Lion). In addition to *Roosevelt In Trinidad* and *West Indian Federation* (from 1933), Atilla sang his *Treasury Scandal*. Caresser performed his famous *Edward VIII*, and Fitz McLeans song on 'Haile Selassie', while Lion recorded McLean's *Out The Fire*. Executor was at last able to address Houdini on record. His *My Reply To Houdini* has been quoted. All four songsters also addressed Houdini in another *picong* (entitled *War*) in which Executor sang:

At last the hour of vengeance is at hand, I am in the land
At last the hour of vengeance is at hand, I am in the land
The Lord Executor's word of command
With my glittering sword in hand
Tell Houdini this is the hour of destiny
In this colony

Those who boast that Houdini can sing, in my opinion they know nothing
For it's all propaganda, deceit and pretence
He hasn't got a shadow of intelligence
The money that was spent on his slates and books
Has not improved his manners and looks
He has a good inclination, but foreign education,
In this colony.

This *picong* by Trinidadian songsters, aimed at an expatriot who recorded for a rival company in the U.S.A., marks the last phase of what had become a symbol of commercial competition. With RCA's expedition to Trinidad the battle between the record companies had moved to the island.

The four calypsonians left New York on 5 March, sailing on the S.S. *Cottica*. This reached Port of Spain on 18 March, by which time the first six RCA Bluebird records were on sale. On the day the songsters disembarked the *Port of Spain Gazette* printed a letter under the heading 'What Price Morality?' It complained of *Rats Diplomacy* and *Don't Touch Me Down Dey*, Radio's first coupling in Bluebird's new West Indian series (B4550). There was another letter on 20 March and on that day the customs seized unsold

items in the RCA shipment. The *Sunday Guardian* (21 March) confused these with Sa Gomes' Decca recordings. The two songs identified were *Netty-Netty* and *Sally Sally Water* (another ribald piece, based on the children's singing game). On Bluebird, Young Pretender performed *Sally Sally Water*. The records were auditioned by 'the Board of Censors', and the *Guardian* (23 March) obtained a comment from a Customs official to the effect that 'of all the offending records the song entitled "Netty Netty", apart from being the most lewd of the lot, has a very vulgar rhythm'.

Candour, writing yet another letter to the *Port of Spain Gazette* (25 March), hoped the rumour was true that the offending 'foul discs' had been consigned 'to the deep' in the Gulf of Paria. In the meantime Sa Gomes was advertising his '1937 Calypso Records' on Decca, stating that none had been seized by the Customs.

The first batch of these would have included Lion's performances of *Netty-Netty* (Decca 17927) and *Sally Sally Water* (Decca 17300) and it seems possible that Sa Gomes did not offer these records for sale in Trinidad. In this there is a hint that the action by the Customs was an unwitting participation by the authorities in the commercial battle between RCA and Decca. Lion's records of these songs, for example, were available for purchase at Affonso's, Decca's distributors in Guyana (*Daily Argosy*, 11 and 21 April). Thus, despite the recollection of both Lion and Tiger, no direct evidence has been found for the confiscation and dumping of Decca's releases. On 18 April, the *Sunday Guardian* was able to report that some of the records that had been seized were likely to be destroyed and some were not to be allowed to be sold locally. A petition 'by one of the distributors' had 'been lodged with H.E. the Governor who [was] giving it his attention'. This report also shows that alongside commercial rivalry the recording of calypsos had become an issue in the control of Carnival.

In 1937 there was soon to be a special Carnival following the Coronation of the new King in London. More stringent rules were to apply in an effort to 'clean up' the celebration. This probably accounts for the story, reported both by Oscanet Claude, and Charles Jones, that the Coronation Carnival (held on 15 May), was the first occasion that organised bands using 'steel' instruments appeared on the streets of Port of Spain.

Tamboo bamboo units had not received sufficient notice to allow them to cut and prepare their bamboos for this festival. The concerted use of the new instruments was almost certainly in retaliation for this indirect clampdown by the authorities.

At the end of April, just before the Coronation, four leading instrumentalists had left Trinidad for London. They signed a contract to join the fledgeling West Indian Orchestra that Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson took over from the Jamaican trumpet player, Leslie Thompson. Three of the Trinidad musicians were members of the Williams Brothers Blue Rhythm Orchestra, a band that accompanied calypsonians at concerts, as well as playing for dances. These were Dave Williams, (saxophonist and co-leader of Blue Rhythm), David Wilkins (trumpet), and George Roberts (another reed-playing musician). The fourth member of the party was Carl Barriteau (who also played reeds and, like Wilkins, was an ex-member of the Constabulary Band). Roberts replaced Freddy Grant, who had been unable to secure quick release from the police organisation. Another ex-police band member Edmundo Ross (later Ros) had arrived in Britain by August, and Grant travelled to London, *circa* November. This build-up of black musicians from the Eastern Caribbean was to play a significant role in the popularity of calypso in the United Kingdom after the Second World War.

Retaliation seems to have been a watchword with respect to Trinidad music in 1937. Somewhat belatedly, in New York on 27 April, ARC decided to try and regain a foothold in the calypso market. They recorded twelve titles by Wilmoth Houdini. He was in no mood to relinquish his 'crown in America' and, with *Executor The Homeless Man*, made a counterthrust at the calypsonian he had singled out as his principal rival. His *Malnutrition Songsters* was aimed at some of the other singers Sa Gomes had sent to New York to make records. In particular, Atilla (whose mother's virtue was questioned), Beginner (whose request to Gerald Clark for subsidized food was scorned) and Tiger (whose social activities in New York were criticised).

Such 'insults' were not confined to the activities of songsters. A Whitsuntide visit by Trinidadians to the nearby island of Grenada resulted in a furore of complaints from 'respectable' Grenadians. The excursionists broadcast calypso records from a loudspeaker

situated on the top deck of their boat. This took place on Whit Sunday and Whit Monday. It was particularly galling to the complainants that the banned *Netty-Netty* was played repeatedly by the excursionists.

It seems that 'bad temper' was in the air across the Eastern Caribbean. In Trinidad this ill feeling, fuelled by deprivation among the poor, turned to violence when, on 19 June there was a clash between the police and strikers in the island's oil fields. The *Peace Preservation Ordinance* (originally intended for Carnival) was proclaimed and there was continuing tension in the territory.

The turmoil in Trinidad did not affect the attitude of white Americans towards the island and its Carnival. Indeed, on the basis of available documents, white U.S. society's interest in calypso was gaining momentum. The first evidence for this is a well informed article by William C. White, published by *Esquire* in September.¹¹

There was a series of instrumentals recorded by Lionel Belasco for ARC and Decca (in September and November) and a session by Houdini for ARC (again in November). These New York recordings, however, were the last cut by the two performers, under their own names, for direct export to the West Indies.

Belasco's final session for Decca, recorded on 13 November 1937, was to produce instrumental versions of songs banned by the censor in Trinidad. This signals the repressive régime in which the calypsonians and record companies found themselves for the Carnival of 1938. The details and ramifications of this censorship, between late 1937 and 1939, have been discussed by Gordon Rohlehr. The singers were not prepared to be overawed by the censor and, with big business now established in the recording of the music, commercial objectives were not going to be deterred by colonial officialdom. There was considerable correspondence on the issue. Censorship in this form appears to have lasted until 1941.

RCA Bluebird were not daunted by the confiscation of their records in 1937. At the time of the Coronation their distributors advertised:

Latest Songs by TIGER, RADIO, LADY TRINIDAD, LORD INVADER....Hear the Coronation Number, "LEGION OF THE LOST"...Hot Peppy Calypso Swings

by Trinidad Constabulary Band and Bert McLean's 10-piece Jazz Hounds Orchestra...

It is not surprising, therefore, that the company again sent representatives to Trinidad to obtain up-to-date calypsos and instrumentals for release on record during the 1938 Carnival.

The exact circumstances by which RCA made their new recordings in Trinidad has not been discovered. It is probable, however, that in late 1937 they set up another temporary studio in the island. Masters cut on portable equipment were sent to the U.S.A. for processing and manufacture into gramophone records. According to a sequential log of RCA's masters, sent to EMI in Britain, the first four new recordings from Trinidad were remastered at the RCA factory on 31 December 1937. A flow of recordings followed in January and February. A total of 48 sides were made in this period. It is probable that all had been cut by 22 February (on the basis of a newspaper advertisement published in the *Guardian* on that day). The first batch of their new records was on sale by this time. By the end of the same week General Supplies, the distributors, were advertising that 'Unprecedented demands for these new RCA CALYPSO RECORDS' had 'resulted in a sell-out of the first shipment of 5,000 in one week'. Bluebird had recorded Growler's popular *I Want To Rent A Bungalow* and this was announced for sale at the same time.

In response to RCA's persistence, Decca also set up a studio in Trinidad in 1938. Sa Gomes advertised the arrival of the recording equipment on 22 February. Two days later the machinery had been installed and the recording of rival repertoire commenced.

On the day that General Supplies began selling *I Want To Rent A Bungalow* by Growler, Sa Gomes placed a new advertisement. This warned his patrons to 'Avoid Cheap Imitations' and announced that 'The Most Popular Selections' already recorded had been 'rushed by AIR MAIL to the DECCA FACTORY, New York'. They would soon be on sale at his 'Five Palaces of Good Music'.

In essence this competition between the record companies had become an extension of Carnival rivalry; a fact exemplified by the two most popular road marches sung during the festival. The celebration took place on 28 February and 1 March. On the first day,

the *Port of Spain Gazette's* reported, these two tunes were: 'No Norah Darling' (a song recorded by Lion for Decca in 1937) and the aforementioned *I Want To Rent A Bungalow*.

The commercial endeavour for record sales became a battle of the 'Bungalows'. Among the masters 'rushed' by Decca to New York for processing were *I Want To Build A Bungalow* (an instrumental by Codallo's Top Hatters Orchestra), and two sung calypsos: *I Don't Want No Bungalow* (by Atilla) and *I Am Going To Buy A Bungalow* (by Lion). These recordings are symptomatic of the way in which Decca fought off RCA's challenge. They swamped them with quality and quantity of record releases. This was despite the fact that Decca's first records did not go on sale in Trinidad until the end of March, while RCA's releases were virtually all available by that time.

In all, from 23 February to 15 March, Decca recorded 110 masters, only ten of which were not released. Of the performers who had recorded for RCA just Growler, and the Audley Francis Washboard Orchestra were represented in Decca's sessions. Affonso's sent a troupe of performers from Guyana and the Harmony Kings Orchestra came to Trinidad from Grenada. With the exception of Beginner and Radio (contributors to RCA's 1938 catalogue), all the performers Sa Gomes had sent to New York were recorded. In addition Black Prince, an old timer of Executor's generation, cut three sides (two of which were issued). There were also instrumentals from Cyril Monrose's String Orchestra, John 'Buddy' Williams Blue Rhythm Orchestra, and others.

The broad base of these recordings did not alter the general thematic categories of the calypsos that were performed. With the addition of songs relating to Carnival they remained the same as those established by Atilla and Lion when they went to New York in 1934.

Of the topical calypsos two songs on censorship - *The Banning Of Records* (a criticism by Atilla), and *The Censoring Of Calypso Makes Us Glad* (a satirical approval by Executor) - were not released. Surprisingly, songs relating to the 1937 strike, the role of the union leader T.U.'B' Butler, the Governor (Sir Murchison Fletcher), his Colonial Secretary (Howard Nankiwell) and the Royal Commission sent to investigate the troubles (chaired by John Forster), were all issued. Calypsos on all these subjects were recorded

by Atilla. Executor contributed a panegyric on Fletcher, whose resignation was forced as a result of his handling of the conflict between strikers and the authorities. Despite the police controls, J.W.Vandercook reported hearing songs on these subjects at a calypso concert, in a cinema, during the Carnival season. As Gordon Rohlehr has shown, however, all the songs recorded were almost certainly altered for, or by the censor. Undoubtedly they existed in versions that were more or less critical of the authorities, depending on the audience. One, on the death of Charlie King, a hated plain clothes policeman who was killed by the strikers, was obtained in 1938 at the Carnival in the neighbouring island of Tobago.

"Charlie King, Charlie King,
Everybody says he dost something
Charlie King, Charlie King,
Everybody says fire in his skin
Listen I am telling everybody
Have you heard of the calamity
How Charlie King detective of Trinidad
Was bearnt to ashes down Fyzabad.

"Charlie was a member of the police force
He know that the government feel the lost
Tell me dear friends I will like to know
If he gone to heaven or down
Charlie King, Charlie King,
Everybody says he dost something"

Arthur Calder-Marshall acquired a similar piece, *Murder At Fyzabad*, from Lord Beginner in the same year. This, Gordon Rohlehr has discovered, had been banned by the authorities.

The restriction of these calypsos was political. The authorities feared organised labour. Censorship, of course, was also applied to songs that were regarded as 'obscene'. In this respect it is surprising that Lion's *Excursion To Grenada* was passed by the censors. This cleverly romanticised the events of the 1937 Whitsuntide excursion to the island, the playing of *Netty-Netty* and the complaints that followed.

Calypso began to receive attention in a number of quarters in 1938. In addition to descriptions in books, it was defined in one of a series of articles published by *The Times* in London at the end of May. (These articles were occasioned by recent labour troubles in Jamaica as well as Trinidad). Three months later, according to a 29 August 1938 report

in *Time*, U.S. Decca had just begun supplying four mid-town Manhattan stores with their calypso line. They 'sold well to an eager public'. On 1 September, British Decca, using their Brunswick subsidiary, launched calypsos from the same series in the English market, but with less effect.¹²

In 1939, the leading songsters in Trinidad organised themselves into two professional associations that represented the tents in which they performed. From 25 January to 8 February, Decca's team made more recordings in Port-of-Spain (they cut 82 sides, 64 of which were issued). The Carnival Improvement Committee (formed in 1938) organised a Calypso King contest. The finals of this, the first competition of its type, were held on 15 February, just before the Carnival. (Shrovetide was on 20 and 21 February). They were won by Tiger with a song on the 'Labour Movement'.

Decca did not record Tiger's song, but they obtained the year's two popular road marches: King Radio's *Matilda*, and Growler's *I Don't Want No Calaloo*. Other calypsos released by Decca included Executor's assessment of Mussolini and Hitler, *Two Bad Men In The World Today*, and Beginner's report on the Munich agreement, *Chamberlain Says Peace*. Trinidad received a boost, with a composition by the white creole pianist and politician George Cabral. His *Charming Trinidad* was recorded by Lion. The words and music were also published in a tourist-orientated booklet.

After the Carnival, Caresser toured Guyana (as he had, with Bill Rogers, in 1938). In 1939, he was accompanied by Gorilla. This set a pattern for calypsonians which was to continue after the Second World War.

In the United States the popularity of calypso attracted the attention of Joseph Mitchell, who wrote feature articles for the *New Yorker*. On 6 May this magazine published his 'Houdini's Picnic', an evocative description of a musical gathering by expatriates in Harlem, at which Wilmoth Houdini performed to the accompaniment of Felix's Krazy Kats. Containing a history of recent calypso recordings, this article helped raise the status of the music in America. (Mitchell was well informed by Ralph Perez, of Decca's export department, who had supervised their recordings in Trinidad in 1938 and 1939).

By late 1939 the American popularity of U.S. Decca's calypso records led to their recording a special Wilmoth Houdini 78 rpm album. This was featured in *Newsweek's* 9 October 'Music' column, noting its forthcoming release on 19 October. On 16 December the U.S. entertainment trade weekly *Billboard* ran the headline 'Calypsonian Crescendo' reporting on 'the increasing wide sale of Calypso records in this country', with a story of Decca's annual calypso recording activities and the growth of U.S. demand for their calypso releases.¹³

Britain had declared war on Germany on 3 September 1939. The Carnival in 1940, therefore, was the first full wartime festival to be held in Trinidad since 1916. As in the First World War, patriotic themes predominated in the season's calypsos and masquerades.

Decca sent their Vice President, Louis Sebok, to supervise the recordings in Trinidad. He arrived by air with his recording engineer on 18 January. Sessions commenced on 1 February and represented a new approach in that different aspects of Trinidad music were sought out. Thus, the first recordings were by performers of East Indian ancestry. Just before the Carnival, Sebok sponsored a calypso competition between the two principal tents, the Maginot Line and the World's Fair.

The festival was on 5 and 6 February and popular road marches reported after the first day of the fête were 'Everywhere and every day, grow more food Trinidadians, grow more food' and 'Cheer boys cheer, we are going to conquer Germany'. The last was a revised version of the First World War theme *Cheer Boys Cheer*. Lord Beginner recorded this as *Run Your Run Hitler*, the name of the German Führer being easily substituted for Kaiser William!

Decca's final session was on 12 February and, in all, they recorded 84 masters. Eighteen of these were East Indian selections by performers based in Port of Spain, or San Fernando. Luis Daniel Quintana (who appears to have been a Venezuelan) contributed four songs in Spanish. The remainder were by calypsonians. Other war themes included *The Admiral Graf Spee* by Atilla (on the scuttling), *Let Them Fight For 10,000 Years* by Tiger (anti participation in the war) and *Germany Invade Poland* by Radio. Executor sang

Carnival Again, reflecting on a rumour that the festival would be stopped because of the war.

Interviewed by the *Port of Spain Gazette* (15 February), Louis Sebok was full of praise for the Carnival, and the recordings he had obtained. He stated that on his return to the U.S. he intended to give as much publicity as possible to the island and 'its unique Carnival'. He was taking back photographs of the masquerade for this purpose. The calypsos he had selected 'were just as good 'if not better than some of the previous numbers', and the authorities were thanked for their help in quickly clearing items for censorship. One other important 'novelty' was recorded:

Then there is the real native music that is so characteristic of the Trinidad Carnival. No longer does the bamboo band hold sway, it having given place to the steel drum with bottle and spoon. This "Steel Music" as it is called has also been recorded and thus every feature of our Carnival has been included in the 1940 records that are coming to us through the instrumentality of the Decca Records Corporation.

This, the earliest example of recorded steel band music, is likely to be an instrumental version of *Run Your Run Hitler* by 'Sa Gomes Rhythm Boys, with Cambulay'.

Despite censorship, two items banned by the police were recorded and released: *The Guardian Contest* by Radio (prohibited as *The Missing Ball*) and *Do You Remember Me* by Caresser (prohibited as *Shouters Do Remember Me*). Eight calypsos obtained by Decca, however, were not issued. Conversely, because of American neutrality, partisan calypsos siding with Britain against Germany were not allowed to be sold in the U.S. This remained the case until 'Pearl Harbour', on 7 December 1941, when the U.S. entered the Second World War.¹⁴

True to their word, Decca endeavoured to maintain the momentum of U.S. interest in calypso. In September 1940 they recorded Wilmoth Houdini singing calypsos about life in Harlem. These were released in a 78 rpm album in January 1941.

In Trinidad, RCA and Decca both made recordings by performers of East Indian ancestry early in 1941. There were no recordings by calypsonians. It seems that a decision was made by Decca that, after a gap of four years, personal appearances by the songsters in the U.S. would be more appropriate.

Events staged before and during the Carnival indicate that the principal theme of the festival was raising funds for war charities. A calypso contest had as its prize a trip to Guyana, to put on a show in aid of the 'war effort'. Atilla, Growler and Radio were selected. Destroyer won the Carnival Calypso King competition (the second that had been held), with his song *Adolph Hitler*. In Port of Spain during the fête on 24 and 25 February, 'biscuit drums and dustbin orchestras' were much in evidence. The road march was *Whoopsin'*.

On the evening of 12 March, 'after surmounting almost insuperable difficulties', six calypsonians left for New York 'to make records of all the latest and best numbers of the 1941 Carnival for Decca records'. The songsters were Atilla, Destroyer, Growler, Invader, Lion, and Radio. They were sponsored by Sa Gomes and Decca. The party were expected to be away for three months and to appear at functions to raise funds for war charities, as well as cabaret shows and in radio broadcasts. There was a possibility that they would make 'movie shorts', although none have been traced.

Atilla told the *Port of Spain Gazette* that he had:

a number of patriotic hits with which to impress the American public with the seriousness with which Trinidad is taking her responsibilities in this struggle for freedom against the Nazi tyrant.¹⁵

Atilla recorded three items in this vein for Decca in New York: *Invasion Of Britain*, *Red Cross Society*, and *Roosevelt's Election* (commemorating Roosevelt's historic third term as President, and the aid Britain would receive in consequence). There were six sessions, all taking place in April. Among other famous war-time calypsos obtained by Decca were Destroyer's *Adolf Hitler* [sic], Growler's *The Fall Of France*, and Lion's *Winston Churchill*. In all 40 masters were cut, including two instrumentals by Gerald Clark, *Chip Chip Water* and *Woopsin*. Vocal versions of these were also recoded, respectively by Radio and Lion. Most of the other calypsos concerned male-female relations, excepting Lion's version of a Shouter 'Trumpet' *A Little More Oil In My Lamp*, and Invader's two Carnival pieces *Rate Rate Ray* (a medley of old road marches) and *Man Man Tee Way Tee Way* (a stickfighting kalenda).

The success of this trip to the U.S.A. is not known. In the first months of 1942, however, Decca maintained their promotion of calypso by releasing a third 78 rpm album featuring a selection of these recordings. They also recorded and released a 78 rpm album by Sam Manning, entitled 'West Indian Folk Songs'. The war then intervened.

(ii) Circulation of local music in the English-speaking Caribbean - Barbados, Jamaica and a sample from the Panama Canal Zone 1943-1944

A series of field recordings, obtained from English-speaking West Indians employed in the Panama Canal Zone in 1943-1944, provides a useful point for comparison with the development of commercial recordings of Trinidad music from 1912 to 1941. These are identified in Appendix 6.

The pattern of migration of workers from the English-speaking West Indies to the Panama isthmus is examined in an article on these recordings published by Louise Cramer in 1946. An enclave was formed in a Spanish-speaking area that maintained contact with the English-speaking world via trade and the arrival of new migrants. In the twentieth century, the movement of peoples began in 1904, with the U.S. construction of the Panama Canal. Another phase commenced in 1939, with the building of a new lock. The proportion of Trinidadians who were employed in this work was small in comparison with those from Barbados and, in particular, Jamaica.

Field recordings were centred on the settlement of La Boca. They commenced in November 1943 with songs performed by Wellesley (or Willesley) McKnight, aged about 20 years, who had arrived in the Canal Zone from Jamaica in late October. Older migrants were then sought out, as well as youngsters born in the Canal Zone of British West Indian parentage. Samples of their repertoires were also recorded. This provides a very useful collection from transient and permanent residents. Cramer divides their musical styles into eight categories:

- | | | |
|-------------|---|---|
| Banta songs | - | used to tease or provoke laughter, often at wakes |
| Dance songs | - | for (a) square dances [quadrille, minuet], and (b) round dances [waltz, mazurka, polka] |

Game songs	- an old style, dying out
Magic songs	- essentially songs of a particular religious sect - the Shouters
Revival songs	- European hymns performed by religious groups, with new words, or new tunes - Baptist, Methodist, Seventh Day Adventist; also 'Bedwardite' (the Jamaican sect)
Social songs	- 'contemporary' topical or 'incidental' songs
Work songs	- collective work

She prints examples and discusses the Banta songs, Game songs, Social songs, and Work songs. Although these categories do not conform exactly with the 'Kinds of Music' defined by field work in Trinidad and Jamaica (Chapter I), their relationship to these styles is apparent. Cramer explained that many of the songs were sometimes used interchangeably with respect to classification.

In the items examined, there is only one Social song defined as a calypso. This is *Commissary Gals* performed by Charles Smart, a sixteen-year-old, born in the Canal Zone of Trinidadian parentage. The song, however, was 'a modification of the calypso rhythm'. Together with the preponderance of Jamaican songs collected, this suggests that, despite commercial recordings, this form of Trinidad music was little known in the area at this time.

Of great interest were a group of Social songs obtained from Mrs Viola Brathwaite. Born in Barbados in 1896, she had come to the Panama Canal Zone in 1909. She was able to describe events in Barbados relating to songs remembered from her childhood. These included *Murder In The Market*, the song Atilla said had reached Trinidad from Barbados circa 1910. Houdini had popularised this in the United States as *He Had It Coming*, a recording of which was in his first 78 rpm album for Decca in 1939. Mrs Brathwaite also contributed another famous Barbados song, *Glanderry High Wall*, so titled for the prison on the island.

An informant of similar age was Mrs Sarah Humphry from Jamaica. She had arrived in the Canal Zone in 1910. One of her songs was *John Crow*, a theme collected in the island by Helen Hartness Roberts in 1921.

It was not only the older singers who performed songs of longstanding. Wellesley McKnight, for example, contributed the Jamaican Work Song *Hold Him Joe*. A version of

this had been published by Walter Jekyll in 1907 and, as has been mentioned, Sam Manning's Orchestra recorded the melody for Columbia in 1926.

Another traditional item recorded by McKnight (and Clinton Tomlinson, a performer not mentioned by Cramer) was *Down Emmanuel Road*. This was classified as a Banta song, but was also recorded as a Game song, under the title *Break Rock Stone*, by a group of young people in La Boca. In Jamaica, Jekyll had printed a version of this piece as a Ring Tune in 1907: *Me Go da Galloway Road*. Martha Warren Beckwith also published Game song variants in 1922 and 1928. The theme was still popular in Jamaica in the 1950s. Lord Composer made a commercial recording under the title *Mandeville Road*, in a mento medley that also featured *Hill And Gully Ride* (another early Game song).

These examples serve to demonstrate the similar but separate development of black music in Trinidad and Jamaica. For example, although Jamaica had no Carnival, in 1910 Herbert De Lisser noted that 'bad man' stickfighters congregated and held bouts at Horse Races. He also described an interest in dancing, typifying 'European' and 'native' styles. The latter was the *mento* which, he stated, was sung and danced.

Robert Witmer has provided a survey of elements in the evolution of black popular music in Kingston (the Jamaican capital), from the late nineteenth century until the early 1950s. His analysis, however, tends to overstate the influence of black music from the United States prior to the Second World War. This is not to deny the impact of black music from North America (which, as has been seen was absorbed by Trinidad musicians in the same period. An analysis of the repertoire of the Jamaican troubadour singers Slim and Sam, that Witmer equates with 'blues' from the U.S., however, does not sustain the similarity he implies. Zora Neale Hurston, who was familiar with the blues of her birthplace in Eatonville, Florida, drew no comparison when she described the music she encountered in Jamaica in 1936. Worthy of further attention, nevertheless, is the repertoire of black North American songsters. In this respect *Nobody's Business* has been mentioned, and there is evidence for versions of a black ballad about 'John Henry' that pre-dates the first source for *John Henry* in the United States.¹⁶

The full impact of U.S. culture, black and white, reached Trinidad and Jamaica as a result of the Lend Lease agreement between Britain and America in 1941. This brought American military personnel in large numbers to both islands.

(iii) Trends in Carnival and the musical diaspora 1942-1947

(a) 1942-1944

In Trinidad, a colonially stratified society endeavouring to come to terms with the economic and other disruptions occasioned by the war, the presence of prosperous United States civilian and military personnel caused great disruption. The building of American bases (which took place in 1941) and other war-time employment also boosted the local economy, causing further dislocation of the previous social structure.

The circulation of money had two principal effects on black music in the island. The first was on the steel bands, the second was on the calypsonians.

As has been shown, steel bands were the inheritors of stickband and bamboo bamboo bravado. Membership of these units was generally from the young and most socially ostracised groups in the island. In parallel with similar groups in the 1870s, therefore, they made statements of identity by staging violent demonstrations, often on seasonal occasions. An example is a 'drum beating procession' that took place in Belmont on 26 December 1941. In a resulting court case:

It was disclosed by the prosecution...that the youths were in a crowd beating drums, pans, bottles and other articles. They stopped a motor car driven by Roy Romain along Pelham Street and considerably damaged it with sticks and pans. Two occupants in the car suffered slight injuries.
"They stopped me exclaiming," Romain told the Court, "This is the U.S. Engineers Band and no one is allowed to go up her."

It was statements of power by association (evident in this case), the possibility of embroiling U.S. military personnel, and the cost of staging the festival, that persuaded the authorities to ban the Carnival in 1942. The ban lasted for the duration of the world-wide hostilities, on the 'imperative' of 'sustaining all matters to the vigorous prosecution of the war.'

In the festive seasons - Shrovetide, and Christmas-New Year - throughout the period of the ban, it was steel bands that regularly took to the streets and challenged the police. Thus, on what would have been the Lundi Gras *j'ouvert* parade in 1942 (on 16 February):

'a band of about 150 strong was parading Duke Street about 6.30 o'clock, jumping and shouting to music provided by biscuit drums, bottles and spoons.'

They also carried 'sticks and stones'. The police dispersed the marchers and arrested four of them.

There are similar reports at the time of these calendar festivals between 1942 and 1944. A few bands may not always have had instruments. For example, one night soon after New Year in 1943 the 'Second Eleven Gonzales Gang' sang in the roadway:

Hooligans from Gonzales
We are robust men,

and assaulted 'two girls at Gonzales Place'. The swagger of these 'saga' boys and 'robust' men (denoting special style of dress and behaviour) formed part of their defiance of social norms. Singers in parade on Rose Hill were also apprehended by the police on the morning of Carnival Monday (8 March 1943).

At Christmas in the same year, the *Port of Spain Gazette* reported a court case following another confrontation between a steel band and the police. There was:

a crowd of about 40 persons beating pans, bottles and pieces of steel, dancing and singing to the tune of a local ballad 'Ten thousand to bar me one' along the Laventille Road on Christmas Day.

Approached by 'Special Police' the band 'threw bottles and stones' before being dispersed.

Lloyd Braithwaite has summed up the general situation in his discussion on 'The Problem of Cultural Integration in Trinidad':

clashes between police and steel bandsmen increased when gang warfare between the rival steel bands developed. During the war this was due to poor police supervision and psychological dislocation resulting from the establishment of the American Bases, and the consequent breakdown of social control. The removal of the outlet of Carnival during the war years was also of great significance.

Ten Thousand To Bar Me One was a *kalenda*-based calypso recorded by Lord Invader in 1939. If, however, steel bandsmen represented the heritage of stickmen in the

period of the Carnival ban, at the same time, the calypsonians were to receive the popular acclaim of 'respectable' entertainers.

On this account, a singing contest in aid of war funds, staged on 12 February 1942, was 'Trinidad's first Calypso Concert to be attended by the Governor' (Sir Hubert Young). A similar event, under the patronage of the new Governor (Sir Bede Clifford) was held on 26 February 1943, in which a calypso drama 'Hitler And The Beast' was also presented. The location for both these functions was the prestigious Prince's Building.

In 1942, alongside the ban, 'the pre-Carnival spirit prevailed in calypso tents where hundreds gathered at night'. Activities in the tents are also reported in the press during the pre-Shrovetide season in 1943. At Christmas that year a 'Folk Lore Show For U.S. Soldiers' was staged at the theatre in the U.S. air base at Waller Field. This featured 'Atilla the Hun, the Growler, the Roaring Tiger, King and Lady Iere, local drummers and singers and girl bongo and belaire dancers'.

The 1944 calypso season opened on 8 January at the Victory Tent on Edward Street, with Atilla, Invader, Radio, and Growler. They expected 'to be on for a six week run up to Ash Wednesday' and to donate 'part of the proceeds...to charitable institutions'. In the same year, Charles Espinet and Harry Pitts described the alteration in the fortune of the songsters.

This and last year the calypsonians plied their trade in the tents to houses swollen to capacity by scores of American servicemen and civilian workers from the United States bases.

They paid entrance fees which were about 300% higher than the prices five years ago to hear the calypso for the first time and though unable to understand many of the calypso expressions they were kept always amused and unable to do anything else but enter into the gay spirit of their unusual surroundings.

Increased publicity given to the calypso has caught business eyes and show organisation has been introduced. Today Trinidad's foremost calypsonians are under contract (to a local businessman) but they have all acquired a sense of business so acute that they are almost obsessed by the idea of making "big money" and their art has suffered by this change.

Censorship, however, remained a point of conflict with the Trinidad elite. On 20 January 1944 certain singers were reminded by the police of the provisions of the *Theatre And Dance Halls Ordinance*. On the same night 'at the Victory Tent...[Lord] Pretender referring to the police call sang "What is an obscene calypso?"' Two days later, in the

same tent, Captain Cipriani (long-time supporter of the singers) stopped a calypso drama that:

portrayed a clergyman who finding an empty hall at a concert for school funds on the advice of the sexton called in a rhumba dancer with good results.

This did not, however, affect the cordial relations between Cipriani and the songsters. Atilla and Lion (who had both been in the drama) were among a group of calypsonians who entertained the politician, at the Victory Tent on 1 February, in celebration of his 70th birthday. Others who sang his praise were Growler, Pretender, Radio, Tiger, the Arima Champion, and Lord and Lady Iere. The Arima Champion was another sobriquet used by Aldwin Roberts - generally known as Lord Kitchener - a leading member of a new group of singers establishing their reputations in the tents.

The 1944 calypso season at the Victory Tent ended dramatically on Tuesday 22 February. A large crowd of enthusiasts 'crashed the gates...without paying and joined in the choruses of the most popular calypsos'.¹⁷

The popularity of calypso performances in the tents in this period was matched by an interest in the origins of the genre, the status of the Carnival, and the place of these related activities in the cultural milieu. In particular, letters and articles were published in the *Trinidad Guardian* (and sometimes the *Port of Spain Gazette*) during the calypso seasons of 1943 and 1944. The culmination of this attention was the first booklet-length study of the subject, *Land Of The Calypso* (by Espinet and Pitts), published by the *Trinidad Guardian* in March 1944.¹⁸

Following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941, American Decca's direct link with Trinidad music was broken by the circumstances of the Second World War. From 1942, therefore, their promotion of calypso in the U.S.A. was sporadic. In addition, the summer of that year saw the culmination of a dispute between the American Federation of Musicians and the U.S. record companies. On 1 August, musicians union boss James Ceasar Petrillo enforced a ban that effectively stopped new recordings of commercially released gramophone records in the U.S.

In September 1943, U.S. Decca, shorn of its U.K. links because of the war, decided to sign an agreement with the AFM, conceding a flat rate to be paid to the union for every disc sold. As the first major U.S. record company to do so, it gained a significant competitive advantage over its principal rivals, RCA Victor and Columbia, who were relying on a backlog of recordings to tide them over during the dispute. The latter did not sign with Petrillo until November the following year. By this time Decca had consolidated its financial position by making up-to-date recordings.

At a session for Decca on 18 October, the Andrews Sisters (a highly popular U.S. vocal trio) recorded a revised version of a 1943 calypso composed by Lord Invader. This was *Rum and Coca-Cola*. The song had been learnt in Trinidad by the comedian Morey Amsterdam, while he was on a tour entertaining U.S. troops in the island. Released on 14 December, *Rum And Coca-Cola* by the Andrews Sisters was an instant hit.¹⁹ Together with the rise in esteem of calypso and calypsonians and the continuing development of steel orchestras in Trinidad, this sets the background for the further increase in international popularity of the island's music in 1945.

(b) 1945-1947

The calypso season in 1945 opened at the House of Lords tent, on 4 January. Here the principal singers were Caresser, Lord and Lady Iere, Invader, Kitchener and King Radio. The Victory tent featured Atilla, Beginner, Lion, Small Island Pride, and Tiger. The inclusion of two newcomers in these lists indicates how quickly Kitchener and Small Island Pride had established their reputations as calypsonians.

At the Victory tent on 9 January, Atilla mourned the loss of a 'Pan American Airways Congo Clipper' off Corcorite the night before

P.A.A. Clipper crashed on Monday night
it must have been an awe-inspiring sight
Men and women suffered terribly
Little children have gone to eternity.

There was an exciting crop of new songs from both tents. A special show was staged by the Victory tent in the Royal Theatre (cinema). This was for Edward Ugast of

the United Artists company in America. He was touring Caribbean islands in search of talent and wished to assess the potential of featuring calypso performances in motion pictures.

All this activity was overshadowed, however, by news of the success of the Andrews Sisters' recording of *Rum And Coca-Cola* received from the United States at the end of January. Suddenly, negotiations commenced for singers to travel to America to make personal appearances. It is evident that several of these trips, such as one planned for Caresser and Kitchener, did not take place.

There was no Carnival (Shrove Tuesday was on 13 February), but ten days after the calypso season had ended, Lord Invader left for New York. He was followed by Atilla and Lion on 13 March. All three were pursuing their interest in the copyright of *Rum And Coca-Cola* as well as seeking cabaret engagements etc. At some point in this period, Beginner, Radio, and Tiger also travelled to the U.S.

U.S. Decca renewed its calypso activities in the U.S.A. with two Wilmoth Houdini sessions in 1945. The first on 9 February produced the first recording by a West Indian of *Rum And Coca-Cola*. The second produced a further four titles. All six were issued in Decca's personality series, but presumably were also exported to the West Indies.

Decca also recorded several sessions by some of the visiting calypsonians. These reflected the war-time repertoires of songsters between 1942 and 1945. For example, Invader's *Carenage Water* commemorates the 1942 ban on Carnival. Radio's *Air Raid Shelters* dates from 1943, and his *Madame Take Back Your Basket* from 1944. Tiger's *Missing Gold From The C.I.D.* was sung in the tents in 1945, as was Beginner's *Yankee Harvest Is Over*. Like several songs in this period (including *Rum And Coca-Cola*), the latter describes the attitude of Trinidad males towards local women following the U.S. 'invasion':

Every one was a big shot in this colony,
But they came back to small shots, you see.
The Yankee slang was the language I must explain -
Now they are talking Creole again.
Drinks like beer and whiskey now lost the sway,
So it is rum and water today.
A twenty-dollar note was like nothing, I agree,

But now it's champion like Joe Louis.

A total of eight titles were recorded by Lord Invader on 21 and 22 May; eight by Lord Beginner on 25 and 31 May; eight by King Radio on 25 and 31 May and 7 June; and eight by (Growling) Tiger on 7 June. Lionel Belasco's band provided the accompaniment. From these, eleven 78 rpm couplings were released in a special 34000 series. This, however, was Decca's swan song in this specialist market. Like the recording of black-American blues in the same period, production of new calypso records was virtually taken over by small independent record companies. For example, Atilla and Lion recorded a repertoire of past and current calypsos for Guild and Musicraft, accompanied by Gerald Clark's Orchestra. Invader also participated in these sessions.

For Carnival *aficionados* in Trinidad, the two most significant events in 1945 were the celebrations of VE Day (8-10 May) and VJ Day (from the evening of 14 August to the early hours of 17 August). On VE Day masqueraders donned their costumes for the first time since 1941, steel bands were apparent *en masse* and new road marches were performed: 'All Day All Night' [*Mary Ann*]; 'Ah! the War Is Over'; and 'Is your moustache we want Hitler'. A verse of the latter has survived:

Five years and six months,
We ain't play no mask
We go bight off Hitler mustache
He too damn fast.

Similar participants were to be seen in the VJ Day celebrations. They were joined by U.S. servicemen (confined to camp on VE Day), taking part in a Carnival-like celebration in Trinidad for the first time. *Mary Ann* remained a popular road march. It was augmented by another famous song of this type, *Donkey City*. Others mentioned in the press are 'The War Done, what they gonna do?' and *Old Sports* (which might be the same song). Lion, who was 'singing under contract at the Village Vanguard, New York night club', sent a telegram to the editor of the *Trinidad Guardian*. This was printed on the front page of the newspaper on 18 August:

Happy V-J Day Trinidad. May peace and unity dwell among all concerned.

Radio was still in the U.S. in October, on a one-month contract in Hollywood. In the same month a group of musicians were signed-up by the London-based Trinidadian band-

leader Gerald 'Al' Jennings. They set sail for Britain in mid October on the M.V. *Rangitiki*. This 'All-Star Caribbean Orchestra' included several performers, such as the guitarist Fitzroy Coleman, who were to stamp their mark on calypso records made in Britain during the 1950s. Jennings had endeavoured to secure Lion as a vocalist but he did not return to Trinidad from the U.S. until late October, just after the musicians had left for Southampton.

In America, always endeavouring to find new material for its established popular performers, U.S. Decca maintained an indirect interest in the 'calypso' field. An example is, their October 1945 recording by top-selling U.S. black vocalists Louis Jordan and Ella Fitzgerald, singing Houdini's version of the Barbadian folk song *Stone Cold Dead In The Market*. This was a very successful hit and Jordan continued recording calypsos for several years. He toured the English-speaking West Indies in March 1951.²⁰

With the probable exception of Lord Invader, all the Trinidad calypsonians who made records in the U.S.A. in 1945 were back in the island for the 1946 Carnival. There were fervent preparations for this, the first full festival since 1941. Lord Beginner seems to have been the last of the songsters to return from America. Shortly after his arrival in Trinidad he told the *Sunday Guardian* (10 February) that 'his stay in the U.S.A. was a financial success', adding that calypsos were 'very popular in the United States and that many celebrated entertainers were singing them but without the swing which the local calypsonians put into them'.

The American author Wenzell Brown was in Trinidad for the Carnival in 1946 and visited the tents. He was present at the opening night at the Victory establishment. This was the year that Atilla persuaded Kitchener to join his troupe, and the year that Kitchener composed the three most popular calypsos of the season: *Tie-Tongue Mopsy*, *Chinese Calypso*, and *Steelband*. Two full verses of the latter have survived:

Well ah heard de beat of a steelband
Friends ah couldn't understand
It was hard to make de distinction
Between Poland and Bar Twenty in John John
Pee por pong pee, bam ba-dam bam ba-dam.

And the Boom was beaten by Ozzie

The foreman of Bar 20
Bubulups red flag in she hand
Begging the police jump in the band
Ting-tang-tang ti ling-a-ding a tang-tang!

J.R. Best, writing on calypso in the *Sunday Guardian* (24 February) detected a new phase in the development of the song form in which experimentalists were tending 'to dazzle and amuse - not create and develop'. Wenzell Brown also noted the approach of the new singers, alongside a past history of the music. Brown saw Atilla beat Kitchener in the Victory Tent's 'Calypso King' contest at the Mucurapo Stadium on Shrove Sunday. Atilla sang *Reply To The Daily Mail* (the London paper had printed an attack on the behaviour of Trinidad youth) and Kitchener performed *Lai Fung Lee* (his 'Chinese Calypso', describing 'the memorial celebration indulged in by the Chinese community some time last year' - also known as *Double Ten*). This victory was attributed by Brown to Atilla's high political profile. Kitchener won the Marine Square competition - the 'Down Town' centre of the festival. Brown also described the masqueraders:

Almost all the population - Negro, White, Chinese, and Indian - are on the streets in costume. They parade in groups, dancing or chipping to the music of crude instruments - drums made of sawed-of oil barrels or cracker bins and beaten with sticks, gourds and *shaks-shaks*.²¹

At some point in 1946 Beginner returned to New York, where he and Invader cut an album of 78 rpm calypso records for Disc. Invader contributed *Tie Tongue Baby* (an adaptation of Kitchener's *Mopsy*) and two songs reflecting on his experience in the United States: *Yankee Dollar* and *New York Subway*. Beginner sang *Norah The War Is Over* (possibly the VE Day road march), his *Always Marry A Pretty Woman* (first recorded for Bluebird in 1938) and *Shake Around* (a celebration of Harlem Women).

While it seems unlikely that these records were distributed in Trinidad, their release demonstrates the popularity of calypso in the United States. In the same vein, Wenzell Brown reported in 1947 that:

'Juke boxes account for a large proportion of the sales of calypso records sold in America, for you'll find at least one of the Trinidadian records in almost any of the 450,000 juke boxes scattered over the States.'

Having already indicated sales of more than four million records for *Rum And Coca-Cola* in 1945 and a copyright case involving Lord Invader, Brown continued:

'While *Rum And Coca-Cola* has a big lead in popularity, other calypsos such as *Ugly Woman*, *Donkey City*, and *Bum-Bum-Bum* have sold around the million mark. Two Manhattan nightclubs have calypsonians as regular features of their program. These are the Caribbean Club in Harlem run by two Trinidadian brothers, Boxil and Wycliffe Jackson, and the Vanguard in Greenwich Village. Harlem Theaters too, specialize in calypso and the Duke of Iron was a long-time favourite at the famous Apollo Theatre on 125th Street'.

The Duke of Iron (Cecil Anderson), was a Trinidad singer who had made records with Gerald Clark before the war. Another was Sir Lancelot (Lancelot Pinnard). He made a career in the cinema, taking advantage of the special interest in calypso in Hollywood.

In 1947, this interest led to Warner Brothers approaching Atila and Radio in Trinidad. They asked them to write a calypso to be featured in a motion picture by the film actress Ann Sheridan. The composition was accepted and Atila and Radio recorded a performance for the film company. The arrangements for this took place during the calypso season, although the contract was not confirmed until after the Carnival.

By this year, the differences in approach between the older singers (in general those who had recorded for Decca) and younger performers resulted in a formal division between them. The 'Old Guard', led by Atila, sang at the Rover Calypso tent, the 'Young Brigade' provided the alternative location for calypsos.

During the pre Carnival season there were labour troubles in the oil fields and on 3 February the American journal *Newsweek* printed the text of a calypso devoted to the strike and the part played in it by T.U.'B'. Butler.

The festival was held on 17 and 18 February and Atila was crowned 'Calypso King' at another Shrove Sunday event at the Mucurapo Stadium. He won with *Million Dollar Jail* (criticising the priorities of the colonial authorities). Radio was second with *Pounds, shillings and spence*. Third was a new 'King Pharoah' with *Portuguese Dance* (known also as *Pharoah*).

In the same period the steelbandmen continued to develop their instruments. Sometimes their activities were noted by outside observers, visiting Trinidad to discover the island's vibrant musical culture. In this respect the *Newsweek* columnist filed a report on the Carnival on 3 March and there are other commentaries on calypso and steelbands that date from this time.

In New York on 24 February, Lord Invader won the lawsuit regarding infringement of his lyrics to *Rum And Coca-Cola*. During 1946-1947 he also made further recordings for Disc Records. Generally these featured past repertoire, such as Fitz McLean's *Out The Fire*, or the wartime panegyric for black consciousness *God Made Us All* (composed by Lord Pretender) and the road march *Mary Ann*.

This international acknowledgement of calypso was added to by Lord Caresser, who had based himself in Canada, and broadcast regularly from there. In August 1947 he toured the Caribbean, making personal appearances in Guyana, Trinidad, Barbados, and Puerto Rico. Further prestige was accorded to calypsonians at the end of the same month, during the visit to Trinidad of the U.S. President, Harry Truman.

On 31 August Truman stopped at the U.S. air base at Waller Field, *en route* to Brazil. Before he departed he attended 'a party...at the Officers Club at which Lord Kitchener, Lord Beginner and other calypso singers entertained the guests'.

In the same period, Eduardo Sa Gomes arranged for new calypso recordings by Lion, Radio and Pharoah (his popular *Portuguese Dance*). By 2 September, Sa Gomes had shipped the masters to Continental Records in the U.S.A. for processing. Other performances included Lion's *Turn Around Baby* and *De Leon* (featuring steel drums); and Radio's famous *Brown Skin Girl*, plus two songs boasting of his time in Hollywood: *Come Back With Revenge In This Island*, and *Buggy Wuggy Dance In California*. Sa Gomes expected to record Atila, Tiger, Beginner and Kitchener the week of his announcement, but none of these sides have been traced. They may have fallen foul of the crisis in the sterling area that curtailed U.S. imports in the British West Indies later in the year.

By this time, Kitchener and Beginner had formed a team and in November they set off on a tour that took them to Guyana, Venezuela, Curaçao, Aruba, and Jamaica.²²

(iv) Migrants and music in Britain 1948-1951

Kitchener and Beginner did not return to Trinidad for the Carnival in 1948. They remained in Jamaica and endeavoured to travel to the United States, but arrangements fell through. Learning of the assisted passage to Britain on the *Empire Windrush*, both singers

decided to make the trip to London. Just before their departure the *Trinidad Guardian* (26 May) printed Kitchener's photograph with the caption 'Lord Kitchener. Trinidad Calypso singer who won great popularity at the Sugar Hill Club, Jamaica will leave Jamaica for England shortly.' The day following, the *Guardian* printed a photograph of Beginner stating that he had 'left Jamaica...with Lord Kitchener for England'. According to the *Daily Gleaner* of the same date, the *Windrush* was to depart that morning with 900 [sic] passengers on board. Kitchener and Beginner were not identified but, as has been noted, their presence is confirmed in other sources.

On their arrival in Britain, Beginner and Kitchener separated for the purposes of employment. Beginner, with an established reputation, on records and in New York night clubs, was able to broadcast on the BBC and secure an engagement with Jose Norman's rumba band 'at the exclusive Churchill's niterie'. Kitchener obtained a job in a pub, and then in clubs where blacks and whites mixed.

In October 1948 Lionel Belasco paid a second visit to Britain. He made a series of instrumental records of various West Indian musical rhythms for British Decca. Earlier in the same month Lord Caresser's presence in the United Kingdom was announced in the *Melody Maker*. The newspaper noted his travels in the West Indies, South America, the U.S.A. and Canada and printed his extemporised calypso panegyric for the publication:

Mammie my dear mammie
Buy the *Melody Maker* for me
I'm so enthused with the pictures and news
To subscribe I can't refuse

CHORUS Mammie, read the *Melody Maker* and see
 It's editorial efficiency

Not only me, most people say
The *Melody Maker* is tops today
Its photographers, reporters and editors
Put it ahead of its competitors

Caresser's period in Britain did not meet with success.

Early in 1949, Kitchener wrote to the *Trinidad Guardian* 'sending regards to fellow calypso singers in Port-of-Spain'. At that time he was singing in the Moonglow Club, and was about to tour in France and Sweden. He had apparently recently recorded four sides

(songs that he had made famous in Trinidad). Three of these were *Jump In The Line*, *Steel Band* and *Chinese Memorial*. These records, however, have not been traced, and may not have been released. His first accredited session was not held until January 1950, when he and Lord Beginner cut four sides for Parlophone. The circumstances of these recordings have been described in a recent publication.

With the exception of Kitchener's *Nora* (an archetypal migrant's lament for his home) and *Underground Train* (describing a newly arrived migrant's confusion in travelling by this means), the music recorded at this session represents the experience of older Trinidad performers. This age group made up the majority of the band, including Cyril Blake (its leader), and the Guyanese clarinettist Freddy Grant (whose departure for London from Trinidad in 1937 has been noted).

Beginner's vocals were in the style that reflected his 'Old Brigade' status, with a topical commentary on the Empire sterling crisis, *The Dollar And The Pound*, and philosophical observations on male-female relations *I Will Die A Bachelor*. Initially his songs proved more attractive to Parlophone, who recorded two more calypsos by him in March: *Housewives* (praising women for the way in which they coped with post-war rationing) and *General Election* (describing the political event in Britain of 23 February). Cyril Blake's band also recorded two instrumentals at this session: *Iere* (an old-fashioned Carnival string band 'March Calypso', using the Amerindian name for Trinidad as its title), and *Glendeena* (a *castilian*). The septuganarian Brylo Ford (using the sobriquet of the Iron Duke) sang a version of King Radio's *Man Smart, Woman Smarter* at a second session for Parlophone later in March. The twenty-two year old guitarist Fitzroy Coleman, performed a song commemorating the visit of the President of France to Britain on 7 March, but this and *Glendeena* were not issued.

As mentioned in Chapter I, the success of these records was undoubtedly the reason why Denis Preston was able to persuade a newly organised company, Melodisc, to record more of the same in July. This followed the success of the West Indian cricket team in a celebrated Test Match against the MCC at Lords, at the end of June. Lord Beginner sang his famous *Victory Test Match*, praising the achievement of the West Indian cricketers,

Straight Hair Girl (describing a contemporary fashion for hair-dyeing and straightening among black women) and performed a stickfighting kalenda *Sergeant Brown (Lè Rèzon Mè)*. Brylo Ford (as le Duc) sang another kalenda, *Boul'Vé-Sé*, in French Creole. This was a version of the song that commemorated the defeat of Fitzzy Banray by Eugene Mylar, which has been described in the last chapter.

Preston supervised another session for Melodisc in about September 1950. Two performances were by Beginner, and two by the Jamaican singer and dialect champion Louise Bennett. Her songs, *Bongo Man* (or *Wheel And Turn Me*), and *Linstead Market* were from the traditional Jamaican repertoire. She also recorded four more titles of a similar nature for Tri-Jam-Bar in the same period. Another Preston-produced recording for Melodisc in late 1950 was a steelband version of the old-time Carnival road march, *Caroline*.

The Louise Bennett recordings represent another strand of musical migration to Britain in the pre- and post-war periods. In addition to Trinidad instrumentalists, Jamaican performers, such as the trumpet player Leslie 'Jiver' Hutchinson (who features on her sides) had made the trip to London from the West Indies. Hutchinson, and the Jamaican saxophonist Bertie King sometimes performed in the black dance band run by Ken Johnson, before Johnson was killed in an air raid during the war. Bennett's records appear to be the first releases of authentic black music from Jamaica made in Britain for sale both here and in that island.

Taken as a whole these 1950 recordings can be used as a general indication of the way in which British recordings of West Indian music developed in the first five years of the decade. The emphasis was on Trinidad styles, with calypso to the fore, its topicality indicated in themes of migration, politics and personal relations. In 1950, the preponderance of recordings featured past styles. These can be seen to have been founded in the music of Trinidad Carnivals before the Second World War or, in the case of Jamaica, in mentos performed in the island during the same period. The Jamaican trend, which comprised a small proportion of the recordings made, continued with few exceptions throughout the decade.

Excluding Beginner's *Victory Test Match*, the most successful recordings made in 1950 were the two titles by Lord Kitchener, especially his song *Nora*, which was a hit in West Africa as well as the West Indies. Kitchener was also the cheerleader for West Indian culture among the younger migrants in Britain. This is best exemplified by a report in the *Trinidad Guardian* published one day after the West Indian success at Lords on 29 June:

All through the game West Indians had been gathering in strength and originality in their applause. They built up their own steel band - the native music that started in Trinidad with rhythm conscious Africans [*sic*] beating out the time on dustbin lids. Calpsonian Lord Kitchener was hard at work singing impromptu words like these:

I hope you West Indians are pleased
To see the performance of the West Indies
Now we are on the verge of victory
What is the the deciding factor? Let us see.

Walcott, Weeks and Worrell upheld their name
With wonder shots throughout the game
But England was beaten clean out of time
With the spin bowling of Ramadin and Valentine

Drums, maracas and rattles have come to Lords - one enthusiast scraped away on a cheese grater with a carving knife.

At the end of the match Kitchener, playing a guitar, led a group of enthusiastic supporters on to the pitch to congratulate the West Indian captain John Goddard. He sang (according to the July issue of the *West India Committee Circular*):

This match will stir our memory
We hope it will be noted in history
All through our bowling was superfine
With Ramadhine and Valentine.

'Kitch' (as he was also known) then led an impromptu Carnival parade of West Indian supporters from the Lord's cricket ground in St. John's Wood to a dance hall near Piccadilly Circus in the heart of London's West End!

Kitchener was not recorded anew until 1951 and, by then, was under exclusive contract to Melodisc records. His recordings in that year were part of a surge of interest in calypso and other West Indian music probably encouraged by the holding of the Festival of Britain and the internationalist spirit of the times.

Kitch's first session for Melodisc was significant in several ways. In particular, his accompaniment featured musicians from different areas of the English-speaking Caribbean

whose traditions produced an interesting musical mix. The subject matter of his calypsos were the Festival, Bebop jazz, and a panegyric for the West Indian success in clinching the cricket rubber with England the previous year. He also recorded a version of *London Is The Place For Me*. Edmundo Ros subsequently recorded *Festival Of Britain* and *London Is The Place For Me*, which gave these songs wide distribution.

At his next session, *circa* March 1951, Kitchener recorded two topical songs commenting on his life in Britain, *Cold In The Winter* and *Food From The West Indies*. He also kept abreast of events in Trinidad: *Pirates In The Gulf Of Paria* records the successful appeal of the gangster Boysie Singh against a conviction for murder, which was announced on 25 January. The final side cut at this time was *Kitch*, a teasingly bawdy song that established his reputation in Jamaica in 1948. On its release this was banned by Radio ZFY in Guyana, but remained accessible in that country via juke boxes.

Other recordings made for Melodisc in this period included comic monologues on *Life In England* and the *Dividing Of The Cricket Spoils*, by Brother Christefor and Brother Batson, plus Lord Beginner's song of praise for the Ghanaian boxer Roy Ankrah: *Gold Coast Champion*.

Further recordings supervised by Preston between April and July included two *castilians* by Freddy Grant's Caribbean Rhythm, Martinique biguines sung by the Trinidad vocalist Mona Baptiste (who had travelled on the *Windrush*) and more old-time Jamaican mentos, performed on this occasion by Tony Johnson. Kitchener also contributed two more panegyrics for sportsmen: one for the cricketer and footballer Denis Compton; the other for the boxer Randolph Turpin (of Guyanese ancestry) and his sensational defeat of the black American fighter Sugar Ray Robinson in London on 10 July. There was a complaint at the rise in London taxi fares, *No More Taxi*, and another of Kitch's bawdy offerings, *Saxophone*. The Nigerian percussiant 'Billy' Olu Sholanke played conga drums on Mona Baptiste's version of Nat King Cole's *Calypso Blues*.²³

All this activity must be seen alongside what was for Trinidad the most successful musical event of the year. This was the sponsorship of the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra (TASPO) for the Festival of Britain celebrations on the South Bank of the

Thames, in London. Leading instrumentalists were selected from seventy steel bands in Trinidad. They were trained and conducted by Lieutenant N. Joseph Griffith of the St. Lucia Police Band. Born in Barbados he had travelled to Trinidad in 1938 with the Harmony Kings of Grenada. Subsequently, Griffith conducted orchestras in recordings for Decca and Sa Gomes. These included the steel band that probably performed the aforementioned 1940 instrumental version of *Run Your Run Hitler*. He had also been employed by the Trinidad Police Band.

Including Griffith, eleven steel band musicians reached London, where they made their debut at the Festival of Britain on 26 July 1951. The concerts they gave during their ten-week stay were organised by the West Indian Students Union in conjunction with Edric Connor. With a repertoire of calypsos, sambas, mambos, waltzes, marches, and occasional adaptations of the classics they were a sensation. In addition to appearances at the Festival and concerts, they broadcast on the radio and took part in a television spectacular. The band also made commercial recordings of a march, a samba, a mento, and several calypsos. This acceptance in the 'mother country' led to greatly improved recognition for steelbands in Trinidad, and in the Caribbean as a whole.

At the same time that funds were raised in Trinidad for TASPO, attempts were made to obtain the patronage necessary to send four calypsonians as representatives of the island's vocal music to perform at the Festival of Britain. In the event this was unsuccessful but one member of the 'old brigade' made the trip. This was Lion, who arrived in Southampton on 25 August and appeared at the Festival on 3 September. Within a week he had recorded two sessions featuring several of his past calypsos. These were supervised by Denis Preston, respectively for Melodisc and Parlophone.

Past Trinidad repertoire, including two late-nineteenth century French Creole songs (performed by Brylo Ford), comprised the majority of recordings Preson produced for Melodisc in the latter part of 1951. There were, however, a few songs on contemporary topics. Lord Beginner contributed *Jamaica Hurricane* (reporting on the after effects of a tempest that struck Kingston, Jamaica on the night of 17 August) and *John Goddard* (in praise of the West Indian cricket captain). Kitchener also provided exceptions with his

Carnival Road March (about steel band clashes in Trinidad Carnival). *Jingle Bells Calypso* (about celebrating Christmas in Britain), and *Liebling Kitch* (on his encounters in Germany, where he had toured with Cyril Blake in April-May). Finally, there was also a 'farewell' session for reed-player Bertie King, on his first return trip to Jamaica since arriving in London in 1935. This included two more mentos sung by Tony Johnson, the familiar *Sly Mongoose* and *Sweetie Charlie*, plus another, *Imogene*, performed as an instrumental.

This discussion of the recording of black West Indian music during the first two years it became popular in Britain, demonstrates the different styles from that area that met with success. It is evident that, with the exception of the majority of calypsos by Lord Kitchener, many of the records made were nostalgic recreations of songs that had become well known in their places of origin, prior to the migration of musicians and their music.²⁴ In one sense, the period 1950-1951 was an extended Carnival, sustained especially by the West Indian cricket tour of 1950, and the Festival of Britain in 1951. In another sense, however, the link between migrants and the music of their home countries, was broken by the act of migration. As was the case with Wilmoth Houdini and Lionel Belasco in New York before the Second World War, singers and their accompanists slowly began to lose touch with musical developments in the place of their birth. This was a drawn out process, however, and in the United Kingdom also involved the popularity of British-recorded calypsos in English-speaking West Africa. Little documented, this aspect of the influence of 'calypso' must be explored further.

(v) 'Calypsos' in Britain and West Africa 1946-1957

In post-war Britain, the first evidence for interaction between black performers of African and West Indian origin was the 'Ballets Negres'. This was organised in 1946 by the Jamaican dancer Berto Pasuka. One of the members of the original dance troupe was Bobby Benson, a Nigerian. He later became famous for leading one of the principal Highlife bands in Lagos, the capital of his home country. The Nigerian musicians who accompanied these dancers were led by Ambrose Campbell and included Olu Sholanke. A

BBC television transmission in June 1946 featured the Ballets Negres troupe, the West African Rhythm Band (under Campbell's direction) and Edric Connor, the Trinidad baritone. Connor performed black Trinidad religious music and a calypso. Campbell, Sholanke, and several other West Africans, were to work with West Indian musicians in London throughout the 1950s.

The popularity of recorded calypsos in West Africa during the 1950s was fuelled by the recordings made by calypsonians and other West Indian musicians in London. As has been mentioned, this began with the immediate success of Lord Kitchener's *Nora* in 1950. It seems evident, however that a 'kind' of music called 'calypso' was an established genre in West Africa before this time.

Two field recordings, obtained in Ghana by Arthur S. Alberts and his wife in 1949, are examples of the style at this time. Alberts noted that such 'calypsos', sung 'either in pidgin or dialect' might 'be heard in bistros of Lagos, Accra or Takovadi'. The group recorded by the Alberts' in Accra were of Ibo origin, 'far from their Nigerian home'. *You Be Sorry For Me*, accompanied by guitar and cigarette tin scraper, 'concerns a lady who, having left her proper husband "fo odder man", can "never go back to dat first man"'. The other song, *Soldiers Lament*, was described as a 'calypso blues'. The accompaniment was augmented by an empty whiskey bottle struck rhythmically (but not in the incessant rhythm of Trinidad bottle and spoon musicians). The song related how 'a soldier on returning from battle [found] that someone [had] taken away his wife'. Calypsos and blues have been composed on both these subjects, but this appears to be the only direct resemblance between these songs and their black-American namesakes.

In addition, according to Christopher Waterman, the earliest recordings made by Bobby Benson's orchestra, following Benson's return to Lagos from the U.S.A. in 1948, included calypsos, sambas and experiments with jazz. The exact dates of these records, however, are not known.

The Ghanaian percussionist Guy Warren (now known as Kofi Ghanaba) was another musician who played a part in the dissemination of calypso (and African-Cuban rhythms and instruments) in West Africa. Warren was in London in 1950 and in June

signed with the Afro-Cubists, a band organised two months earlier by the British tenor saxophonist Kenny Graham. In September, Warren also obtained a job with the BBC as a radio presenter, broadcasting jazz and similar music to West Africa. Whilst he was in London, Warren told John Collins:

I went to the Caribbean Club, somewhere near Piccadilly, the haunt of a lot of West Indians. It was all Calypso every night, and I played these records on a BBC programme I had.

Before leaving Ghana, Guy Warren had worked for E.T. Mensah's Tempos, the leading Highlife band in that country. On his return from Britain, Warren took back calypso records produced in London and taught them to the Tempos. He observed: 'I knew straight away that the musical inflections were so Highlife-ish'.

'Calypso' was also popular in Sierra Leone. This was especially true of the creoles (descendants of ex-slaves) in Freetown, the country's capital. Roy Lewis, writing in 1954 commented:

Nothing is so typical of creole delight in gossip as calypso - the unpremeditated verses made to celebrate some local occasion or persons achievement, and sung to a thudding rhythm of drums, saxophones and castanets. The creoles declare that the calypso did not originate in the West Indies, but in West Africa, where it was developed from the impromptu songs sung to chiefs on state occasions.

Among others in Freetown, Calendar and his Maringar Band recorded a series of these 'calypsos' for British Decca's West African series in the early 1950s. One was the popular *Fire Fire Fire* and, as has been mentioned, another was a version of the black North American-English-speaking West Indian Song *Nobody's Business But My Own*.²⁵

The reasons for the popularity of 'calypso' in English-speaking West Africa prior to 1950 are not readily distinguishable. From the evidence presented, however, it seems that trade and personal contacts were a contributory factor. The social mixing in Britain, between West Indians and West Africans in the 1950s, and the availability of London-produced West Indian calypso records in West Africa (where English was a lingua franca) encouraged this process.

For black West Indians in Britain (and the Caribbean) there was also the symbolism of Africa as their homeland before the days of slavery. This is exemplified by Kitchener's 1952 recording *Africa My Home*. In this the African-American themes of return to Africa

and unity are superimposed on West African place names and personalities the calypsonian had met in London, such as the politicians Dr. Nkrumah (Ghana) and Dr. Awolowo (Nigeria).

In this, dances such as a Mardi Gras celebration at the Royal Hotel, Woburn Place on 26 February 1952, were another significant meeting place for West Indians and West Africans. There were three calypsonians from Trinidad - Kitchener, Beginner, and Lion - accompanied by Freddy Grant's Caribbean Rhythm (with British guest artists Humphry Lyttelton and Wally Fawkes). Steelband musician Sterling Bettancourt (ex TASPO) was present, as was the Jamaican singer Tony Johnson. Ambrose Campbell's West African Rhythm Brothers also appeared. This was not an isolated event. For example, the *West African Review* (February 1954), contains a photograph showing Lion performing at a dance held by the West African Student's Union at the Horticultural Hall, Westminster. He was accompanied by Ambrose Campbell's West African Rhythm Brothers.

London clubs, such as the Sugar Hill (in Mason's Yard, off Duke Street, St. James's) also provided regular meeting places for Africans and West Indians.²⁶

The popularity of West Indian music in West Africa led to Denis Preston supervising a number of sessions of experimental instrumental music for HMV and Lyragon in 1954. These featured musicians from Africa, the West Indies, and Britain. There were also occasional vocals, such as a version of *Kitch*, sung in Fanti by Joe Meneza of the Quavers; a quintet made up of two South Africans, and three West Indians (including one from Guyana). Harry Oku-Quashie sang a version of King Radio's *Brown Skin Girl* in Fanti accompanied by Awotwi Paynin and his Ghana Rockers. The West Indian trumpet player Shake Keane performed a version of *Fire Fire*, accompanied by Mike McKenzie's All Stars (vocalist unknown).

Songs relating to Africa recorded by London-based calypsonians in 1954 are Lion's *African Girl*, and Terror's *Emperor Of Africa* (paying homage to Haile Selassie). In 1955, Lion recorded *Nigerian Girl*, Beginner *Africa* (in praise of the continent), and Kitchener *Mamie Water* (about the West African water spirit, used for cult purposes and

entertainment in masquerade). These complemented their repertoire of songs recorded for migrants from the West Indies, or export to the Caribbean.

In about 1953, E.T. Mensah and his Tempos (the Ghanaian Highlife band) recorded instrumental versions of two Trinidad calypsos learned from records made by West Indians in London. These were *Donkey Calypso* (based on *Donkey City*) and *St. Peter's Calypso* (based on *St. Peter's Day*, a song recorded by Lord Beginner, first in New York in 1935, and again in London in 1953). In 1955, Mensah (who played several musical instruments) travelled to Britain from Ghana to perform for audiences in the U.K. and investigate the music business in London (and Paris). On his return to Accra he was interviewed by a correspondent from *West Africa* (3 September) who reported that Mensah planned 'to tour the Gold Coast and Nigeria with the famous calypso singer Lord Kitchener later this year'. Kitchener, however, never followed up his popularity in West Africa with personal appearances.

Although Kitchener did not go to Africa his musical reputation was harnessed by administrators in both Nigeria and Ghana. *Nigerian Registration* (recorded circa 1955) and *Birth Of Ghana* (recorded in 1956, to announce the Independence of that country, on 6 March 1957):

were made at the invitation of the authorities and used via radio and loud speaker trucks to familiarize the local population with details of the historical events they commemorate.

With the Independence of Ghana, and the build up to Independence in Nigeria and Sierra Leone, the market for calypsos in West Africa altered. Melodisc, for example, began to produce more and more recordings by London-based Africans, including the Sierra Leone 'calypso' singer Ali Ganda. In 1957 Kitchener made one more session aimed at this market. Accompanied by Ambrose Campbell's West African Rhythm Brothers, he recorded *Dick Tiger Calypso* and *King Hogan Bassey*, in praise of these two successful Nigerian boxers. The song on Bassey commemorated his winning of the World Featherweight Championship in June.²⁷ By this time, however Kitchener's recording sessions for Melodisc were becoming less and less frequent, reflecting changes in the popularity of calypso in the West Indies, as well as in Britain, and West Africa.

(vi) Trends in Britain and the West Indies 1956-1962

It has been shown in Chapter I that commercial recordings of black West Indian music in Britain can be divided into two phases, the first ending in 1955 and the second in 1962. In addition, developments in Jamaica and Trinidad can also be divided into the same phases. By 1956, mento-based calypsos were in decline in Jamaica. In Trinidad a new approach in the performance of calypso was spearheaded by the Mighty Sparrow, with his success in winning the Calypso King competition at the Carnival in that year. In both circumstances, the drive towards new musical expression in these different islands reflected a search for national identity in the light of political change. These evolutions are the subject of published research.²⁸ Together, however, the related circumstances of their progression can be seen as part of a wider perspective that has been traced in this investigation.

2. Creole Musical Traditions And The Metropolises

(i) Africa and the Caribbean

The empirical evidence presented in this study supports the view, expressed by Pearse (and others), that despite the repression of slavery, African-derived culture persisted in the Americas. A principal component in this persistence is music; especially music associated with sacred, or secular rituals.

Using two musical instruments that respectively symbolise Africa (the drum) and Europe (the fiddle), it has been demonstrated that the type of music played by performers on these instruments varied according to social function. This can sometimes be perceived in descriptions that identify differences of approach at one event, where both instruments were used. In turn, these uses reflect different means of negotiating with changing circumstances experienced by Africans, and African-Americans, in the New World. First, under the burden of enslavement. Second, as they adjusted to a still repressive environment following Emancipation.

While it is useful to identify the drum and fiddle as musical symbols of different continents, it must be remembered that these symbols are not exclusive. Percussion instruments of European design and string instruments of African design were introduced into the Americas by migrants from these separate regions.

In this, there was a cross-cultural absorption of African and European traditions of design and manufacture, founded in the new circumstances of the Americas. The symbol of the drum is thereby modified to that of an instrument which identifies not only with African, but with African-American culture. The same can be said for string (and woodwind) instruments. This change is essentially that which has been defined as *creole* culture in the Caribbean. A developing tradition, separated in space from Africa (and Europe), that has evolved differently with respect to the circumstances of particular geographical and, or political regions. At the same time the proximity of these territories in the circum Caribbean and the pattern of their political progression, are a physical link maintaining similarity between the creole cultures of different islands, or mainland settlements.

It is in the context of creole culture that African-American social institutions sustained their music. In the historical record, drum dances are the most prominent feature of this music, followed closely by dances accompanied by the fiddle. Both instruments were featured in carnivalesque processions. African-American music sustained in this way can be seen to date from the period prior to Emancipation.

The social institutions that provided the music for these dances and processions also maintained other performance characteristics. For drum dances these were, principally, call and response singing, particular dance movements, and a circular arena for dancing, with the drums usually positioned at a point on the arc of the circumference.

Drum dances might serve sacred or secular purposes. In each instance participation appears to have been organised using a hierarchical system. This was based on the way in which the social institution holding the dance was constituted. When these social institutions participated in processions, the same constitutional pattern was maintained. Thus African 'tribal' groups took part in the pre-Emancipation Jonkonnu parades in

Jamaica in this way. There were also occupational and territorial bands. Similar organisations flourished, post Emancipation, in the Trinidad Carnival, and existed in the slavery period for the purpose of holding drum dances.

The organisation of Carnival bands, like the organisation of dances, therefore, can be seen to have had their foundation in the societies into which enslaved Africans formed themselves in their place of enslavement.

These social units were not static. As people of African birth declined with the abolition of the slave trade, the direct link with that continent was broken. Sometimes the societies died out, sometimes they shifted their allegiance, and sometimes, in the post-Apprenticeship period, they were rejuvenated by the arrival of indentured labour from Africa.

The dances and parades performed by these groups can be divided into two contrasting modes of expression - those that emphasised refinement of style, and those that were designed to stress behaviour considered by some to be outlandish. Both kinds of representation might be used to effect compromise, or to resist circumstances outwith the control of the participants. On occasion, this resistance would be violent.

Sometimes institutions developed that were supported by all stratas in a community, such as the Rose and Marguerite Societies in St. Lucia, described by Henry Breen in 1844. These organisations owed their allegiance to particular saints. They sponsored drum dances that were run in the fashion described, with call and response singing to drumming that accompanied dancing by participants dressed in elaborate costumes. In addition there were decorations and other accoutrements. These societies also represented rival points of view and, via patronage, were concerned with power.

In time, organisations of this nature that maintained their equilibrium, usually absorbed additional features from outside influences. This was achieved while sustaining integrity towards their original objective. The best example of this is the Big Drum Dance of Carriacou. In this, the most sacred part of the ritual dance, which opens the proceedings, is devoted to African ancestry. The second phase commemorates the

evolution of dances in the pre-Emancipation period, while the third phase allows for post-Emancipation creativity.

The history of carnivalesque in the Caribbean can, almost certainly, be divided in a similar progression and, may also have represented similar functions. Thus, in Jamaican Jonkonnu, in the pre-Set Girl and Set Girl eras, African nations participated in the event. The introduction of the Set Girls, *circa* 1775 is the first indication of a creole development in the pre-Emancipation period. In Trinidad Carnival, the early morning *j'ouvert* parades were originally associated with paying respect to ancestors or, placating them. Like the pre-Emancipation 'nation' bands in Jamaica, therefore, they are a statement of integrity founded in a positive attitude towards genealogy.

In addition to the Big Drum Dance in Carriacou, positive statements regarding African origin can be seen in drum dance rituals performed in other islands in the Caribbean to this day. These confident expressions of descent should not be viewed as static representations of the past but, rather, ideas that have been modified by the dynamics of time and consequent social change. They are, however, a level of social cohesion in which African-Americans are least willing to compromise with influences from other quarters.

In general drum dances feature call and response singing, with a chantwell and chorus. The lead singer might be male or female, and this applies also to the chorus. It will be seen that this pattern of performance is a prominent feature of past descriptions of drum dances. This form of presentation is generally accepted as African in origin. It is a type of vocal music that is not confined to sacred rituals. Again, past descriptions show this as a common feature of secular drum dances, with the lead singer, more often than not, improvising his verses to a common chorus.

Another circumstance in which this kind of singing is used is the undertaking of manual labour by work gangs. Call and response work songs range from sea shanties to communal self-help traditions, such as *gayap* in Trinidad. They were employed on plantations and in prison farms in the United States. Undoubtedly they were used in other forms of occupation, or enslavement, where it was necessary for groups to work in rhythm

and to exact time. Improvisation by the lead singer is usually reported as a feature of these collective work songs. The verses performed by the chantwell are often described as having been satirical or topical in content.

Although the evidence for the nineteenth century (and before) is less clear, it seems likely that songs performed by bands taking part in carnivalesque parades were presented in similar fashion. This applies also to slave Christmas waits, that were a prominent feature of this annual festival in plantation households. Waits, of course, have their own European tradition. The Christmas house-to-house visit witnessed by Sir William Young in St. Vincent in 1791, however, was not European. It featured a Moko Jumbie. The African provenance of this masquerader on stilts has been identified, as well as its importance as a figure of sacred *and* secular ritual. Later in the day Young saw creole blacks dancing the minuet to the accompaniment of two fiddles and a tambourine, and newly arrived Africans performing their own steps to the accompaniment of a balafo.

This highlights both the creole process and a range of social activities that help to define the creole experience in the pre-Emancipation period. The adoption and adaptation of European dances by blacks in the Caribbean (to the accompaniment of musical instruments, nominally of European provenance) can be seen to have been an early development in the formation of African-American culture. They did not supplant the Africanisms that black-Americans found means of sustaining, but stood alongside them. In addition, the incorporation of European dances and musical instruments into black culture was not simply a form of emulation (or flattery) but a satirical judgement aimed at a white elite whose idealisation of Europe was the antithesis of their disparagement of Africa. Reports (by white observers) often stress that blacks danced European steps with a facility that white Europeans were unable to surpass. It was not necessary to fully appreciate the satire to be aware of its results.

In the period prior to Emancipation, or rather the more appropriate date of the ending of Apprenticeship, all these activities rested in the patronage of the planter class, and their allies in the government of each territory. This two tier system appears to allow for a straightforward relationship between slave and master, in which the white elite

dispensed favours as they saw fit to the enslaved. The reality was not so straightforward. Different European countries ran their West Indian colonies in different ways. There were other considerations. Slaves resisted the plantocracy, and thereby caused disruption. This altered the relationship between the two. As has been pointed out, in Trinidad the planter class was split into French-speaking (Catholic) and English-speaking (Protestant) units, after the British took the island in 1797. Groups of creole slaves were also divided linguistically by the same event. There were similar experiences in other territories at differing periods in their history. Another example will suffice to demonstrate this. There was a profound cultural effect following the slave uprising in Saint-Domingue in 1791. This spread to places as far apart as New Orleans, Louisiana (the ancestors of the jazz pianist and composer, Jelly Roll Morton, have been traced to the island), Jamaica (witness the French Set Girls depicted by Belisario in 1838), and Trinidad (note the song that is said to have been composed by the leaders of the Shand Estate 'Revolt' in 1805).²⁹

The participation in festivals by different groups representing African ancestry in the period before the ending of Apprenticeship is still reported in Jamaican Jonkonnu by I.M. Belisario in 1837. They sang to the accompaniment of the gumbay drum. By this time, however, their presence in the festival was rare. In 1838, in Trinidad Carnival, a 'savage Guinea song' was yelled out by a band that was 'nine tenths' *creole*.

These descriptions provide useful examples that indicate the similar changes taking place in parallel festivals, held at different points in the calendar, in islands over 1,000 miles apart. At the same time, the history of these festivals is a useful demonstration of how the evolution of such events differed from island to island.

As has been shown, by 1840 Jonkonnu had become a focal point for radical politics in Kingston, Jamaica, and the mayor (a conservative) endeavoured to stamp out the festival. This battle continued in 1841 and resulted in bloodshed. The concerted effort to rid Kingston of Jonkonnu paid off and the elaborate festival died out in the city. This was achieved because the ruling elite (administrators, plantocracy, and churchmen) closed ranks and were able to exert sufficient pressure to stultify this celebration of black-American culture.

In Trinidad, despite several attempts, it was never so easy to stamp out the Carnival. This was in part because of the alliance between black Americans and the French plantocracy. The latter was in competition with their British equivalent and, more often than not, the British administration. When threatened, the festival was stoutly defended by the African-American and French-American communities. This alliance (against the British) is best explained by the use of French Creole as a lingua franca throughout the nineteenth century by blacks in Trinidad. Thus, when indentured Africans came to Trinidad it was this language they adopted for everyday speech with their African-American compatriots.

The period in which Africans participated in schemes to bring indentured labour to the British West Indies was short lived. Another means by which a direct African presence was maintained in English-speaking islands in the nineteenth century was troops recruited in West Africa. They were members of the West India Regiment. An example of their cultural contribution is the Moko Jumbie performance in St. Vincent, described by Charles William Day in 1852. Conversely, J. Kedjanyi reports a masquerade tradition in a Ghanaian village that was introduced by black West Indian troops of the West India Regiment stationed in that country.³⁰ Imperial trade also maintained contact between Africa and the West Indies in this period and, on an administrative level, white colonial civil servants and military personnel moved between the two areas of the Empire. In this respect, the career of 'Captain' Baker, the Trinidad police chief in the 1870s-80s, is a case in point.

Whilst by the twentieth century many of these direct links had broken down, identification with Africa had not. This was reflected in the ideas of Marcus Garvey and others and articulated by calypsonians, especially at the time of the Italian invasion of Ethiopia.

The tradition of call-and-response singing, with a leader in front of a Carnival band chanting verses to the chorus performed by the members, remained the established pattern in Trinidad Carnival when calypso began to be sung regularly in English in the last year of the nineteenth century. The construction of the tents of Carnival bands and, the way in

which they were laid out originally, with a circle in the centre for performance by the chantwell and musicians, echo the folk buildings used for secular or sacred occasions. These might be recreational drum dances (a 'tent' housed the drummers involved in the dance that led up to the Arouca riot), or religious rituals (a similar construction is built for the African-derived cult of Shango in Trinidad).

Attention has been drawn to the link between drum dances and songs called *caliso*, both on the evidence of Abbé Masee (the dance called calypso) and Lord Executor. As a practising songster born in the nineteenth century, Executor's evidence is particularly important. It seems probable that, as with the adoption of *calenda* to signify the activities of stickmen (their game/dance, and other aspects of the sport), this nomenclature is a post-Apprenticeship development. In this *caliso* and stickfighting *calenda* form part of the pattern of exotic 'new creole' dances that, as Pearse has shown, were introduced in this period. They also demonstrate movement of nomenclature from one activity to another. The stickfighting contest adopted the name of an old creole dance (evolved prior to Emancipation), and the name of the novel drum dance transferred to a type of song performed by leaders of Carnival bands, in tents and at the head of bands in street processions. In all this, however, the African-American origin of these kinds of music is unquestionable.

(ii) The Caribbean, U.S.A., Britain (and other European countries)

The unquestionable American stamp on the forms of black music identified in this discussion, and the solid African basis for such kinds of black performance, is conditioned by the circumstances of their evolution. One of the most complex manifestations of these developments is the Trinidad Carnival, and the music associated with this celebration.

The Carnival in Trinidad, as has been seen, represents a multiplicity of cross-cultural influences. The way in which the festival (and such influences) were (and are) perceived was polysemous. The difficulties in understanding these different meanings for different people is best explained by the unique cultural mix in the island. Beginning in 1783, together with slaves of African and African-American origin, the population

included, or came to include, Amerindian, Spanish, French, English, Chinese, Black North American (who fought for Britain in the U.S. War of Independence), Venezuelan and free African peoples. Other settlers were from Martinique, Grenada, Tobago, Barbados, etc. Indentured labour from the Indian sub continent added to this complexity. This poses an almost insoluble problem in comprehending the classes of society in the face of this cultural diversity.

With the demise of Jonkonnu in urban environments in Jamaica, in the 1840s, Trinidad Carnival, nevertheless, provides the one calendar event in the English-speaking Caribbean for which contemporary reports are available from the period of slavery to the present day. Accepting the one-sided nature of these reports before Independence, and because the Carnival was particularly important to the black population, they provide a unique opportunity to examine the way in which kinds of black performance (especially music) were perceived. In turn this gives some indication of the changes in musical fashion as the event altered in time. Such changes can also be perceived as something of a barometer of the relationship of these kinds of music to the metropolises in Britain and the United States.

In general, the kinds of music featured in the Carnival season mirror the pattern of the festival's evolution. Looked at in another way, newspaper and other reports confirm this framework. They leave open the question as to what other kinds of music might have been performed, but which were not identified. There are, however, clues in the mention of particular types of masquerade, or other indirect observations, that give a suggestion of music that may have been played.

The fancy Carnival balls held by the plantocracy, and reported in various sources in the late 1820s-early 1830s, almost certainly featured the dances then in fashion in Europe. These would have been accompanied by musical instruments of European design. The musicians at this point were probably also of European descent, or origin. Unlike Jamaica, there is, unfortunately, no evidence of local compositions in these styles from this period. For that matter, neither is there the equivalent of the 'negro tunes adapted for the piano-forte' by Philip Young, published in London as *West-India Melodies, circa 1820-30*.³¹

Occasional reports of drum dances apart, and the lyrics to the two songs quoted earlier (from 1805, and the 1820s), black music in Trinidad in, the pre Emancipation period, is little documented.

By 1845, however, the dichotomy in Carnival of 'well played' music and 'barbarous' music appears in print for the first time. Most later nineteenth-century reports of Carnival music single out for mention, or criticism, drumming, lewd dancing, or ribald songs. All of these were classed as barbaric.

Charles William Day found black musicians playing European dances on European musical instruments a feature of social life in Trinidad by the late 1840s. They picked and chose their clientele, as Day noted to his disgust. Alongside drummers, dancers and singers, these musicians represent the difference apparent in the black creole approach to music that has been identified earlier: compromise or confrontation with the values of the planter class. Within these categories there was scope for variation, and both approaches allowed the opportunity for improvisation.

Sometimes, a change in musical direction can be attributed to economic and social circumstances. This was certainly the case in the period of the '*Jamette* Carnival' in the 1870s-early 1880s. Such distinctions, however, are probably too facile. If the reports in the *Chronicle* in 1882 are accurate, for example, at the same time that drumming and drum dances predominated, some young black musicians were taking up the fiddle, and the clarinet. It will be remembered, as well, that both these instruments were featured together with drums, in the complement assembled by the Maribone stickband for the Carnival of 1877.

On the banning of the use of drums in Carnival, in 1884, and the subsequent moves to incorporate the festival into the mainstream of the island's social calendar, compromise slowly began to be seen in the way in which the event was celebrated. By 1898 it was clarinets and fiddles that accompanied the 'indecent ballads in patois'. The following year, when 'calipso' in English first caught on among the masqueraders, it was also reported for the first time, that it was customary 'for songs to be specially composed for the season'. This custom, of course, was at least as old as the 'ribald' song performed at Shrovetide in

1851. The topic on that occasion was a personal misfortune. In 1899 the song that captured the imagination was a political outcry on the abolition of the Borough Council of Port of Spain by the British government. The use of English to articulate this complaint in song was symbolic, both on account of its direct message (no translation was needed), and on the decision to deliver the message in the language of the colonial government. Whatever else this signifies, it indicates that it was becoming less and less useful for African-Americans in Trinidad to express their resistance to British rule by using French Creole as their means of communication.

Patronage for the Fancy Bands that took up the singing of 'calipso' in English in 1900, was initially supplied by Ignacio Bodu, a man of French creole descent. Bodu, who was a Borough Councillor, is also reported as having been a supporter of the stickbands in the 1870s-80s. Like the masqueraders whom he sponsored, he too changed his attitude towards British colonial rule - despite the abolition of the Borough Council. The Imperial patriotism that formed the theme of the Carnival of 1900 has already been stressed.

From the 1870s, a particular criticism of the festival in the press was the way in which children were 'corrupted' by the 'lascivious' dances and 'obscene' songs. Thus, in general, the schools run by the British colonial establishment were against the Carnival. Educated songsters, however, maintained their links with the French creole hierarchy and, in this respect, opposed the administration. Criticism as well as praise, therefore, was evident in their topical calypsos. The few lyrics that have survived from the period from 1900 to the 1920s sustain this interpretation. In addition to calypsos on other themes, (including ribaldry) songs from different islands were absorbed into the mainstream of Carnival music. This is true also of the nineteenth century.

The singing of calipso in English, and the adoption of string and woodwind instruments for their accompaniment, is indicative of a coming together of two aspects of black musical traditions in Trinidad. Respectable music in this instance (denoting a Venezuelan influence in the island) was used to accompany a vocal style that had evolved from defiant nonconformity. This aspect of calypso was reflected in the competitions, or *picongs*, between songsters. There were, of course, stand off competitions between

masquerade bands as they paraded in the streets. These forms of confrontation often went hand in hand with patronage. They might also represent territorial and, or occupational allegiance.

Research by Andrew Pearse indicates that the chantwells and leaders of the Fancy Bands were store clerks and the like. This suggests a level of education that is confirmed by the intellectual content of their songs. Membership of these groups was from the same social strata. Costumes, were financed individually, but music, drink and food were paid for communally. When Fancy Bands met in the street they would confront one another in song, but not physically. When a stickband passed them both groups would ignore one another. *Battonier* bands were seeking other fighters. Membership of these stickbands, whose reappearance in the festival in 1903 caused consternation in the press, were generally tinkers, fishermen, etc. There were, however, no absolute rules on this account. As has been noted, 'gentlemen' stickfighters were called *lom kamisol* (jacket men). Knowledge of stickfighting techniques was also necessary as a means of self defence.³²

In addition to Fancy Bands using string instruments to accompany their parades, string bands appeared in Carnival on their own account. The earliest reference to a co-ordinated unit is the bogus police band that took part in the Carnival of 1899. The following year the Excelsior String Band (led by Mr. Martinez) marched in parade. The repertoire played by these aggregations was usually dance music, the paseos and Spanish Waltzes (*castilians*) from Venezuela, as well as European rhythms. The former styles, as has been described, were featured by Lovey's String Band on its pioneering trip to the United States.

This American tour was not only significant in that it established a reputation for Trinidad music and musicians in person and on gramophone records, but also in the light of its encouragement by visitors from the United States. Tourists had begun to pay regular visits to the Carnival from the end of the nineteenth century. They were personified by a masquerade band as early as 1899.

String band music, of course, symbolises creole compromise in the context of African-American culture. Calypso represents part compromise and part defiance towards

European perceptions, and stickfighting *kalenda* no compromise at all. The recordings of Carnival music obtained by the Victor Talking Machine Company in Trinidad in 1914 denote this cross-section of attitudes; dispositions that were also present in the annual Carnival from the turn of the century to the time of the First World War restrictions, in 1917.

The Victory Carnival in 1919, despite the failure of the events organised by the *Guardian* in Port of Spain, represents another significant move towards compromise by the masquerades. The discipline imposed by the *Argos* competitions began to be accepted as a norm that was gradually imposed on the annual celebration until the Carnival ban in 1942, during the Second World War.

Creole musical performance maintained its three-pronged approach. String bands continued to play their repertoire of 'Spanish' influenced music in parades and at dances. Beginning in 1919, however, songsters began to separate from Carnival bands. There was a fashion for ballad calypsos. Old-style defiance was reflected in the music of tamboo bamboo bands (successors to the stickbands). 'Leggos', performed by other masquerade bands, sometimes represented nonconformity and sometimes denoted compromise.

By the early 1920s, a group of black Trinidad musicians and vaudeville singers had established an enclave in the metropolis of New York. This was to have a considerable effect in disseminating the music of their island elsewhere in the English-speaking West Indies, and also influencing developments in Carnival music in Trinidad.

In many senses the wheel had been turned full circle for, as has been shown, throughout the nineteenth century African-Trinidad music was touched not only by music from Europe, neighbouring islands and mainland South America, but also the United States. Musicians from Trinidad now began to play an active part in the process of commercial dissemination of popular/vernacular music that up to that time they had only been in a position to receive.

It has been established that these commercial developments were, almost from their inception, closely associated with the Carnival in Trinidad. Only Sam Manning experimented with recording music from other English-speaking territories. Until 1927,

however, no Carnival songster was to make records following Henry Julian's pioneering performances for Victor in 1914.

The impact of the recordings by Wilmoth Houdini in 1927 and subsequent years has been explored. With respect to musical relationships between the metropolis and Trinidad, Houdini's extension of *picon* to an exchange of sung attacks disseminated by gramophone records is of significance. This served to strengthen the bond between Trinidad Carnival music and the medium of recording; a bond that was also set by the recording of popular road marches on an annual basis. In this, the importance of recorded instrumental music (waltzes, paseos, etc.) began to decline. These designations were switched to the printed rhythm descriptions on vocal recordings. Calypso was usually sung to the rhythm of the paseo.

In the same period, the role of the calypsonian in Trinidad became more and more individualistic. Chantwells stopped marching in front of bands improvising their verses to responses in chorus. Their arena transferred to the tents, now temporary stages that were no longer associated with particular Carnival bands, but with particular groups of songsters.

This does not mean that the singers lost touch with the songs of satire, scandal, and topical commentary that had been the hallmark of their art since before the turn of the century. On the contrary, the police were endeavouring to stop, or censor, songs of this nature. Picked out especially were calypsos that called into question the propriety of personal conduct among individuals in the ruling class, or reported (sometimes critically) on the aims of the administration.

In general, the relationship between the masqueraders and the police was hostile until the end of the nineteenth century. Songs were disliked but it was found difficult to stop them being performed in the streets. There were good relations on all sides in the period that Fancy Bands held sway in the early 1900s. Under the auspices of Colonel Brake, following the Water Riot in 1903, a careful path was trodden to establish good relations with the majority of Carnival devotees. His successor, Colonel Swain, continued with this policy as, so it seems, did Colonel May in the 1920s.

There appears to have been little attempt at direct censorship of calypsos until the 1930s, when Colonel Mavrogordato ran the police. Probably because his alleged marital misconduct was the subject of a 'song of scandal', he was instrumental in the introduction of the *Theatre And Dance Halls Ordinance*. This was an effort to curb such criticisms of members of the elite. Aspects of the ensuing action against calypsonians and their songs have been described. Atilla the Hun stood out consistently against this censorship and for the traditional right of popular commentary. Acceptance of songs of satire (though not necessarily in Trinidad) has been shown to date from the slavery period.

The enmeshment of the censorship issue with commercial rivalry between U.S. companies obtaining calypso recordings in Trinidad, bound the medium of the gramophone record even closer to the Carnival tradition in the island. The creole repertoire that was recorded in this period (1937-1941) maintained the distinctions that have been identified since the slavery period - compromise with, or resistance to, the norms which the colonial establishment wished to impose on black music.

At the same time, the mass marketing of calypsos in the United States by one of the three principal record companies in that country, gave this vocal music an international reputation and, thereby, a point of negotiation with the authorities. Although the record companies co-operated with the administration they did so from a position of not being answerable to the colonial régime. (In some ways this parallels the alliance between the French Creole-speaking stickbands and the French-speaking elite in the island during the 1870s-80s). Even if a record was banned in Trinidad, it could be, like Lion's *Netty-Netty*, sold elsewhere. The exceptions were records that compromised U.S. neutrality, before they entered the Second World War. These were made only for export to the West Indies.

There were other effects of mass marketing. Paul Bowles observed in 1940 that Decca's calypso records (which he personified with the sponsorship of Sa Gomes), were more popular in Jamaica than 'the native *mentor*'. In Guyana, likewise, they had overwhelmed the local *badji* (or 'bargee') melodies and in Barbados had replaced the island's 'Brumley' (or 'Bromley') songs. In the light of the evidence presented here, these are overstatements. They do, however, demonstrate the mass appeal of calypso in

the English-speaking Caribbean at this time.

In the United States, the growing popularity of calypso led to Decca making experimental recordings for the domestic market in 1938 and 1939. Two performers, Jack Sneed and Harold Boyce, recorded what has been described as 'calypso jazz' - or 'jive' calypso - mixing black-American jazz and vocal deliveries, with West Indian rhythms and lyrics. As has been noted, this was tried with much greater success by Louis Jordan in the 1940s. Together with the popularity of Decca's recordings by true Trinidad calypsonians (in America, or Trinidad), these factors meant that in the U.S.A. the word 'calypso' became synonymous with music from the English-speaking West Indies as a whole.

Decca, however, were aware of the stylistic differences between songs emanating from different islands. This is made clear by the previously mentioned 78 r.p.m. album *West Indian Folk Songs: Sung by Sam Manning*, that they released in 1942. Manning performed three songs from the Bahamas, one from Barbados, four from Jamaica, one from St. Kitts, one from St. Lucia, and only one from Trinidad. The booklet that accompanied this album points to the probability that many of these songs had been disseminated in the English-speaking Caribbean by black troops serving in the West India Regiment. It will be remembered that other cultural contributions by such troops (in the West Indies and West Africa) form part of this analysis. The Regiment was disbanded in 1927.³³

The likely distribution of local music between islands by black troops stands alongside the similar transfer of songs from one place to another by migrant labour. This has been emphasised using field recordings, made in 1943-44, by Jamaicans and Bajans living in the Panama Canal Zone. It will be remembered, likewise, that migrants from Martinique have been shown to have introduced songs from their island into the mainstream of black Trinidad folk music during the nineteenth century. Atilla the Hun has also noted the contribution of ships' crews in the spread of songs from island to island in this period.

These factors suggest that the advent of the gramophone record augmented this process. At the same time, although the influence of recorded music may have modified

local styles in individual territories, it did not necessarily overwhelm the music performed in specific localities. Thus, in Jamaica, versions of calypsos based on Trinidad recordings were sung alongside *mentos* (which were renamed 'calypso' for the sake of the tourist trade). As Trinidad songsters were at pains to point out, however, only performers from that island, who had established their reputations in calypso tents during Carnival, were able to sing 'extemporaneously'. This tradition among calypsonians (founded on *picong*) does not appear to have been maintained elsewhere in the English-speaking Caribbean.

D.P., writing in the Trinidad *Sunday Guardian* on 23 February 1941, believed there were links between 'improvised *picong*' and similar songs performed in Latin America. He also saw parallels with calypso and 'certain South American ditties - especially those of the working people of Venezuela and Central America'. These influences on Trinidad music, which seem very likely (on the basis of the evidence examined), stand alongside a corollary made regularly that places the origin of calypso in the songs of twelfth-century French troubadours. This unsupported proposition effectively denies the possibility of other analogues, such as parallels between African troubadour singing traditions and those of the Trinidad songsters. Together with the other factors explored in this analysis, it is apparent that calypso had a much more complex evolution.

The possible relationship between black-American creole musical traditions and African music, including songs of derision, has received some scholarly attention. Theodore Van Dam has made tentative observations in relation to calypso, but this is most notable in the work of Ernest Borneman. His points of reference were black North American jazz and, to a lesser extent, blues. In the 1950s he had access to a significant number of commercial and field recordings on which to base his judgements.

Borneman was living in Britain in this period and was conversant with the vast amount of African and African-American music issued by British companies. (In addition to jazz and blues, the latter included Cuban music from the Caribbean and the U.S.A., as well as calypsos etc., recorded in Britain). Also available to him was music recorded in Europe (notably France) by Cubans and migrants from the French West Indies.

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It has been mentioned previously that some French Creole songs known in Trinidad were also recorded by migrants from the French Antillees in Paris during the 1930s. In particular *En bas cailles-là* (Biguine Martiniquaise), by Orchestre Creol's band and, *Colby* (Vieil air de St. Pierre - biguine creole), by Madame Maïotte Almaby et son Orchestra des Isles. Other examples may exist. In London in 1951, the Trinidad vocalist Mona Baptiste recorded two Martinique Biguines for Denis Preston : *Ba mwe un ti bo'* and *Amatine*. Similarly, Brylo Ford sang a version of *L'Année Passée*, the Martinique song popular in Trinidad on which was based the melody for *Rum and Coca-Cola*.

Songs from the French West Indies were only one component in Borneman's definition of 'creole' music, which he put forward in two articles published in 1958. In these he argued the case for a significant 'creole' (or Latin American) influence on jazz. This was exemplified by the popularity of 'Afro-Cuban' music, together with the mambo (from Mexico), xaxado (from Brazil) and calypso (from Trinidad). In addition, he pointed to the parallel of new kinds of urban music developed in the coastal towns of West Africa, that 'had much more in common with jazz and calypso than with any indigenous form of tribal music'.

Whatever the reasons for African identification with African-American music, evidence from commercial and field recordings and research into twentieth-century urban black music styles in West and South Africa, show that this was of considerable significance.³⁴

With respect to English-speaking West Africa, London was a primary meeting place in the 1950s for black American, black Caribbean and black West African musicians. This augmented the role of the gramophone record (and occasional personal appearances) in disseminating black music from the Americas to Africa. One example will suffice. The famous New Orleans jazz trumpeter Louis Armstrong arrived in London together with his band in May 1956. These performers were *en route* to Ghana, on a visit sponsored by the U.S. State Department that had great impact in bolstering black West African

identification with black North American culture. In parallel with this, the Trinidad calypsonian Lord Invader travelled to London in the same period. He was asked by the *Melody Maker* to compose a traditional calypso panegyric to welcome Louis Armstrong to Britain, and duly obliged:

If you'd never heard or seen him in person before
After 24 years Louis Armstrong is back once more
If you'd never heard or seen him in person before
After 24 years Louis Armstrong is back once more
He is called the giant golden-toned trumpeter -
A versatile singer-bandleader well known the world over
To be back here his mind was all bent
To give us some first class entertainment.

CHORUS Welcome Satchmo welcome!
Welcome Louis Armstrong welcome!
We sincerely welcome the All-Star band
With open arms back to Great Britain

For playing and singing Traditional Jazz Blues he's capable;
You should hear him on *Roof Blues* that's my desire, and *Ramble*
Wherever he plays his soul-stirring music
His fans the world over goes frantic
Whether it's Sweden, France or Germany
Chicago, the West Coast or New York City
This great giant of jazz can never go wrong
He'll bring New Orleans right into London Town

[CHORUS]³⁵

During the 1950s, Jamaican migrants to Britain, and those that remained in the island, increasingly identified with recordings and personal appearances by black North American rhythm and blues and jazz performers. (Louis Armstrong and his band also visited Jamaica in 1957). This was not a quick process. In the middle of the decade mento and calypso maintained their popularity in Jamaica alongside this more recent fashion. Again, one example will suffice. The Jamaican vocalist Eric Hayden had previous performance experience in Jamaica and the U.S. before he arrived in Britain in 1953. He was signed by Melodisc. In October he cut a session accompanied by his 'Gulf Stream Calypso Band' at which he recorded two traditional mentos: *Belly Lick* and *Fan Me Soldier*. (Jekyll had printed a version of the latter as early as 1907). In addition, his *Montego Bay* was in praise of this Jamaican tourist resort, while *Give Her The No. 1* was a bawdy calypso-like song that had been popular in the

U.S. in 1946. Three months later, Hayden's second session included *Money Hustling Woman* (a blues, in true black North American style), and *Old Lady Mash Me Toe* (based on the Growler's Trinidad calypso, recorded in 1941, for U.S. Decca).³⁶

The majority of recordings made by black West Indian musicians in Britain, for export to the English-speaking West Indies, have been shown to reflect local styles popular in their homelands. These centred on the principal territories of Trinidad, Jamaica and Guyana. (The Guyanese 'tenor who makes no error', Bill Rogers, was in Britain during 1952, and made records for Denis Preston).

It has also been demonstrated that musical influences from Europe and North and South America played a part in shaping the music played by these performers. One element, of course, was popular black music from North America. In this, a difference emerges with respect to black urban music in Africa. There, a primary external influence has been shown to have been recorded black music from the Americas and the Caribbean. In these continents and their associated islands, however, there was also the potent recollection of an African past ruptured by enforced transportation and enslavement.

Using a sample drawn from South America, the Caribbean and North America, Morton Marks has argued that certain forms of black music in the Americas, performed at rituals (including Carnivals), are characterised by 'switching between European and African forms, from "order" to making "noise".' The evidence of this analysis supports his assertion. In addition, of course, there are more overt forms of African identification, such as the back to Africa philosophy articulated by Marcus Garvey. These sentiments were sometimes expressed in songs. An example is a calypso obtained in Grenada by Wenzell Brown, *circa* 1946:

I'm going back to Africa
I want you to teach me the Yaruba
I see Marcus Garvey
On his throne of gold
White men kneeling down before him
Both young and old.

It has been noted that another representation of this point of view is the use of Ethiopia as a symbol for Africa as a whole. In addition to Rastafarian chants along these

lines, Erna Brodber remembered hearing a mento with similar appeal in Jamaica during the late 1950s. (This was a recording by the 'Jamaican Calypsonians', entitled *Etheopia* [sic]).

Following the Italian invasion, identification with Ethiopia in Trinidad calypsos during the 1930s was of significance, as were the calypsos on African themes recorded by Trinidad songsters in London in the 1950s.³⁷

The stability of its Carnival, and the festival's direct relationship with black music in Trinidad, are also of African-American significance. The history of this celebration provides one of the most reliable measures for the development of black music in the English-speaking Caribbean. The association of Trinidad music with the record business in the United States, from 1912 until the Second World War, augments this evidence. The data is supplemented further by the extension of these traditions to Britain in the 1950s and the recordings made there by expatriate musicians from the Eastern Caribbean, during that decade.

In this respect, it is useful to compare the Carnival music recorded by the Victor Talking Machine Company in Trinidad in 1914, and the music recorded by black Caribbean migrants to Britain between 1948 and 1953 (Tables V and IX). Of the nine kinds of music recorded by the Victor Company in 1914, four were still being recorded commercially in London during the early 1950s: Calypso, Joropo, Kalenda and the (Spanish) Waltz. There were, however, few examples of the last three styles.

One of the contributions to these London recordings in 1951, was performances by the Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra. Their repertoire had been honed to accommodate the audience expected to witness their musical versatility at the Festival of Britain. Gone were the *kalenda*-based songs such as *Ten Thousand To Bar Me One* that they had inherited from their precursors, the bamboo bands. This adoption of musical styles that were not simply forceful expressions of black solidarity appears to have occurred soon after the steel bandmen began to discover the means of obtaining a series of different notes on each of their instruments. There is positive evidence for these developments in a newspaper report of the first day of Carnival in Trinidad in 1946. Sir Bede Clifford, the Governor, attended the display at Marine Square and, with his party:

showed much amusement at the John John steel band led by 'drummer Springer' who treated the crowd to varied musical tunes. Among the popular tunes this band played were 'Lai Fung Lee', 'Ave Maria' and ended with 'God Save the King'.

Lai Fung Lee (as has been noted) is Kitchener's *Chinese Calypso* but, *Ave Maria* is from the European classical repertoire. It seems likely that the British national anthem served a similar 'patriotic' role to that of *Rule Britannia* in the first years of the century. Thus, as early as the mid 1940s, it will be seen that the steel band began to take on a role similar to that of the calypsonian, in reflecting both opposition to and accommodation with, European values in its repertoire.

In this period, however, rival groups of steelbandmen (and their women supporters) were generally renowned for their 'lawless' behaviour. It has been shown that between 1942 and 1945, when no Carnival was held, steelbandmen shadowed the role of stickmen of earlier generations. This was signalled by violent clashes between different bands. These altercations were not confined to festive occasions.

The exact relationship of each band to territory, class and other factors is underexplored. Most bands, however, came from the poorest sector of the black community. It can be stated also that with the decline of French Creole in Trinidad these units were not based directly on linguistic allegiances. Migration by 'small islanders' (from elsewhere in the British Caribbean) may have played a part in the rivalries but this seems unlikely to have been of great significance. The possibility remains, nevertheless, that locales represented by individual steel bands bear some relationship to the areas in which stickbands were based in the nineteenth century. Unlike these *battonier* units, steel bands were not simply concerned with fighting. Competitions had a significant musical component - variety of repertoire, and innovation in the development of the steel drums.

It was these last named elements in the steelband movement that were harnessed with the formation of TASPO in 1951. The Steel Percussion Orchestra's success in Britain that year was highly significant in demonstrating how these groups might be incorporated into the mainstream of Trinidad culture. This process continued during the decade. It draws a parallel with a cultural transformation in Durban, South Africa, in the

period 1929 - 1939. There, the *ingoma* stickfighting dance (based on units of migrant labourers equivalent to Trinidad stickfighting bands), was domesticated by organised competitions. These became tourist attractions. Events arranged for steel bands in Trinidad were to follow a similar path.

From the Canboulay Riot in 1881, as Pearse argued, this process of incorporation characterises the evolution of Trinidad Carnival. Music performed by participants in these annual events reflected the inevitable fluctuations of changing attitudes towards the festival by the political (and cultural) superstructure of the colony. This analysis shows, however, that this was not a one-way process.

The Carnival was in essence a point in the calendar when power was brokered between different sectors of the community. On the level of music, for the masqueraders its function can be seen to be allied to 'rough music' in Britain, as defined by E.P. Thompson's recent essay on this subject. Thompson indicates that forms of 'rough music' are:

- (i) dramatic
 - processional, or rather *anti* processional, in that they represent a kind of antiphony towards the host society
 - mocking but, *also* assenting the dignified forms of the host society
 - sometimes include effigy burning of offenders
- (ii) pliant
 - flexibility ranges from jest to antagonism
- (iii) controlled
 - violence is *displaced* (but, depending on circumstances, this might get out of hand)
- (iv) public
 - disgrace announced by ritual
- (v) judgemental
 - (evidence for this is uncertain)

For the Trinidad Carnival all these elements (at one time or another) have been shown to be represented in the festival and its music. Their direct, or implied, criticism of the status quo goes some way to explain a general hostility towards the masqueraders by the police. Such antagonisms were modified by prevailing social circumstances (including the complex nature of different interest groups in Trinidad).

This, together with other aspects of the polysemous functions of Carnival, means

that 'rough music' was only one of many components represented in the festival. In addition, 'rough music' can be seen to be an equally complex set of forms existing within this diversity of meanings. Such factors demonstrate the difficulty in identifying and separating particular elements in the development of Carnival in Trinidad. Notwithstanding, for blacks in the island, the symbolic (if not material) role of Africa has been shown to underpin their participation in the event.

Examination of the evolution of black music in Trinidad and its relationship with the Carnival demonstrates African cultural identification. Yet, as has been pointed out by Denis-Constant Martin (for all 'kinds' of black music in the Americas), this has been principally a process of innovation, even though African heritage played a part in this evolution. The evidence analysed here confirms the veracity of this viewpoint.

It has been shown also that this innovation was part of an international pattern. Like blues in the United States, some of the influences were African, some were European. In addition the process was shaped by urban and rural modes of performance and cross-fertilisation between 'kinds' of African-American (or creole) music developed in different parts of the Americas. There was also musical feedback with Africa. In the mid-twentieth century, a particular element in this feedback was the popularity of calypso in West Africa.³⁸

These musical migrations, along the routes between Africa, America and Europe that once formed the basis of the slave trade, have shaped popular urban black musical traditions in all three continents. Prior to the Independence of Jamaica and Trinidad & Tobago in 1962, it has been shown that Trinidad calypso was the principal contributor to these movements in the English-speaking Caribbean. Alongside its long-standing association with Carnival in that island, calypso became renowned in other territories in the region. This was via the medium of the gramophone record. While the popularity of this music among blacks in North America is unknown, calypso achieved fame among white Americans, as well as black migrants from the Caribbean in the United States. When black West Indians migrated to Britain after the Second World War, a similar pattern emerged. At this time, recordings by Trinidad calypsonians based in London proved to be

popular in West Africa. The full reasons for this remain undetermined but, from the evidence, it seems certain that the particular acceptability of this music in the area rests on musical affinity, rather than on chance circumstance.

1 Discographical details of all commercial recordings by English-speaking West Indians in New York in the period 1912-1941 will be found in Spottswood, *Ethnic Music*, Vol.5, pp.2887-2923; recordings made in Trinidad in the same time span are only in Spottswood, 'A Discography'. *TG*, 14/2/1923, p.7 notes the singing of *Sly Mongoose* and *Neighbour Next Door* in Carnival. U.S. copyright registrations: *West Indies Blues*, E 552792, 16 December 1922, Clarence Williams Music; *Black Star Line*, E 587662, 26 April 1924, Spencer Williams Music; *Barbados Blues*, E 591435, 18 June 1924; *My Jamaica*, E 590720, 29 May 1924, Equitable Music. The majority of the recordings are listed in Rust, *Jazz Records*, op.cit.; for West Indian releases see Spottswood, *ibid.* *Africa Blues*, words Sam Manning, melody Fred Hall, E 596868, 17 October 1924, Equitable Music; the version consulted is the sheet music (entitled *African Blues* in the copy seen), published by Edward B. Marks (E 605313, 13 January 1925). *Sweet Willie* is defined as a 'St. Lucian beguine' in the booklet notes to the 78 rpm record album, Decca A 308, *West Indian Folk Songs: Sung by Sam Manning*, New York, Decca Records Inc., 1942. On the scope of the Paramount 'race' series see Max E. Vreede, *Paramount 12000/13000 Series*, London, Storyville Publications, 1971. Anthony *First In Trinidad*, pp.183-186, provides a summary of the 1925 election; music in Carnival, *POSG*, 24/2/1925, p.4. Carnival choruses and visit by Calthorpe's team, *TG*, 14/2/1926, p.11; Executor's song, and Atilla's victory in the tents, Quevedo, *Atilla's Kaiso*, pp.37-38; choruses in Carnival, *TG*, 16/2/1926, p.7; *TG*, 17/2/1926, p.9. Cowley, 'L'Année Passée' explores the histories of *Sly Mongoose*, *Amba Cay La'* and *Caroloine* in detail. *Me donkey want water* first published (as a 'Digging Sing') in Jekyll, *Jamaican*, pp.182-183. Release of Manning's coupling in Columbia 'race' series: Dan Mahony, *The Columbia 13/14000-D Series: A Numerical Listing* rev.ed. Stanhope, N.J., Walter C. Allen, 1966, p.31. The assignments of series used by record companies are in Spottswood, *Ethnic* Vol.1, pp.xxxiii-xivi. On Thenstead see *Who's Who Jamaica*, Kingston, Jamaica, *Who's Who (Jamaica)*, 1945, p.586.

2 The relevant volumes of the *Catalog of Copyright Entries*, Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, show Belasco registered 7 items in 1923, 10 items in 1924, 2 items in 1925, and 1 item in 1926. Newspaper references to Belasco as a judge in the Marine Square Carnival competitions: *POSG*, 1/3/1927, p.12; *POSG*, 21/2/1928, p.7; *POSG*, 12/2/1929, p.3; *POSG*, 4/3/1930, p.5; no reference found for 1931; *POSG*, 9/2/1932, p.8; *POSG*, 28/2/1933, p.6; see also *POSG*, 20/1/1933, p.9. On the changed status of calypsonians in this period: Charles Jones, op.cit., p.57; and Pitts, 'Calypso', p.43. *POSG*, 2/3/1927, p.11. I am indebted to Dick Spottswood for allowing me to hear all of the recordings from the Houdini/Belasco session of 1 August 1927. The coupling by Monroe's String Band (Okeh 65006) has also been auditioned. Note regarding the release of Brunswick 7026 (Manning's first for the company) from 'Numerical list of the Brunswick 7000-7233 Race Series', unpublished m.s. On Hubert Julian's exploits see John Peter Nugent, *The Black Eagle*, New York, Stein & Day, 1971, (the 1928 plans are discussed, pp.48-50). On *Bromley* (or *Out Of Me*) see Wilfred Redhead, 'Songs Of The Islands', II, *Bajan*, Vol.5, No.2, October 1957, p.15; also 'Barbadian Folk Songs', *Bajan*, November 1959, p.15. Carnival: *POSG*, 21/2/1928, p.7; *TG*, 21/2/1928, p.7, 9; *POSG*, 22/2/1928, p.12; *TG*, 22/2/1928, p.5, 9. Lyrics to several of the songs from the Victor session by Belasco are in Hollis Liverpool, *Calypsonians...To Remember*, Diego Martin, Trinidad, Juba Publications, 1987. He ascribes the vocals to Houdini. The songs are *At The Break Of Day*, p.31; *Big Man*, *Sweet Man*, p.32; *Tell The Population*, p.33; and *The Whey Whey*, pp.31-32. Herskovits and Herskovits, *Trinidad*, p.285, summarises the lyrics to *Sofia* from this session. Lion notes *Big Man*, *Sweet Man* as a road march and attributes *Toddy* to Atilla, *Calypso*, p.184. Quevedo, *Atilla's*, pp.39-40, 189 also discusses the last named song. He dates it to 1929. Lion's date of 1924 is far too early. On the basis of newspaper evidence (and Belasco's recording on 8 October), 1928 is the most likely year for its first performance in Carnival. The assignment of *Gumbo Li Li* to Executor is surmise. He recorded a piece about this character for Decca in 1939. Liverpool states *The Whey Whey* was composed by Hero. On *Uncle Jo' Gimne Mo'*, Liverpool, op.cit., pp.32-33; Blesh and Janis, op.cit. give the date of the original composition, p.324. On Licorich,

the sinking of the *Vestris*, and hillbilly songs about the tragedy see: Donald Lee Nelson, 'The Sinking Of The *Vestris*', *JEMFQ*, Vol.IX, No.1, Spring 1973, pp.10-14.

3 'Palmer, Clarke Dance Orchestra', *TG*, 1/2/1929, p.13; *TG*, 3/2/1929, p.2; *TG*, 7/2/1929, p.7. Palmer advertised his services as a piano tuner in *POSG*, 14/2/1937, p.23. Competitions between calypsonians in cinemas (selected references): *TG*, 30/1/1929, p.16; *TG*, 31/1/1929, p.14.; *TG*, 8/2/1929, p.16. *My Reply To Houdini*, and *War Declaration* are reissued in the long playing record *Calypso Pioneers*, Rounder Records 1039. See also Rohlehr's *Calypso*, pp.75-76 (he erroneously states the year of Houdini's visit as 1930). Marine Square Carnival competition results: *POSG*, 13/2/1929, p.13. Okeh 65010 and 65011 auditioned courtesy Dick Spottswood. Constantine's cricket successes: *TG*, 7/2/1929, p.9; *TG*, 8/2/1929, p.9; *TG*, 10/2/1929, p.9. *Trinidad Obeahman* (Gennett 20356) auditioned courtesy Dick Spottswood. Circumstantial evidence suggests that *The Shango Dance* was the original name for *Three Friends Advice* which Executor recorded in New York in 1937 (Decca 17298): Struthers Burt, 'Ballad Calypso', *Trinidadian*, Vol.3, No.3, June-July 1935, p.28; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.96. On *Volga Boatman*, Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.99; Liverpool, *Calypsonians*, p.32; Rohlehr, *Calypso*, p.113. Liverpool, *Calypsonians*, p.32 has a text of *In The Days Of Camboulay*. Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.74-75, discusses *Loretto*. On Manning's tour, Cowley, 'Cultural Fusions', p.83. *Gleaner*, 1/5/1929, p.10, lists the repertoire; provenance of the records is in Spottswood, *Ethnic Music*, Vol.5, p.2898, 2914-2915. Advertisements: *Gleaner*, 4/5/1929, p.24 (Manning); *Gleaner*, 6/5/1929, p.4 (Sacred Music). Details of the recordings of sacred music computed from Brian Rust, comp. *The Victor Master Book: Volume 2 (1925-1936)*, 2nd printing, Stanhope, New Jersey, Walter C. Allen, 1970; and personal correspondence with Brian Rust. *Catalogue of the West India Reference Library*, Pt.2, Vol.2, op.cit., p.3608; *Gleaner*, 20/5/1929, p.20. Data on field recordings from 'List of all songs recorded by [Alan] Lomax, [Zora Neale] Hurston, [Mary Elizabeth] Barnicle in Georgia, Florida and Bahamas, summer 1935' (in the collection of the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.), p.17.

4 The parallel effect of the stock market crash on recordings of black music in the U.S.A. is explored in Dixon and Godrich, *Recording The Blues*, pp.64-77. The same record companies were involved in the recording of English-speaking West Indian music. See also Oliver Read and Walter W. Welch, *From Tinfoil To Stereo*, 2nd ed., Indianapolis, Howard W. Sams, 1976, pp.403-407. Carnival competitions in 1930: *POSG*, 4/3/1930, p.5; *TG*, 4/3/1930, p.1; *POSG*, 5/3/1930, p.5; *TG*, 5/3/1930, p.1. On Sa Gomes: Lloyd Sydney Smith, ed., *Trinidad: Who, What, Why*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, 1950 [1951], pp.284-285, 365. Houdini's reminiscences of the session are in Eugene Williams, 'Notes' to the 78 rpm album, *Songs Of Trinidad*, Brunswick Collectors Series, B-1023, [New York], Brunswick Radio Corporation, 1946. On the excursion from Guyana (selected references): *DA*, 26/1/1931, p.7; *TG*, 17/2/1931, p.2; *DA*, 20/2/1931, p.8. *TG*, 17/2/1931, p.2 also has the reference to *Arima Tonight* being sung during Carnival. On the popularity of the Rumba in the U.S. see John Stonn Roberts, *The Latin Tinge*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1979, pp.76-99. Roberts also discusses the impact of Cuban music on calypsos recorded in New York, p.216. One of his examples, however, is a 1950s Jamaican recording: Calypso Quintet (Lord Power, vocal), *Chambolina*, Calypso XXO2. Charles Jones, op.cit., p.57; Tents: *TG*, 3/1/1932, p.8; *TG*, 5/2/1932, p.2. Carnival: *POSG*, 9/2/1932, p.8; *TG*, 10/2/1932, p.1; *POSG*, 10/2/1932, p.8. Recording company data: 'Numerical list of the Brunswick 7000-7233 Race Series', op.cit.; Dixon and Godrich, *Recording*, pp.68-73. Record review *T Daily Mirror*, 16/2/1933, p.3.

5 *Johnnie Take My Wife* in Carnival: *TG*, 24/2/1933, p.1; *TG*, 28/2/1933, p.1; *TG*, 1/3/1933, p.1. Calypso tents and Carnival: *T DM*, 8/1/1933, p.1, 7; *T DM*, 15/1/1933, p.9; *TG*, 15/1/1933, p.1; *TG*, 20/1/1933, p.5; *T DM*, 22/1/1933, p.1; *TG*, 26/1/1933, p.2; *TG*, 28/1/1933, p.2; *TG*, 31/1/1933, p.2; *T SG*, 29/1/1933, p.4; *TG*, 2/2/1933, p.2; *T DM*, 5/2/1933, p.1, 9; *T SG*, 5/2/1933, p.2; *T DM*, 12/2/1933, p.1, 8; *TG*, 14/2/1933, p.1; *TG*, 16/2/1933, p.2; Owen Rutter, *If Crab No Walk: A Traveller In The West Indies*,

London, Hutchinson, 1933, pp.102-106; (Rutter's presence in Trinidad: *TG*, 19/1/1933, p.1); Aldous Huxley *Beyond The Mexique Bay*, London, Chatto & Windus, 1934, pp.18-22; (Huxley's presence in Trinidad: Sybille Bedford, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography*, Vol.1, London, Chatto & Windus, and Collins, 1973, p.266, 390). Details of the singers and their repertoire are in the Calypso tents and Carnival references; see also Quevedo, *Atilla's*, pp.46-48, 104; and Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.128-137. (Some of Rohlehr's references and arguments are augmented and refined in this discussion). For another precursor of the Calypso drama see the Empire Theatre advertisement, *TG*, 8/2/1929, p.16; Competition results *T DM*, 12/2/1933, p.1, 8; *POSG*, 28/2/1933, p.6; Road marches: *POSG*, 28/2/1933, p.6; *TG*, 1/3/1933, p.1 (*Bournes Road*); *T SG*, 5/2/1933, p.2; *TG* 24/2/1933, p.1; *TG*, 28/2/1933, p.1; *TG*, 1/3/1933, p.1; Rutter *If Crab*, p.106, 272-273 (*Wash Pan Wash*). Sa Gomes advertisement: *TG*, 26/5/1933, p.4. Treasury fire: Michael Anthony, *The Making Of Port Of Spain*, Vol.1, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Key Caribbean Publications, 1978, pp.168-169. On the parallel launch of the Bluebird popular music series in the U.S. (which included black music), see Dixon and Godrich, *Recording*, p.77. Cyril Monroe's return to Trinidad: *POSG*, 17/1/1933, p.6; *TG*, 23/6/1933, p.2. Belasco's 'breach of promise' case: *TG*, 17/1/1933, p.2; *POSG*, 17/1/1933, p.7; *TG*, 20/1/1933, p.1, 4; *POSG*, 20/1/1933, p.9.

6 Censorship: *T DM*, 15/2/1933, p.1; *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 25/1/1934, p.7; *TG*, 26/1/1934, p.6; *T SG*, 11/2/1934, p.15; *TG*, 15/2/1934, p.8; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, pp.55-64; Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.278-315 (the 1933-34 events are discussed pp.278-282). Tents & Theatres: (i) Metro Drome, *TG*, 6/1/1934, p.1; *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 12/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; (ii) Supplies Store Syndicate - *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 11/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; *POSG*, 19/1/1934, p.9; *TG*, 19/1/1934, p.2; *T SG*, 21/1/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13; *TG*, 25/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 27/1/1934, p.2; (iii) Theatres/Cinemas - *TG*, 6/1/1934, p.1 (White Star); *TG*, 18/1/1934, p.2 (Supplies Store); *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13 (White Star); (iv) White Star Syndicate - *TG*, 6/1/1934, p.1; *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; *POSG*, 17/1/1934, p.7; *TG*, 18/1/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 19/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13; *TG*, 25/1/1934, p.3. Dramas: (i) *Frankenstein* (White Star Syndicate) - *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; *POSG*, 17/1/1934, p.7; *POSG*, 19/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13; (ii) *Marine Club Rum Selling Case* (Supplies Store Syndicate) - *TG*, 6/1/1934, p.1; *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; (iii) *The Shouters Meeting* (White Star Syndicate) - *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13; (iv) *The Wooing Of Olga* (White Star Syndicate) - *POSG*, 17/1/1934, p.7; *TG*, 18/1/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 19/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13; (v) unspecified - *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3 (Metro Drome, and White Star Syndicate); *TG*, 11/1/1934, p.3 (Supplies Store Syndicate). *Lady MacDonald* - *TG*, 6/1/1934, p.1; *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 11/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 18/1/1934, p.2. 'War' - *TG*, 11/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 12/1/1934, p.3. Marathon contest - *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13. *I'm In Love With Miss Trinidad* - *TSG*, 14/1/1934, p.1; other calypso texts - *T DM*, 14/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 21/1/1934, p.13; *T SG*, 11/2/1934, p.15. Comments on audiences are in the references to Tents & Theatres. Troubadours - *TG*, 12/1/1934, p.1; *TG*, 3/2/1934, p.1. Seer, 'How Did Calypsos Originate?' *TG*, 18/1/1934, p.6. Text of Executor's *Origin of Calypso* in Seepersad Naipal, 'Carnival Calypsos - and the Creole Troubadours', *Trinidadian*, Vol.2, No.1, Feb-March 1934, p.13. Guyanese 'Jazz' orchestras and local competitions - *POSG*, 25/1/1934, p.7; *TG*, 25/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 28/1/1934, p.18; *POSG*, 31/1/1934, p.5; *POSG*, 1/2/1934, p.4; *T SG*, 4/2/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 4/2/1934, p.11, 13; *POSG*, 11/2/1934, p.8. Guyanese vaudevillians - *TG*, 6/2/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 6/2/1934, p.6. Orchestral competition - *TG*, 13/2/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 13/2/1934, p.9. Road march - *TG*, 13/2/1934, p.1; *TG*, 14/2/1934, p.1. *Radio And His Fifty Wives* - *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *TG*, 12/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; *TG*, 14/1/1934, p.1.

7 Data on the trip to New York: *TG*, 16/2/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 18/2/1934, pp.12-13; *LL*, 2/3/1934, p.15; *TG*, 7/3/1934, pp.1-2; *POSG*, 7/3/1934, p.6; *TG*, 9/3/1934, p.1; *LL*, 16/3/1934, p.14; *TG*, 18/3/1934, p.1; *TG*, 22/3/1934, p.1; *T SG*, 25/3/1934, p.1; *POSG*,

25/3/1934, p.12; *POSG*, 27/3/1934, p.7; *TG*, 27/3/1934, p.4; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, pp.50-51; Lion, *Calypso*, p.83. Record advertisements *TG*, 11/3/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 4/4/1934, p.3, 13; *T SG*, 8/4/1934, p.11; *TG*, 11/5/1934, p.3. Background to songs: *Bad Women* (by Radio), *TG*, 11/2/1935, p.15; *Doggie Doggie Look Bone*, *TG*, 31/1/1933, p.2; *POSG*, 28/2/1933, p.6; *Dynamite* - the event is reported, *TG*, 6/1/1934, p.1; *Graf Zeppelin* - the event is reported, *TG*, 24/10/1933, p.1, 8, 9; *Hallelujah When The Lion Roar* (as *Trip To Barbados*), *POSG*, 12/1/1934, p.9; *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; *Landlord And Baliff* (as *The Baliff and the poor tenants*), *POSG*, 14/1/1934, p.13; *Local Products* (as *Products Of Trinidad*), *POSG*, 4/3/1930, 5; *POSG*, 5/3/1930, p.5; *Marry An Ugly Woman* (or *Ugly Woman*), *TG*, 10/1/1934, p.3; *POSG*, 19/1/1934, p.9; *Marryshows Lecture*, *TG*, 16/2/1934, p.2; *POSG*, 18/2/1934, p.12; *Psychology* (possibly 'A Strictly Grammatical Song'), *TG*, 16/2/1933, p.2; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.47; *Shango*, *T DM*, 8/1/1933, p.7; *Soucouyan T DM*, 8/1/1933, p.7. Events in Houdini's songs (i) *Bandsman Shooting Case* - *TG*, 13/6/1934, p.2; (ii) *Cipriani And Bradshaw's Death (&c)*, *TG*, 6/6/1934, p.1; *TG*, 12/6/1934, p.1; *Emancipation Centenary*, *TG*, 1/8/1934, p.1.

8 On Jack Kapp, Edward Lewis and the setting up of U.S. Decca see, John Hammond, 'Trouble Brews In U.S. Disc Industry', *MM*, 18/8/1934, p.12; and E.R. Lewis, *No C.I.C.*, London, Universal Royalties, 1956, pp.46-59. The background to Belasco's London session is in, Cowley, 'West Indian Gramophone Records', p.4. On the significance of the recordings by Bill Rogers, Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.141-146.

9 For popularity of calypsos in Harlem see Ira de A Reid, *The Negro Immigrant: His Background Characteristics and Social Adjustment 1899-1937*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, p.136. For popularity among whites in the U.S. see William C. White, 'The Calypso Singers', *Esquire*, September 1937, p.46, 109; Calypso Singers to U.S.A. *POSG*, 27/2/1935, p.5; *TG*, 27/2/1935, p.1; *Dingo-Lay* and other music in Carnival: *TG*, 5/3/1935, pp.1-2; *POSG*, 5/3/1935, p.7; *TG*, 6/3/1935, p.1; *POSG*, 6/3/1935, p.7. Bill Rogers: *TG*, 1/3/1935, p.10. Ken 'Snakehips' Johnson: background material from unpublished research by John Cowley and Howard Rye; in Trinidad, *POSG*, 28/2/1935, p.6; *TG*, 2/3/1935, p.2. Atilla's arrest, *G WI*, 28/2/1935, p.4; singers entertain on boat, *T SG*, 10/3/1935, p.1; arrival of *Fort St. George* in New York, *LL*, 9/3/1935, p.5. *Theatres And Dance Halls Ordinance*: Appendix 5; *TG*, 5/3/1935, p.8; *TG*, 9/3/1935, p.2; see also Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.288-294. The calypsonians in New York and their return to Trinidad: *TG*, 22/3/1935, p.1; *POSG*, 24/3/1935, p.17; *LL*, 30/3/1935, p.11; *T SG*, 7/4/1935, p.12; *POSG*, 7/4/1935, p.20; *POSG*, 9/4/1935, p.6. Ownership of NBC, Read and Welch, op.cit., p.404. Sam Manning in Britain, *Variety Caberet Film News*, 27/9/1934, p.9; *VCFN*, 4/10/1934, p.8; *West Lancashire Evening Gazette*, 19/11/1934, p.8; *VCFN*, 28/2/1935, p.13; *T SG*, 17/3/1935, p.1; *TG*, 19/3/1935, p.11; *DA*, 4/7/1935, p.8; his recordings, Cowley, 'London Is The Place', pp.62-63. Ken Johnson, *TG*, 15/3/1935, p.10; *TG*, 12/3/1935, p.10. Ralph Fitz Scott, *Barbados Advocate*, 23/4/1935, p.10; *DA*, 14/7/1935, p.7. Ethiopian conflict; Christine Sandford, *Ethiopia Under Hailé Selassié*, London, J.M. Dent, 1946, p.91. 'Christmas Vaudeville Show', *POSG*, 18/12/1935, p.7; *POSG*, 21/12/1935, p.6; Ken Johnson, *TG*, 13/12/1935, p.16; *POSG*, 21/12/1935, p.14; *TG*, 24/12/1935, p.10.

10 Death of the King, calypso, and Carnival: *POSG*, 21/1/1936, p.5 (Atilla); *T SG*, 26/1/1936, p.8; *POSG*, 28/1/1936, p.7 (Atilla); *TG*, 30/1/1936, p.8 (Atilla); *POSG*, 31/1/1936, p.6 (Lion); *TG*, 31/1/1936, p.8; *POSG*, 1/2/1936, p.1; *POSG*, 22/2/1936, p.13; *POSG*, 26/2/1936, p.6; *TG*, 26/2/1936, pp. 1-2. Calypsonians in New York: *TG*, 13/3/1936, p.1; *POSG*, 13/3/1936, p.6; *POSG*, 29/3/1936, p.19; *POSG*, 3/4/1936, p.9; *TG*, 3/4/1936, p.1; *TG*, 4/4/1936, p.1; *POSG*, 4/4/1936, p.5; *POSG*, 5/4/1936, p.5; *POSG*, 7/4/1936, p.5; *POSG*, 8/4/1936, p.5; *POSG*, 9/4/1936, p.7; *POSG*, 29/4/1936, p.7; *TG*, 30/4/1936, p.14; *POSG*, 1/5/1936, p.5; *TG*, 1/5/1936, pp.1-2. Houdini's record: *Fire And Brimstone* - Double Tone (Banner B-769, etc.). Abdication: *TG*, 11/12/1936, p.1. Roosevelt's visit: *TG*, 12/12/1936, pp.1-2; I.F. Gellman, *Good Neighbor Diplomacy*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins, 1979, p.63.

11 RCA recordings in Trinidad; *TG*, 2/2/1937, p.3, 8; *TG*, 6/2/1937, p.2.; *POSG*, 9/2/1937, p.7; *DA*, 14/2/1937, p.16. Freddy Grant: *TG*, 15/1/1933, p.1; *TG*, 21/1/1933, p.2; *POSG*, 5/2/1933, p.5. Carnival: *POSG*, 9/2/1937, p.6; *POSG*, 11/2/1937, p.6; *POSG*, 14/2/1937, p.6 (photo of Martinique orchestra). 'Steel' instruments, tamboo bamboo, and stickfighting display: *POSG*, 20/2/1849, p.2; *POSG*, 14/2/1914, p.4; Oscanet Claude, 'Evolution, History And Future of the Steel Band', *TG*, 2/3/1946, p.4; *POSG*, 9/2/1937, p.7; Whittenberger, '"Kalenda" Display', op.cit. Calypso season: *TG*, 30/1/1937, p.3; Helen Cameron Gordon [Lady Russell], *West Indian Scenes*, London, Robert Hale, 1942, pp.203-205. Calypsonians to New York: *POSG*, 6/2/1937, p.9; *TG*, 6/2/1937, p.1; *LL*, 12/2/1937, p.10; *TG*, 25/2/1937, p.1; *War*, (Decca 17328); *LL*, 8/3/1937, p.15; *POSG*, 16/3/1937, p.5; *TG*, 17/3/1937, p.2; *TG*, 19/3/1937, p.1; *POSG*, 20/3/1937, p.5. Advertisements for RCA Bluebird Calypso records: *TG*, 11/3/1937, p.2; *TG*, 17/3/1937, p.2; *TG*, 19/3/1937, p.2. Morality, censorship and calypso records: *POSG*, 18/3/1937, p.7 (letter); *POSG*, 20/3/1937, p.13 (letter); *T SG*, 21/3/1937, p.1; *TG*, 23/3/1937, p.1; *POSG*, 25/3/1937, p.6; *POSG*, 28/3/1937, p.21 (Sa Gomes advertisement); *POSG*, 11/4/1937, p.19 (Sa Gomes advertisement); *DA*, 11/4/1937, p.1 (Affonso's advertisement); *T SG*, 18/4/1937, p.1; *DA*, 21/4/1937, p.8 (Affonso's advertisement); see also, Steve Shapiro, booklet notes to the long playing record, *Knockdown Calypsos by the Growling Tiger*, Rounder Records, Somerville, Mass., 1979; and, The Lion, 'Big Bacchanal Over "Netty Netty"', *Trinidad Evening News*, 3 May 1982. Coronation Carnival: *TG*, 31/3/1937, pp.1-2; *T SG*, 16/5/1937, p.1; *POSG*, 16/5/1937, p.8; Oscanet Claude, op.cit.; Charles Jones, op.cit., p.61; Hanson and Dash also state that 1937 was a pivotal year in the development of the steel orchestras: Donald R. Hanson and Robert Dash, 'The Saga of the Steelband', *The Caribbean*, Vol.8, No.8, March 1955, p.176. Departure of musicians: *POSG*, 26/4/1937, p.7; *DA*, 2/5/1937, p.15 (Barriteau, Roberts, Wilkins, Williams); 'Edmundo Ros at 80', BBC Radio 2, 11 December 1990 (he states he arrived on Wednesday 4 June, but 4 August was a Wednesday); *TG*, 28/9/1937, p.4 (Grant); and unpublished research by John Cowley and Howard Rye. Houdini's records: *Executor The Homeless Man* (Perfect 785); *Malnutrition Songsters* (Perfect 777). Excursion to Grenada: *G WI*, 19/5/1937, p.4; *G WI*, 21/5/1937, p.5; *TG*, 1/6/1937, p.3; the Lion presents a romanticised view of these events in his 'Big bacchanal', op.cit. Oilfields strike: *T SG*, 20/6/1937, p.1; background is in Brereton *History*, pp.180-184. William C. White, 'The Calypso Singers', op.cit.

12 Censorship: Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.296-315; RCA advertisement, *TG*, 16/2/1937, p.2. Details of recordings from *EMI Record Cards And Sheets* (microfilm, National Sound Archive); Spottswood, 'A Discography', does not include this information. RCA Bluebird (General Supplies) advertisements: *TG*, 22/2/1938, p.2; *TG*, 27/2/1938, p.2; *TG*, 8/3/1938, p.2; *TG*, 15/3/1938, p.2; *TG*, 29/3/1938, p.2. Sa Gomes advertisements: *POSG*, 22/2/1938, p.7; *TG*, 24/2/1938, p.6; *POSG*, 27/2/1938, p.8; *T SG*, 6/3/1938, p.18; *T SG*, 27/3/1938, p.18; *T SG*, 3/4/1938, p.18. Carnival: *POSG*, 1/3/1938, p.6. Musician's from Guyana: *DA*, 23/2/1938, p.5; *DA*, 8/3/1938, p.5. Harmony Kings from Grenada: *G WI*, 22/2/1938, p.4; *POSG*, 24/2/1938, p.6. Calypsos on censorship and the 1937 disturbances: Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.296-299 has the texts of *Executor's* and *Atila's* unissued calypsos on censorship; Rohlehr, op.cit., pp.200-212, discusses calypsos in 'The 1937 Riots and Their Aftermath'; there is a long-playing record that reissues all the relevant recordings: *Where Was Butler?: A Calypso Documentary From Trinidad*, Folklyric 9048. Calypsos relating to these events performed during a 1938 cinema concert: John W. Vandercook, *Caribee Cruse: A Book of the West Indies*, New York, Reynal & Hitchcock, 1938, pp.272-273. Calypsos on the death of Charlie King: Heath Bowman and Jefferson Bowman, *Crusoe's Island in the Caribbean*, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1939, p.271 (text quoted); Arthur Calder-Marshall, *Glory Dead*, London, Michael Joseph, 1939, pp.164-167. Another book that discusses calypsos etc. from this year is William J. Makin, *Caribbean Nights*, London, Robert Hale, 1939, pp.272-274. Harold Stannard, 'The Free West Indies', II, 'A Basis For Culture', *The Times*, 26 May 1938,

pp.17-18; 'Calypso Boom', *Time*, 29 August 1938, p.21; Eric C. Child, 'The Calypso Singers', *MM*, 27/8/1938, p.2.

13 Calypso associations: *TG*, 7/1/1939, p.5; *TG*, 19/1/1939, p.7; Calypso King competition: *TG*, 20/1/1939, p.2; *TG*, 31/1/1939, p.2; *TG*, 3/2/1939, p.8; *TG*, 4/2/1939, p.7, 11; *POSG*, 5/2/1939, p.6; *TG*, 7/2/1939, p.2; *TG*, 8/2/1939, p.2; *TG*, 9/2/1939, p.11; *TG*, 11/2/1939, p.9; *TG*, 14/2/1939, p.2; *TG*, 15/2/1939, p.2; *POSG*, 15/2/1939, p.13; *TG*, 17/2/1939, p.11. Road marches, *TG*, 21/2/1939, p.1. George Cabral etc: George Cabral, *Charming Trinidad*, New York, American Offset Corporation, 1938; *TSG*, 8/1/1939, p.23; Lloyd Sidney Smith, op.cit., p.274. Calypsonians to Guyana: (Bill Rogers, with Caresser) *POSG*, 5/3/1938, p.5; *DA*, 18/3/1938, p.4: (Caresser and Gorilla), *POSG*, 23/2/1939, p.11. Joseph Mitchell 'A Reporter At Large: Houdini's Picnic', *New Yorker*, 6 May 1939, pp.45-55. 'Strange Art of Calypso: Topical Songs From Trinidad Become a Record Vogue', *Newsweek*, 9 October 1939, p.33; 'Calypsonian Crescendo: Native Trinidad Recordings Attract Much Interest Here', *Billboard*, 16 December 1939, pp.9-10.

14 Patriotic calypsos: *POSG*, 3/1/1940, p.11; *TG*, 4/1/1940, p.5. Louis Sebok's arrival and sponsorship of tent competition: *TG*, 19/1/1940, p.2; *TSG*, 4/2/1940, p.3. Road marches: *POSG*, 6/2/1940, p.6; *TG*, 6/2/1940, p.1. Details of the sessions and comments by Sebok: *POSG*, 15/2/1940, p.7; Albert C. Hicks, 'Calypso: Songs And Minstrels Of Trinidad', *Travel*, Vol.76, No.2, December 1940, pp.47-48; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, p.65, 68. Police ban on calypsos, *TG*, 8/2/1940, p.1. U.S. restrictions on sale of partisan calypsos noted in catalogue of *Decca Calypso Records*, including 'releases through May 29, 1941'.

15 East Indian recordings: details courtesy Dick Spottswood and advertisements - *TG*, 13/3/1941, p.2 (General Supplies/RCA); *TG*, 21/2/1941, p.2; *POSG*, 23/2/1941, p.7. Calypso King competition: *TSG*, 23/2/1941, p.9; *TG*, 25/2/1941, p.9. Carnival music: *POSG*, 25/2/1941, p.2; *TG*, 25/2/1941, p.1; *POSG*, 26/2/1941, p.2. Calypsonians to New York: *TG*, 13/1/1941, p.5; *POSG*, 13/3/1941, p.5; *TG*, 16/3/1941, p.5 (Sa Gomes ad.).

16 Data from: Louise Cramer, 'Songs of West Indian Negroes in the Canal Zone', *California Folklore Quarterly*, 1946, pp.243-272; and Myron B. Schaeffer, letters and field notes for the recordings in the collection of the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., U.S.A. For a full list of the recordings see Appendix 6. Individual songs:

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| (i) | <i>Commisary Girls</i> | Cramer, op.cit., p.271 |
| (ii) | <i>Murder In The Market</i> | Cramer, op.cit., pp.265-266;
Ch VI, fn 20 |
| | | Redhead, 'Songs', II, p.15 |
| (iii) | <i>Ganderry High Wall</i> | Cramer, op.cit., p.262 |
| | | Redhead, 'Songs', I, p.30 |
| (iv) | <i>John Crow</i> | Cramer, op.cit., p.258 |
| | | Roberts, 'Study', pp.179-182. |
| (v) | <i>Hold Him Joe</i> (etc.) | Cramer, op.cit., pp.251-252 |
| | | Jekyll, <i>Jamaican</i> , pp.183-184 |
| (vi) | <i>Emmanuel Road</i> (etc.) | Cramer, op.cit., p.254 |
| | | Jekyll, <i>Jamaican</i> , p.199 |
| | | Beckwith, <i>Folk Games</i> , pp.21-25 |
| | | Beckwith 'Folk Games', Addenda, pp.90-92 |
| | | Cowley and Noblett, 'English Speaking'. |

H.E. De Lisser, *In Jamaica*, pp.105-109. Robert Witmer, "'Local" and "Foreign": The Popular Music Culture of Kingston, Jamaica, before Ska, Rock Steady and Reggae', *Latin American Music Review*, Vol.8, No.1, Spring-Summer 1987, pp.1-25. On Slim and Sam: Godfrey Taylor, 'A Preliminary Look At Slim and Sam: Jamaican Street Singers', *Jamaica Journal*, Vol.16, No.3, August 1983, pp.39-45; Randolph Williams, 'We Are A Singing

Race, We Jamaicans', *Jamaica Standard*, 21 October 1939 [page unknown]; Randolph Williams, 'The Story of Two Men and a Guitar', *Jamaica Journal*, Vol.16, No.3, August 1983, p.46 [reprinted from *Jamaica Standard*, 2 June 1939]. Zora Neale Hurston, *Tell My Horse*, p.25; her knowledge of black music in the U.S. is established in her work, see Hemenway, *Zora Neal Hurston*, op.cit. On *Nobody's Business*: ChVI, fn.27. On *John Henry*: MacEdward Leach, 'John Henry', in Bruce Jackson, ed., *Folklore & Society*, Hatboro, Folklore Associates, 1966, pp.104-105; Norm Cohen, *Long Steel Rail*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1981, p.73; Brett Williams, *John Henry: A Bio-Bibliography*, Westport, Conn., Greenwood, 1983, pp.65-67.

17 The U.S. presence is documented in: Michael Anthony, *Port-of-Spain In A World At War 1939-1945*, Port of Spain, Trinidad, Trinidad and Tobago Ministry of Sports, Culture and Youth Affairs, [c. 1983]. Steel band etc. confrontations with the police: *POSG*, 28/12/1941, p.8 (quoted); *POSG*, 30/12/1941, p.8; *TG*, 17/2/1942, pp.1-2; *POSG*, 17/2/1942, p.2 (both quoted); *TG*, 18/2/1942, p.1; *POSG*, 18/2/1942, p.5, *POSG*, 6/1/1943, p.4 (quoted); *POSG*, 9/3/1943, p.4; *TG*, 9/3/1943, p.4 (both quoted); *TG*, 29/12/1943, p.2; *POSG*, 5/1/1944, p.3 (quoted), p.4; *TG*, 28/12/1944, p.2. Lloyd Braithwaite, 'The Problem Of Cultural Integration In Trinidad', *Social And Economic Studies*, Vol.3, No.1, June 1954, p.93; see also his *Social Stratification In Trinidad*, Kingston, Jamaica, Institute Of Social And Economic Research, 1975, p.129. Rohlehr, *Calypso*, discusses the Carnival ban calypsos and the U.S. presence, pp.340-360. Calypso Concerts and tents: *POSG*, 11/2/1942, p.4; *POSG*, 14/2/1942, p.5; *TG*, 26/2/1943, p.6 (concerts); *TSG*, 15/2/1942, p.10; *TG*, 10/2/1943, p.5 (tents). 'Folk-Lore Show', *TSG*, 26/12/1943, p.8. Tents in 1944: *TG*, 8/1/1944, p.7; Espinet and Pitts, *Land*, p.21; *TG*, 22/1/1944, p.6; *TG*, 25/1/1944, p.2; *TG*, 1/2/1944, p.2; *TG*, 4/2/1944, p.2; *TG*, 24/2/1944, p.8;

18 The articles and letters begin with: Basil Matthews, 'Calypso and Pan America', *Commonweal*, Vol.37, No.4, 13 November 1942, pp.91-93; *TG*, 27/2/1943, p.4 (letter from Harold F.C. Simmons); *TG*, 5/3/1943, p.4 (letter from Edric E. Connor); Daphne Taylor, 'There Is No Carnival But Calypso Carries On', *TG*, 9/3/1943, p.4; Ubiquitous, 'Calypso Season Is Here Again', *TSG*, 16/1/1944, p.9; 'Carnival Influence Deplored', *TSG*, 23/1/1944, p.4 (unsigned letter); 'Calypsoes', *POSG*, 26/1/1944, p.5; Ubiquitous, 'Shall We "Doctor" Our Calypsoes?', *TSG*, 30/1/1944, p.1A; *POSG*, 1/2/1944, p.5; *TG*, 3/2/1944, p.4 (letter from Ralph De Boissiere); *TG*, 5/2/1944, p.4 (letter from Alfred H. Mendes); Eric Burger, 'Lovers Of Calypso Need A Sense Of Proportion', *TG*, 5/2/1944, p.4; *TG*, 8/2/1944, p.4 (letter from McD. Carpenter); Malcolm Cummings, 'No Carnival In Wartime?', *TG*, 10/2/1944, p.2; Alfred H. Mendes, 'If Calypso Is Folksong It Should Be Encouraged', *TGS*, 13/2/1944, p.4; McD. Carpenter, 'Calypso Setts Own Limitations', *TG*, 15/2/1944, p.4; Chas S. Espinet, 'Calypso Crudity Tomorrow's Culture', *TSG*, 20/2/1944, p.4; McD. Carpenter, 'Europe's Culture Cast Our Own', *TG*, 25/2/1944, p.2; *TG*, 25/2/1944, p.3; *TSG*, 5/3/1944, p.2 (announces publication of Espinet and Pitts, *Land*, op.cit.).

19 Musicians Union ban: Read and Welch, op.cit., pp.334-335; Roland Gellat, *The Fabulous Phonograph*, 2nd rev. ed., London, Cassell, 1977, pp.278-281; 'U.S. Decca settles with AFM', *MM*, 25/9/1943, p.1. For further particulars on *Rum And Coca-Cola* see Cowley *L'Année Passée*, op.cit.

20 Tents etc: *TG*, 6/1/1945, p.2; *TG*, 11/1/1945, p.2; *TSG*, 14/1/1945, p.2; *TSG*, 21/1/1945, p.5, *TG*, 27/1/1945, p.2. *Rum And Coca-Cola*: 'Coca In Calypso', *Time*, 29/1/1945, p.75; *TG*, 30/1/1945, p.2; and Cowley, *L'Année Passée*, op.cit. Calypsonians to U.S. : *TSG*, 4/2/1945, p.3; *TG*, 6/2/1945, p.3 (Caresser and Kitchener); *TG*, 24/1/1945, p.3 (Invader); *TG*, 8/3/1945, p.2 (Beginner, Lord Iere, Kitchener, Radio, Small Island Pride, Tiger, Young Ziegfeld, Ziegfeld); *TG*, 14/3/1945, p.5 (Atilla and Lion); *TSG*, 18/3/1945, p.6 (Caresser). Only the departures of Atilla, Invader, and Lion

are confirmed. Dates of songs: *Carenage Water*, identified by audition of record (Decca 34005); *Air Raid Shelters* is in, Lion and Atilla, *Victory Calypsoes*, 1943, Port of Spain, Victory Calypso Tent, 1943; *Madame Take Back Your Basket*, TSG, 30/1/1944, p.3; *Missing Gold From The C.I.D.*, TG, 11/1/1945, p.2; *Yankee Harvest Is Over*, TG, 11/1/1945, p.2. The lyrics to *Yankee Harvest* are in Milbourne Christopher, 'King Of Calypso', *Negro Digest*, Vol.7, No.3, January 1949, p.13. VE Day: POSG, 9/5/1945, p.1; TG, 9/5/1945, p.1; TG, 11/5/1945, p.1. The lyrics to the song are in TEN, 28/2/1945, p.11. VJ Day: TG, 13/8/1945, p.1; TG, 15/8/1945, p.5; POSG, 15/8/1945, p.1; TG, 18/8/1945, p.1. King Radio, TG, 9/10/1945, p.5; Carl Jacobs, 'Titan in his time, King Radio's impact remains fresh', TSG, 2/2/1964, p.20. All-Star Caribbean Orchestra: TSG, 14/10/1945, p.2; TG, 24/10/1945, p.2; POSG, 24/10/1945, p.2; PRO BT26/1215. Lion: TG, 26/10/1945, p.2. Louis Jordan: Cowley, *L'Année Passée*, op.cit.; letter to author from John Chilton, 10/10/1991.

21 Beginner: TSG, 10/2/1946, p.2; Tents, the Victory tent, and Kitchener: Brown, *Angry*, op.cit., pp.254-256, pp.260-262; Quevedo, *Atilla's*, pp.85-86; TSG, 24/2/1946, p.3. POSG, 2/3/1946, p.5. Verses to *Steelband*: Roger B. Amoroso, 'A chat with Kitch', *The Black I*, 1, 1972, p.56; Constance Marie Leschaloupé, 'Carnival in Trinidad', *Canada-West Indies Magazine*, Vol.43, No.10, October 1953, p.13; two more verses are in Rohlehr, *Calypso*, p.355. Calypso: J.R. Best, 'Critic Finds Calypso Bitter But Irresistible', TSG, 24/2/1946, p.5; Brown *Angry*, pp.251-264. Calypso King contest (Mucurapo Stadium): POSG, 24/2/1946, p.7; TG, 5/3/1946, p.2; POSG, 5/3/1946, p.1; Brown, *Angry*, op.cit., p.259. Marine Square competition: TG, 6/3/1946, p.2; POSG, 6/3/1946, p.3. Carnival: Brown, *Angry*, op.cit., p.259.

22 Popularity of calypsos in U.S.: Brown, *Angry*, op.cit., p.254. Ann Sheridan: TG, 15/2/1947, p.1; TG, 27/2/1947, p.3. 'Old Guard' (or Brigade) and Young Brigade: TG, 24/1/1947, p.7; Albert Gomes, 'New Crop Of Talented Singers', TG, 12/2/1947, p.4; Rohlehr, *Calypso*, pp.409-410. 'Violence In Calypso', *Newsweek*, 3 February 1947, p.34. Atilla's victory: TG, 18/2/1947, p.1. Commentaries on Carnival, calypso and steelbands: 'Rum and Coca-Cola', *Newsweek*, 3 March 1947, p.40 (Carnival and calypso); Fermor, *Travellers Tree*, op.cit., pp.170-172 (steel bands), pp.176-180 (calypso); Leaf, *Isles*, op.cit., pp.194-197; Oden and Olivia Meeker, 'A Catfish Bite on the Julius Caesar', *The Bedside Lilliput*, London, Hulton Press, 1950, pp.388-394 (calypso); Oden and Olivia Meeker, 'Ping-Pong Kittle and Boom', *Everybody's Weekly*, 11 August 1951, pp.30-31 (steelbands); although slightly later observations, see also: Wallace B. Alig, 'Report From Trinidad', *Holiday*, Vol.5, No.1, January 1949, pp.7-9; and Paul E. Knapp, 'The Politics Of Calypso', *Negro Digest*, Vol.8, No.2, December 1949, pp.80-82 (calypso). *Rum And Coca-Cola* case: Cowley *L'Année Passée*, op.cit. Caresser: TG, 2/8/1947, p.1; President Truman: TG, 2/9/1947, pp.1-2. Calypso recordings: TG, 2/9/1947, p.3. Trade restrictions: TG, 22/8/1947, p.1; TG, 27/9/1947, p.1. Tour by Kitchener (and Beginner): TG, 23/9/1954, p.7; James Andrews, '"Kitchener", Lord Of 'Em All', TEN, 11/2/1956, p.2; and Alec Pascall, unpublished recorded interview with Lord Kitchener, 1987.

23 Pascall, *ibid*; TG, 26/5/1948, p.5; TG, 27/5/1948, p.7; MM, 7/8/1948, p.5; TG, 23/9/1954, p.7; MM, 2/10/1948, p.4; TG, 26/1/1949, p.3; Cowley 'London Is The Place', op.cit., pp.65-69; TG, 30/6/1950, p.1; WICC, Vol.LXV, No.1231, July 1950, p.161; Derek Bickerton, *The Murders of Boysie Singh*, London, Arthur Barker, 1962; TG, 27/6/1951, p.1; 'The Rise Of A Champion', *West African Review*, Vol.23, No.299, August 1952, pp.792-795; MM, 28/7/1951, p.6; TG, 11/7/1951, p.1.

24 TSG, 1/7/1951, p.13; TG, 3/7/1951, pp.1-2; TG, 7/7/1951, p.1, 5; 'Trinidad's All Steel Band', WICC, Vol.66, No.1244, August 1951, p.193; D.E.R., 'The Steel Band', *Clarion*, February 1954, p.4; *Radio Times*, Vol.122, No.1449, 17/8/1951, p.43; MM, 1/9/1951, p.2. On fund-raising by the calypsonians TG, 17/5/1951, p.7; TSG, 8/7/1951, p.9; TG, 11/7/1951, p.7; TG, 24/7/1951, p.2. On Lion's trip to Britain: Lion, *Calypso*, p.243; PRO Ref BT26/1277 (arrival); TG, 4/9/1951, p.7 (Festival appearance with

TASPO); *MM*, 15/9/1951, p.6 (recordings etc.). Bertie King's farewell session: *MM*, 3/11/1951, p.7. On Kitchener's repertoire: Denis Preston, 'The Lord Who Wanted To Go Home - To See His Grandmother', *Folk*, January 1955, pp.23-26.

25 On 'Ballets Negres': *WICC*, Vol.61, No.1177, January 1946, p.11; *MM*, 8/6/1946, p.6; *MM*, 22/6/1946, p.2; 'Negro Ballet', *West African Review*, Vol.17, No.225, June 1946, p.681; Noel Vaz, 'Berto Pasuka And The Jamaican Ballet', *West Indian Review*, Spring 1947, p.27, 29; 'The Ballets Negres', *WICC*, Vol.62, No.1198, October 1947, p.230; and information on the original troupe provided by Trish Thomas and Stephan Dwoskin. On 'Calypso' in West Africa before 1950: the notes by Arthur S. Alberts to the 78 rpm album *Tribal, Folk & Cafe Music Of West Africa* and background to the field trip in his 'Hunting Musical Game in West Africa', *National Geographic Magazine*, Vol.100, No.2, August 1951, pp.262-282. Bobby Benson: Christopher Alan Waterman, *Juju: A Social History and Ethnography of An African Popular Music*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1990, p.97, 237; Waterman notes Benson's return was in 1947, but 1948 is given in 'Jazz King', *Drum*, Vol.6 No.3, May 1954, p.43. Guy Warren: *MM*, 9/6/1950, p.4; *MM*, 15/9/1950, p.1; *MM*, 29/9/1950, p.4; *MM*, 10/11/1950, p.1; Collins, *Musicmakers*, op.cit., p.66. Sierra Leone: Roy Lewis, *Sierra Leone: A Modern Portrait*, London, HMSO, 1954, p.45; and John Cowley, comp., 'Decca West Africa: A Numerical List of Discs Held At The NSA', January 1986. See also Bruce King, 'Introducing the High-Life', op.cit.

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38 Steelband repertoire in 1946: *POSG*, 5/3/1946, p.1. An altercation (selected at random): *TG*, 9/9/1947, p.1. Making drums: *TG*, 30/9/1947, p.2. *Ingoma*, in Durban, South Africa: Veit Erlmann, *African Stars: Studies in Black South African Performance*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1991, pp.95-111. Forms of 'Rough Music' in Britain: E.P. Thompson, *Customs In Common*, London, Merlin Press, 1991, pp.478-489. Denis-Constant Martin, 'Filiation or Innovation?: Some Hypotheses to Overcome the Dilemma of Afro-American Music's Origins', *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol.11, No.1, Spring 1991, pp.19-38. Musical characteristics in blues have been explored in Peter Van Der Merwe, *Origins of the Popular Style*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989; West

African antecedents in Michael T. Coolen, 'Senegambian Influences On Afro-American Musical Culture', *Black Music Research Journal*, Vol.11, No.1, Spring 1991, pp.1-18. Although these explore issues relating to black North American music, they also provide a basis for comparison with black music in the English-speaking Caribbean. A succinct summary regarding black musical feedback is in John Collins, 'Black Transatlantic Feedback to Africa: proposal for Conference(s)', *RPM*, No.13, Spring 1989, p.4.

TABLE I: Alphabetical List of Occasions for Dancing
(Simplified from Appendix 1)

<u>Special</u> <u>Occasions</u>	<u>Regular</u> <u>Occasions</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1 Carnival		: (Shrovetide)
2 Christmas		
3 Crop over		
	4 Daily	: (evening, every-day, nightly)
5 Easter		
6 Emancipation Day		: (1 August)
7 Fêtes Patronales		: (St. Rose Day/ Society, St. Lucia; St. Marguerite Day/ Society, St. Lucia)
8 Holiday		: (special occasions, not noted otherwise)
	9 Monthly	
10 New Year		
	11 Weekly	: (Saturday night, Sunday, etc.)
12 Whitsun		

TABLE II: Use of Fiddles, by Country 1780s-1880s

<u>Country</u>	<u>Dances</u>	<u>Processions</u>
Antigua		1
Barbados	6	
Grenada	2	
Guyana	1	
Jamaica	7	6
St. Christopher	1	
St. Vincent	4	
Trinidad		1
TOTALS	21	8

Table III:

Consolidated List of Dances and Processions by Country and Seasonal Occasion (Carnivalesque) 1780s-1890s

<u>Country</u>	<u>Seasonal Occasion</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Sample Numbers</u>	
			<u>Dances</u>	<u>Processions</u>
<u>Antigua:</u>	Christmas	(1844)		(62)
<u>Bahamas:</u>	Christmas	(1888)	(1)	(63)
<u>Barbados:</u>	Christmas	1836/ (1839)	(5)	
	Christmas	(1852)	(6)	
	New Year		(7)	
	Cropover	(1869)	(9)	
<u>Barbuda:</u>	Christmas	(1852)	(10)	
<u>Guyana:</u>	Christmas	(1899)		(64)
<u>Jamaica:</u>	Christmas	(1788)	(20)	
	Christmas	(1797)		(65)
	Christmas	25-28 Dec		
		1801/ (1839)		(66)
	Christmas	c.1806-22 (1829-33)		(67)
	New Year	1 Jan		
		1816/ (1834)		(68)
	Christmas	1823/ (1826)	(25)	
	Christmas		(26)	
	St Stephen's (Boxing Day)		(27)	
	New Year's Day		(28)	
	Christmas	(1825)		(69)
	Easter			(70)
	Christmas	(1826)		(71)
	Christmas	(1828)		(72)
	New Year/ Christmas			(73)
	Cropover (20 years ago)		(32)	
	Cropover (today)		(33)	
	Christmas	1831/ (1838)	(34)	
	Christmas		(35)	
	Christmas	1836/		

		(1838)	(16)	(74)
	Christmas	(1837)		(75)
	Christmas			(76)
	Christmas	1836/		
		(1838)		(77)
	Christmas	(1838)		(78)
	Christmas	(1843)		(79)
	Tatoo	(1860)		(80)
	Christmas	(1862)		(81)
<hr/>				
<u>Leeward</u>				
<u>Islands:</u>	Cropover	1826-9/	(37)	
	(+ : Christmas	(1833)		
	Carnival			
	Easter			
	Whitsun)			
<hr/>				
<u>St. Croix:</u>	Christmas	(1840)	(39)	
<hr/>				
<u>St. Lucia:</u>	Fêtes			
	Patronals	(1844)	(40)	
	Fêtes			
	Patronals		(41)	
<hr/>				
<u>St.</u>	New Year's			
<u>Thomas:</u>	Eve	(1838)	(42)	
<hr/>				
<u>St.</u>	St. Stephen's	26 Dec.		
<u>Vincent:</u>	(Boxing Day)	1791/		
		(1801)	(43)	(82)
	St. Stephen's			
	(Boxing Day)		(44)	
	Cropover	(1833)	(48)	
	Jumbie Dance			
	or Willy	(1852)		(83)
<hr/>				
<u>Trinidad:</u>	Christmas	(1833)	(52)	
	Christmas		(53)	
	Carnival	7 March		
		1847		
		(1852)		(84)
	Christmas	25 Dec.		
		1847		
		(1852)		(85)
	Emancipation	1 Aug.		
	Day	1882		
		(1893)	(60)	
<hr/>				
<u>Virgin</u>	Christmas	(1866)	(61)	
<u>Islands:</u>	and New Year			
<hr/>				

TABLE IV: Use of Musical Instruments for Processions 1780s-1890s

<u>Country</u>	<u>Drums only</u>	<u>Percussion & other instruments</u> (including fiddles)	<u>Fiddles Identified</u> (Table II)	<u>Unspecified instrumentation</u>
Antigua		1	(1)	
Bahamas				1
Guyana		1		
Jamaica	4	13	(6)	
St. Vincent	1	1		
Trinidad		1	(1)	1
TOTALS	5	17	(8)	2

TABLE V: Kinds of Music Recorded Commercially by the Victor Talking Machine Company in Trinidad September 1914¹

<u>Musical Kind</u>	<u>Musical Type</u>	<u>Items Recorded</u>	<u>Items Released</u>	<u>Performer(s)</u>
CALYPSO	Single Tone Calipso	5	4	J. Resigna
	Double Tone Calipso	1	1	J. Resigna
		total	total	
		6	5	
EAST INDIAN	Gazal Kawaii	4		Gellum Hossein
	Gazal Hakani	4		Gellum Hossein
	Maulood Sharief	8	6	S.M. Akberali
		total	total	
		16	6	
JOROPO	Joropo	1		L. Belasco
		total		
		1		
KALENDA	Native Trinidad Kalenda	2	2	J. Sims
		total	total	
		2	2	
ONE-STEP	One-Step	1		L. Belasco
		total		
		1		
PASEO	Albert's Paseo	1	1	L. Belasco
	Panama Paseo	2	2	L. Belasco
	Paseo	1	1	L. Belasco
	Trinidad Paseo	22	11	L. Belasco
		total	total	
		26	15	
TWO-STEP (Paso-Doble)	Two-Step	1	1	L. Belasco
		total	total	
		1	1	

¹ Compiled from Spottswood, 'A Discography'.

RAG	Rag	2			L. Belasco
			total		
			2		
<hr/>					
WALTZ	Spanish Vals	13		2	L. Belasco
	Venezuelan				
	Vals	13	L. Belasco	5	L. Belasco
			4		(4) Orquesta de Venezolano de Chargo
			Orquesta		
			9		(1)
	Waltz	2		1	L. Belasco
			total		total
			28		8
<hr/>					
GRAND TOTALS:			83		37

TABLE VI: Comparison of Kinds of Music differentiated by Somatic Styles identified in Trinidad by Melville Herskovits (1939) and Andrew Pearse (1955)

SOMATIC STYLES/KINDS OF MUSIC

	<u>Toco, Trinidad</u> (Herskovits, 1939)	<u>Trinidad</u> (Pearse, 1955)	<u>abbreviated</u> <u>description</u> (<i>&c</i>)
<u>Parades</u>			
(Carnival)	Calenda	: Kalenda	stickfighting
	Calipso/Creole	: Calypso	sung combat
	Calipso		<i>&c</i>
	Caliso		'to <i>fatigue</i>
			someone'
	Ca'ib or Wild	: Wild	masque band
	Indian	Indian	
	Sailors	: Road	masque band
		March	
	Yankees	: Road	masque band
		March	
(Christmas)	Spanish Serenade	: Parang	house visits
<u>Representations</u>			
	Bele or <i>belier</i>	: Bele	drum dance
	Cheer-up		(drum dance)
	Congo or <i>juba</i>	: (Congo)*	(drum dance)
	Jig +		(European or
	Moringa + [poss.		American
	same as:]		social dances
	Passee or <i>passé</i>		not specified
	<i>mazunga</i> +		by Pearse, as
	Quadrille +		classified by
	Reel +		him as super-
			structural
			music <i>&c</i>) +
	Yoruba	: Yarraba	drum dance
<u>Games</u>			
	Passee [Reel]/		
	Reel Play [?]	: Pass-Play	children's
			games (<i>&c</i>)
<u>Work</u>			
	Cocoa Dancing	: Work	(cooperative
		Songs	work <i>&c</i>)
	Fisherman's Song	:	
	Wood Pulling Song	:	
+ classified by Herskovits as belonging to the reel-quadrille cycle of dances			
* classified by Pearse as music for <i>rites de passage</i> ceremonies by people of Congo descent (Religious Beliefs & Attitudes)			

TABLE VII: Comparison of Kinds of Music differentiated by Somatic Styles identified in observations of Jamaican culture (1906-1924) and a classification of Jamaican music consolidated from the work of Olive Lewin (1970) and Cheryl Ryman (1980)

SOMATIC STYLES/KINDS OF MUSIC

	<u>Jamaica</u> (1906-1924)	<u>(first</u> <u>ref.)</u>	<u>Jamaica</u> (1970-1980)	<u>abbreviated</u> <u>description</u> <u>(&c)</u>
<hr/>				
<u>Parades</u>				
	Burro	(1925)	Buru	masque &c
(Christmas, & Emancipation Day)	John Canoe	(1907)	Jonkonnu	masque &c
(New Year, and, or, Emancipation Day)	Tea meeting	(1922)	Tea Meeting	(a particular event, rather than 'parade')
			Queen Party	
<hr/>				
<u>Representations</u>				
	Catch-me-times	(1924)		dance
	Jámal	(1924)		secular songs
	Jig	(1907)	(Quadrille/Set)	dance
	Koromante	(1922)	(Maroon)	dance
	Lancers*	(1910)		dance
	Maroon	(1925)	Maroon	songs
	[see also Koromante]			
	Mazurka	(1927)	(Quadrille/Set)	dance
	Mento	(1910)	Mento	dance
	Polka	(1907)	(Quadrille/Set)	dance
	Quadrille [figs.1-5]	(1907)	(Quadrille/Set)	dance
	Rag-time	(1925)		dance(?)
	Reel and, or, Scotch Reel *	(1924)		dance(s)
	Schottishe	(1907)	(Quadrille/Set)	dance
	Shay-shay	(1910)	Shay-shay	dance
	two-step	(1910)		dance
	Valse or Waltz	(1907)	(Quadrille/Set)	dance
<hr/>				
<u>Games</u>				
	Forfeit	(1922)		(children's games &c)
	Ring	(1907)		

tunes		
Song	(1922)	Singing
games		games
Stone	(1922)	
passing		
Stone	(1922)	
pounding		
Word	(1922)	

Work

Chanties	(1925)	(Boat Loading ?)	
Digging	(1907)	(Digging)	
Sings			
Nursing	(1907)	Nursery	(Lullabies)
Sings		(songs)	
Work	(1925)	Work	(10 categories)
Songs		Songs	

* By inference, these too are part of the Quadrille or Set cycle of dances

TABLE VIII: Annotated checklist of English-speaking West Indian musical repertoire, recorded commercially in Trinidad, the U.S.A., or Britain, 1912-1945: defined by record label descriptions

<u>Territory/Repertoire</u>	<u>Date(s)</u>	<u>Comments</u>
GRENADA		
Grenada Paseo	1921	(unissued)
EUROPE or SPANISH AMERICA		
	(for the English-Speaking West Indian market only)	
Vals(e) or Waltz	1912-1938	
Trinidad	1918-1923	
Creole	1921-1925	
Calypso	1938	
JAMAICA		
Pasee	1922	
Mentor	(1925)-1933	(usually spelt mento)
SPANISH AMERICA		
	(for the English-Speaking West Indian market only)	
Bolero Son	1940	(Cuba)
Joropo	1914-1940	(Venezuela)
Merengue	1934-1935	(Venezuela)
Paseo or Pasillo	1914-1938	(Venezuela)
	Albert's	1914
	Panama	1914 (Panama ?)
	Singletone	1935
Rumba	Fox Trot	1931
		1932-1940 (Cuba)
	Paseo	1934
	Danza	1934
	Calypso	1937
Spanish Vals(e)/		1912-1938 (prob. Venezuela)
Waltz		
Tango		1912-1926 (Argentina)
	Song	1925
	Calypso	1938
Venezuelan Vals(e)		1914-1927 (Venezuela)
TOBAGO		
Tobago Paseo	1921	
TRINIDAD		
African	War Song	1938
	Song	1939
(Bongo or Bungo)		(1925-1927) (song title)
Calipso or Calypso		1914-(1945)
	Single Tone	1914-1937
	Double Tone	1914-1937
	Creole	1925
	Dance	1928
	Semi Tone	1937
	Ballad	1937

	- Waltz	1937-1938	
	- Swing	1937	
	- Hawaiian	1938	
	- Fox Trot	1939	
	- Patois	1939	
Carnival	Dame		
	Lorraine	1921	(masquerade ; title unissued)
	Song	1924-1933	
	(or) Trinidad		
	Carnival	1926	
Kalenda	Native	1914	
	Trinidad		
	Trinidad	1921	
		1935-1938	
	Single Tone	1935	
	Calypso	1939	
Leggo		1935	(road march)
Shango		(1928)-1945	(in 1928 song title)
Shouter(s)	Meeting	1921	
	(Carol)	1933	
	(Spiritual)	1935	
		1938-1941	
	Calypso		
	Shouter	1939-1940	
(Trinidad) Paseo		1912-1919	
	Carnival	1921	
	Creole	1925	

U.S.A. (for the English-Speaking West Indian market exclusively)

Charleston	Creole	1925	
Fox Trot	Jazz	1918	
		1933-1934	
One Step		1914-1918	
Rag		1914-1915	
	Trinidad		
	Ragtime Song	1921	(Yankee or Minstrel masquerade)
Two Step		1914	

WEST INDIES (for the U.S.A. market)

West Indian Chant	1924	
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While certain melodies are known to have come from individual territories in the region these have not been taken into account. Genres are specified only where established by a discographical entry. Latin American repertoire has been checked against the analysis of Gustavo Duran (1942, and 1950), and for the English-speaking West Indies by using authorities established already.² Recordings made specifically for Colombia, Cuba, Haiti, Martinique and Puerto Rico are excluded from the listing.

² Gustavo Duran, *Recordings Of Latin American Songs And Dances: An Annotated Selected List Of Popular And Folk Music*, Washington, D.C., Pan American Union, (Music Series No. 3), 1942; 2nd. ed., revised and enlarged by Gilbert Chase, 1950. For other authorities see Tables IV, V, and VI.

TABLE IX: Annotated checklist of English-speaking West Indian Musical repertoire, recorded commercially in Britain, 1948-1953: defined by record label descriptions

<u>Territory/Repertoire</u>	<u>Dates</u>	<u>Comments</u>
AFRICAN - U.S.A.		
Afro-Boogie	1951	
BARBADOS		
Folk Song	Calypso	1952
BRAZIL		
Samba	1948	
CUBA		
Bolero	1951	
Rumba	1948	
	(Jamaican	1950-1951)
	Fox Trot	1952
Son-Afro	1951	
EUROPE		
March	(Steelband)	1951 (T.A.S.P.O.) ³
GUYANA		
Joropo	1952	(Venezuela)
Shanto	1952	
JAMAICA		
Christmas Song	1950	(Jonkonnu)
Rumba	1950-1951	
Mentor/Mento	1948-1953	
MARTINIQUE		
Biguine	1948-1951	
TRINIDAD		
Calinda	1950	(Kalenda)
Calypso	1948-1953	
	March	1950 (Carnival)
	Instrumental	1950-1951
	Afro	1951
	Slow	1951
	Steelband	(1951)-1953 (Carnival)
	Road March	1952-1953 (Carnival)
	Barbadian Folk	

³ Trinidad All Steel Percussion Orchestra, which travelled to the United Kingdom for the Festival of Britain in 1951, see Chapter VII.

Castillene	Barbadian Folk	1952	
	Song	1950-1951	(Spanish Waltz)
<hr/>			
U.S.A.			
Blues	Calypso	1953	
	Mambo	1953	
<hr/>			
VENEZUELA (?) [poss Dominican Republic or Haiti]			
Merang		1948	
<hr/>			
WEST AFRICA			
Highlife	(in <i>Calypso</i>		
	<i>Medley</i> , No.1)	1953	(Steelband)
<hr/>			
WEST INDIES			
Caribbean			
Crosstalk	Dark Argument	1951	(dialogue)
<hr/>			

TABLE X: European Dances With or Without Fiddle Accompaniment 1780s-1880s

<u>Dance Type</u>	<u>Fiddle specified etc.</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Sample No.</u>
<u>bolero</u> (sort of): (describing ring dance)	<u>No:</u> drum dance	1823/ (1826)	Jamaica	(26)
<u>country dance</u>	1f, 1tam, 1dm	(1833)	Guyana	(18)
	1f, 1tam	(1823) (1808)	Jamaica	(22)
	3f, 1t, 1dm (tabor) with pipe	(1823/ (1826)		(28)
	1f, 1tam	(1828)		(23)
<u>French quadrille</u>	<u>No:</u> drum dance	(1833)	Trinidad	(53)
<u>jig</u>	1f, 1tam, 1dm	(1833)	Guyana	(18)
<u>minuet</u>	1f	(1788)	Jamaica	(20)
	2f, 1tam	26 Dec 1791/ (1801)	St. Vincent	(43)
<u>pas de deux</u>	<u>No:</u> drum dance	(1833)	Trinidad	(53)
<u>quadrille</u>	1f, 1tam, 1t	(1893)	Grenada	(17)
	3f, 1t, 1dr (tabor) with pipe	1823/ (1826)	Jamaica	(28)
	2f, 2tam, 2t	(1833)	St. Vincent	(47)
	2f, 1tam, 1t	(1852)		(49)
<u>reel</u>	2f	(1825)	Jamaica	(31)
<u>Scotch reel</u>	1f, 1tam	(1828)	Jamaica	(33)
<u>waltz</u>	1f, 1tam, 1t	(1893)	Grenada	(17)
	2f, 2tam, 2t	(1833)	St. Vincent	(47)

(For abbreviations see Appendix 1)

TABLE XI: Dances, With or Without Fiddles; and Fiddle/Tambourine Combinations
1780s-1880s

<u>Country</u>	<u>Fiddle Dances</u>		<u>Dances</u>	<u>Fiddles/Tambourines</u>	
	<u>(Table II)</u>	<u>(Table X)</u>	<u>(Table X)</u>	<u>(Table X)</u>	<u>(Sample)</u>
Antigua	-	-	-	-	-
Barbados	6	-	-	-	4
Grenada	2	1	1	1	2
Guyana	1	1	1	1	1
Jamaica	7	6	7	3	3
St. Christopher	1	-	-	-	1
St. Vincent	4	3	3	3	3
Trinidad	-	-	1	-	-
TOTALS	21	11	13	8	14

TABLE XII: European Dances by Period 1775-1900

Period 1 (1775-1799)

<u>Dance</u>	<u>Occasion</u>	<u>Date/(Date of Publication)</u>	<u>Country</u>	<u>Sample No.</u>
<u>minuet</u>	Christmas	(1788)	Jamaica	(20)
	Christmas evening ball	26 Dec 1791/ (1801)	St. Vincent	(43)

Period 2 (1800-1825)*

<u>country dance</u>	Subscription Balls (creole)	(1808/1823)	Jamaica	(22)
	New Year's Day Set Girls Ball (creole)	1823/(1826)	Jamaica	(28)
<u>quadrille</u>	New Year's Day Set Girls Ball (creole)	1823/(1826)	Jamaica	(28)
<u>reel</u>	Saturday/Sunday (creole)	(1825)	Jamaica	(31)

* the bolero report has been omitted as this was used to describe a slave ring dance

Period 3 (1826-1875)

<u>country dance</u>	Holiday (creole)	(1833)	Guyana	(18)
	Cropover (creole)	(1828)	Jamaica	(33)
<u>French quadrille</u>	Christmas evening subscription ball	(1833)	Trinidad	(53)
<u>jig</u>	Holiday (creole)	(1833)	Guyana	(18)
<u>pas de deux</u>	Christmas evening subscription ball	(1833)	Trinidad	(53)
<u>quadrille</u>	grand party (creole)	(1833)	St. Vincent	(47)

	Invitation subscription dance	(1852)	St. Vincent	(49)
<u>Scotch reel</u>	Cropover (creole)	(1828)	Jamaica	(33)
<u>waltz</u>	grand party (creole)	(1833)	St. Vincent	(47)

Period 4 (1876-1900)

<u>quadrille</u>	Quadrille party (creole)	(1893)	Grenada	(17)
<u>waltz</u>	Quadrille party (creole)	(1893)	Grenada	(17)

TABLE XIII: European Dances by Island in the English- and French-speaking Caribbean:
1800s-1900s

<u>Dance</u>	<u>Period of Initial popularity in England (Richardson)</u>	<u>Distribution (Appendices 1 and 2)</u>	<u>Date(s)</u>
<u>circassian circle</u>	1843-65	Carriacou	1985
<u>cotillion</u>	pre-nineteenth-century; 1801-15	Dominica	1982-88 (past)
<u>contre danse</u>	pre-nineteenth-century; 1801-15	Dominica	1982-88 (past)
<u>country dance</u>	pre-nineteenth-century; 1801-15	Guyana Jamaica Montserrat	1833 1808-28 1973
<u>d'Alberts</u>	1815	Carriacou	1985
<u>French quadrille</u>	1815-60 (Parisian Quadrille)	Guadeloupe Martinique Trinidad	1968 1968 1833
<u>jig</u>		Guyana Jamaica Tobago Trinidad	1833 1907-80 1950s 1939-50s
<u>lancers</u>	1815-60; 1843-65	Carriacou Dominica Guadeloupe Jamaica Martinique St. Lucia	1962-85 1975-88 1968 1910-25 1973 (past) 1968 1955-63
<u>mazurka</u>	1843-65	Dominica Guadeloupe Haiti Jamaica Martinique St. Lucia	1975-88 1968 1960 1907-80 1968 1963-85
<u>minuet</u>	pre-nineteenth-century;	Haiti	1960

	1801-15	Jamaica	1788
		St. Vincent	1791
<hr/>			
<u>pas de deux</u>		Trinidad	1833
<hr/>			
<u>polka</u>	1843	Carriacou	1985
		Dominica	1982-88 (past)
		Guadeloupe	1968
		Haiti	1960
		Jamaica	1907-80
		Martinique	1968
		Montserrat	1986
		St. Lucia	1963-85
		Tobago	1950s
<hr/>			
<u>quadrille</u>	1801-15; 1815-60	Carriacou	1955-85
		Dominica	1975-88
		Grenada	1893
		Guadeloupe	1968
		Haiti	1960
		Jamaica	1823
			1907-88
		Martinique	1968
		Montserrat	1986
		St. Croix	1933
		St. Lucia	1955-85
		St. Vincent	1833-52
		Tobago	1950s
		Trinidad	1939-50s
<hr/>			
<u>reel</u>		Carriacou	1955-62
		Jamaica	1825
			1924
		Tobago	1950s
		Trinidad	1939-50s
<hr/>			
<u>schottishe</u>	1843-65	Dominica	1982-88 (past)
		Jamaica	1907-80
		Montserrat	1986
		St. Lucia	1963
		Trinidad	1950s
<hr/>			
<u>Scotch reel</u>	1801-15 (Scottish dances)	Carriacou	1962
		Jamaica	1828
			1925
		Tobago	1950s
<hr/>			
<u>valse or waltz</u>	1801-15 (Modern Waltz); 1865-1900	Dominica	1982-88
		Grenada	1893

Guadeloupe	1968
Haiti	1960
Jamaica	1907-80
Martinique	1968
Montserrat	1986
St. Vincent	1833

TABLE XIV: Chronology of Drum Dances 1800-1900

<u>Country</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Dance Type</u>	<u>Occasion</u>	<u>Sample</u>
<u>Jamaica</u>	(1808)	ring dance	Saturday night	(21)
	(1823)		(Plays)	
	6 Jan 1816/ (1834)	(courtship, marriage being brought to bed)	holiday	(23)
	(1817)		Sunday	(24)
	1823/	bolero (describing a ring dance) pyrric	Christmas	(26)
		Jonkonnu	(St. Stephen's) Boxing Day	(27)
<u>Leeward Islands</u>	(1826)	Old school African	Saturday or Sunday (Plays)	(30)
	1826-9/ (1833)		Cropover (also implied, Christmas, Easter, Whitsun)	(37)
<u>Jamaica</u>	(1828)	African	Cropover	(32)
	1831/ (1838)	African nations	Christmas	(34)
		creole	(same)	(35)
<u>Guyana</u>	(1833)	African (dance round round drummer)	holiday	(19)
<u>St. Vincent</u>	(1833)	African 'amusements'		(45)
		creole	evening	(46)
<u>Tobago</u>	(1833)		Saturday night	(51)

<u>Trinidad</u>	(1833)	evening ball	Christmas	(52)
		evening ball (subscription)	Christmas	(53)
			everyday	(54)
<u>Barbados</u>	(1836)	Joe & Johnny (ring dance)	Christmas	(5)
<u>Bequia</u>	(1838)	stickfighting		(11)
<u>St. Thomas</u>	(1838)		New Year's Eve	(42)
<u>St. Croix</u>	(1840)		Christmas	(39)
<u>Jamaica</u>	(1843)	African	nightly (Plays)	(36)
<u>St. Lucia</u>	(1844)	balls (inside); (singing of <i>belairs</i>)	Fêtes Patronals (Rose & Marguerite Societies)	(40)
		bamboulas (outside)	Fêtes Patronals (Rose & Marguerite Societies)	(41)
<u>Barbuda</u>	(1852)		Christmas	(10)
<u>St. Vincent</u>	(1852)	Coffee Treats	Weekly	(50)
<u>Trinidad</u>	(1852)	ladies ball		(55)
		ladies ball		(56)
		(women's dance)	evening	(57)
	(1862)	African (migrants)	night	(58)
<u>Virgin Islands</u>	(1866)		Christmas and New Year	(61)

<u>Trinidad</u>	1869/ (1877)	(mainly women)	evening	(59)
	1 Aug 1882/ (1893)		Emancipation Day	(60)
<u>Bahamas</u>	(1888)	fire dance	Christmas	(1)
<u>English- Speaking West Indies</u>	(1890)	ring dance		(12)
<u>Grenada</u>	(1893)	belair		(16)

TABLE XV: Chronology of Kalenda Descriptions. 1611-1944

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>CONTEXT</u>	<u>PARTICIPANTS</u>	<u>LOCATION</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>
1611	Spanish church festival	Roman Catholic church worshippers	Spain, and by inference, Spanish America	Stevenson: (Covarrubias)
1649	Vernacular music	(?)	Library of the King of Portugal	Stevenson: (<u>Primeria parte...</u>)
1678	Wedding ceremony/gathering	black slaves	Martinique	Epstein: (Dessalles)
1685	Gatherings prohibited (<u>Kalenda not specified</u>) (Article 16 of Code Noir)	black slaves	French West Indies (&c)	Epstein: (Saint-Méry)
1690s	Male/female social drum dance with singing (described as sexually overt)	black slaves; and white creoles in Spanish America	Martinique; and, by reference Spanish America	Epstein, Fermor, Nettel, Stevenson: (Labat)
1758	Kalendas prohibited: (presumably gatherings, <u>with dancing</u>) (French law)	black slaves	French West Indies (&c)	Epstein: (Saint-Méry)
1772	Kalendas prohibited (presumably gatherings, <u>with dancing</u>) (French law)	black slaves	French West Indies (&c)	Epstein: (Saint-Méry)
1774 (1758)	Sunday gatherings with dancing	black slaves	Louisiana	Epstein: (Le Page du Pratz)
1796/7	(i) male/female drum dance with singing	black slaves (African and creole)	Haiti (San Dominigue)	Moore, Nettel: (Saint-Méry)
	(ii) male/female social drum dance (described as	black slaves (African and creole); and whites in South	Haiti (San Dominique) - called <u>chica</u> ; Windward Isles	Moore, Nettel: (Saint-Méry)

	sexually overt (same/ similar dance in 1690s des- cription)	America	- called <u>calenda</u> ; Cayenne - called <u>congo</u> ; Spanish (America) - called <u>Fandango</u>	
1811	[social(?)] dance	creoles	Haiti	Epstein, Tinker: <u>(Idylles et chansons...)</u>
1867	Social dance/ song	black slaves (pre-emancipation)	Louisiana	Allen, Ware and Garrison <u>Slave songs...</u>
1869	(songs)	French Creole speakers	Trinidad	Thomas, <u>Theory</u>
1881	Male [and female(?)] social drum dance	blacks; whites	Trinidad	<u>Port of Spain Gazette</u>
1885	Vodoun ritual song (called <u>danse calinda</u>)	black woman	Louisiana	Epstein: (Warner)
1886	Social dance/ song	black slaves (pre-emancipation)	Louisiana	Cable, <u>Century Magazine</u>
1888	Male social drum dance, with sticks, and singing	blacks	Martinique	Hearn, <u>Harper's Monthly Magazine</u>
1896	'old-time' social dance	blacks	Trinidad	<u>Port of Spain Gazette</u>
1898	Carnival songs	blacks	Trinidad	<u>Port of Spain Gazette</u>
1910/ 1932	[male(?)/ female social drum dance described as sexually overt]	blacks	Trinidad	Inniss, <u>Trinidad</u> (1910); <u>Reminis- cences...</u> (1932), 'Carnival ...'(1932)
1930	Dance (Carnival song)	blacks	Martinique	Coridon, <u>Folklore Martini quais...</u>

1932	Carnival stickfighting songs	blacks	Trinidad	Belgrave, 'Reflec- tions...'
1933 /1936	Dance-song	blacks	St. Croix (Virgin Islands)	Cuney- Hare, 'History and Song'; <u>Negro</u> <u>Musicians</u>
1937	Stickfighting drum dance with singing	blacks	Trinidad	Whitten- berger <u>Trinidad</u> <u>Guardian</u>
1939	Dance, closely associated with <u>Société</u> <u>Vinbindingue</u> (devoted to 'zombiism')	blacks	Haiti	Courlander <u>Haiti</u> <u>Singing</u>
1940	Stickfighting songs	blacks	Trinidad	Bowles, 'Calypso ...'
1944	Stickfighting 'war' dance, with tamboo bamboo and singing	blacks	Trinidad	Espinat and Pitts, <u>Land of The</u> <u>Calypso...</u> ⁴

- (i) Later Trinidad references confirm the stickfighting pattern and are therefore not included. It must also be remembered that whites in Trinidad took part in stickfighting, both during Carnival and in 'kalenda yards'.⁵
- (ii) Pearse (1955), notes the *kalenda* stickfighting dance had spread from Trinidad to Grenada, and an imitation-stick version had also been incorporated into the 'Big Drum Dance' (or Nation dance) in Carriacou, one of the Grenadine islands. A dance called 'Old Kalenda' is also part of the 'Big Drum' cycle.⁶ Drum-accompanied carnival stickfighting bands are reported in Carriacou in the early 1970s, as is stickfighting - both called *kalinda*.⁷

4 References not specified otherwise: Paul Bowles, 'Calypso-Music of the Antilles', *Modern Music*, Vol.17, No.4, 1940, pp.157-158; Victor Coridon, *Folklore martiniquais. Le carnaval de St-Pierre (Martinique)*, Fort-de-France, Imprimerie R. Illema, 1930, 'La Mère En Haut Ka Dansé Kalinda'; Harold Courlander, *Haiti Singing*, New York, Cooper Square Publishers, 1973 (first published 1939), p.88; Dorothy Whittenberger, 'Miss U.S.A. Sees: "Kalenda" Display in St James', *Trinidad Guardian*, 9 February 1937, p.2.

5 Errol Hill pinpoints an example of the latter from the late 1890s - an ex-mayor and chief magistrate of Arima who is said to have disguised himself in *nègre jardin* costume at Carnival time and fought stick in the street with someone of 'lower' social status: *Trinidad Carnival*, p.25: the source is Eugene Francis Chalmelle, *Some Reflections on the Carnival of Trinidad*, Port of Spain, Fair Play Typ., 1901, p.25. The *Lion*, reports that in the 1930s 'Inspector Power (a white police officer) was a feared "bois man" [and] played stick in the famous "Mafumbo yard" [on] George Street [Port-of-Spain]': The *Lion*, 'Lord Douglas - A Mouthpiece Of The Masses In Those Days When A World War Veteran Took To Kaiso Stage', *Trinidad Evening News*, 15 May 1981.

6 On *kalenda* stickfighting's unique form in Trinidad, see Andrew Pearse, 'Hunting for History', *Kyk-Over-Al*, Vol.3, No. 13, 1951, p.210. Interview notes with Mr. Alleyne, a Grenadian-born stickman resident in Trinidad, on 15 May 1951, indicate the probable dispersal of this type of *kalenda* to Grenada, with exclusive tamboo-bamboo accompaniment (Pearse Papers). The definition of *kalenda* in Pearse's 'Aspects Of Change In Caribbean Folk Music', (1955), p.30, reflects this distribution. On *kalenda* in the 'Big Drum Dance' of Carriacou during the 1950s, see Pearse, 'Aspects of Change' p.35, and the definitions of *Old Kalenda* and *Stick-Fighting Kalenda* in his booklet notes to the long playing record *The Big Drum Dance Of Carriacou*, Folkways

- (iii) Anca Bertrand in her 'Census of Martinique and Guadeloupe Rhythms,' published in 1968, describes the *kalinda* as a 'dance with drums'.⁸

FE 4011, New York, Folkways Records & Service Corp., 1956. See also J.D. Elder's definition of the Carriacou "old people *Kalinda*" or cut neck *Coromanti*' in his '*Kalinda* - Song of the Battling Troubadours of Trinidad', *Journal of the Folklore Institute*, Vol.3, No.2, August 1966, p.192.

7 On *kalenda* in Carriacou in 1970-71, see Donald R. Hill, 'The Impact Of Migration On the Metropolitan And Folk Society Of Carriacou, Grenada', *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, Vol. 54, Pt. 2, September 1977: stickfighting, pp.322-324; Big Drum Dance, pp.361-362; definitions, p.381.

8 Anca Bertrand, 'Notes pour une definition du folklore antillais', *Parallèles*, No. 28, 1968, p.19.

Table XVI: Drum Dances Identified by Daniel J. Crowley and Andrew Pearse in: Carriacou, Grenada, St. Lucia, Tobago, and Trinidad, 1955

	<u>Dance</u>	<u>Institutional occasion(s)</u>	<u>Pearse No.</u>
<u>Carriacou:</u>	Big Drum Dance	sacred/ secular	(9)
<u>Grenada:</u>	Belè	sacred/ secular	(7)
	Kalenda	secular (stick fighting)	(5)
			<u>Crowley No.</u>
<u>St. Lucia:</u>	Bèlè	sacred/ secular	(4)
	Débòt or Dèlè débòt	secular	(2)
	Kambulé (Canboulay)	secular (Carnival)	(3)
	Kèlè	sacred (family ancestral rite)	(7)
	Kónt	sacred (wake)	(1)
	Kutumba	sacred (ancestral)	(6)
	Mápa	secular (La Rose Society)	(5)
	Pika	secular	(2)
	Solo	secular	(3)
			<u>Pearse No.</u>
<u>Tobago:</u>	Belè	sacred (magic)/ secular	(6)
	Reel Dance (percussion)	sacred/ secular	(16)
<u>Trinidad:</u>	Belè	secular	(8)
	Bongo (percussion)	sacred (wake)	(11)
	Congo	sacred (rites de passage)	(1)
	Kalenda	secular (stick fighting)	(5)
	Rada	sacred/ secular	(2)
	Shango	sacred	(3)
	Yarraba	secular	(4)

TABLE XVII: Chronology of Processions 1790s-1890s

<u>Country</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Occasion</u>	<u>Sample No.</u>
<u>St. Vincent</u>	26 Dec 1791/ (1801)	Moko Jumbo (on stilts)	(St. Stephen's) Boxing Day	(82)
<u>Jamaica</u>	(1797)	Jonkonnu	Christmas	(65)
	25-28 Dec 1801/ (1839)	Jonkonnu	Christmas	(66)
	c. 1806- 22 (1829- 33)	Jonkonnu	Christmas	(67)
	1 Jan 1816/ (1834)	Jonkonnu (Blue Set)	New Year	(68)
	(1825)	Set Girls (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(69)
		Jack-in-the-Green	Easter	(70)
	(1826)	Set Girls (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(71)
	(1828)	Jonkonnu	Christmas	(72)
		(including bands)	Christmas/ New Year	(73)
	1836 (1838)	Koo-koo or Actor Boy (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(77)

	(1837)	(Blue and Red) Set Girls, Jack-in-the-Green (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(74)
		Jawbone or House John Canoe (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(75)
		African tribes (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(76)
	(1838)	French Set Girls (Jonkonnu)	Christmas	(78)
	(1843)	Jonkonnu	Christmas	(79)
<u>Antigua</u>	(1844)	(waits)	Christmas	(62)
<u>Trinidad</u>	7 March 1847/ (1852)	Carnival	Shrovetide	(84)
	25 Dec 1847/ (1852)	(including bands)	Christmas	(85)
<u>St. Vincent</u>	(1852)	Jumbie Dance or Willy (on stilts)	evening	(83)
<u>Jamaica</u>	(1860)	Jonkonnu	tattoo [<i>sic</i>]	(80)
	(1862)	(including masquerading)	Christmas	(81)
<u>Bahamas</u>	(1888)	(including bands)	Christmas	(63)
<u>Guyana</u>	(1899)	(including 'buffoons' on stilts)	Christmas	(64)

TABLE XVIII: English-speaking West Indian Seasonal Festivities/ Carnivalesque
by Location and Dates of Sources Consulted 1655-1989

<u>Antigua:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1724-1844)
	Emancipation Day (Carnival)	(1834-1978)
<u>Bahamas:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1801-1989)
	Guy Fawkes Day	(1958)
<u>Barbados:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(pre 1834-1964)
	Easter	(pre 1834)
	Cropover	(pre 1834-1869)
<u>Barbuda:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1852)
<u>Belize</u> (Honduras)	Christmas/ New Year	(1809-1988)
	Devil Feasts	(1840-1842)
<u>Bermuda:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1829-1988)
	Emancipation Day (Cup Match)	(1834-1978)
<u>Carriacou:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1977-1985)
	Carnival	(1971-1985)
	Easter	(1977)
	Cropover	(pre 1977)
	All Saint's Day	(1977)
	All Soul's Day	(1977)
<u>Dominica:</u>	Christmas	(1982-1986)
	Carnival	(1942-1986)
<u>Dominican</u> <u>Republic:</u>	Christmas/ New Year (St. Kitts migrants)	(1920s-1988)
<u>Grenada:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1955-1960)
	Carnival	(1826-1986)
	Cropover	(1957-1960)
	Emancipation Day	(1957-1960)
<u>Guyana:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1806-1967)
	Easter	(pre 1834)
	Whitsun	(pre 1834)
	Cropover	(pre 1834)
	Emancipation Day	(1853-1885)

<u>Jamaica:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1655-1988)
	Easter	(1825-1873)
	Whitsun	(1873)
	Cropover	(1826-1828)
	Emancipation Day	(1834-1988)
	Holiday	(1816)
	Tattoo	(1860)
<u>Leeward Islands:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1826-1829)
	Carnival	(1826-1829)
	Easter	(1826-1829)
	Whitsun	(1826-1829)
	Cropover	(1826-1829)
<u>Montserrat:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1955-1973)
<u>Nevis:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1817-1988)
<u>St. Christopher (St.Kitts):</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1896-1988)
<u>St. Croix:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1840)
<u>St. Lucia</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1838-1986)
	Carnival	(1955-1960)
	Emancipation Day	(1955)
	Fêtes Patronal	(1844-1986)
	May Day	(1955)
<u>St. Thomas:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1838)
<u>St. Vincent:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1791-1977)
	Carnival	(1972-1978)
	Easter	(1852-1977)
	Cropover	(1833)
	Emancipation Day	(1977)
	Jumbie Dance	(1852)
<u>Tobago:</u>	Carnival	(1939-1968)
<u>Tortola:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1817)

<u>Trinidad:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1797-1979)
	Carnival	(1797-1989)
	Easter	(1888-1966)
	Emancipation Day	(1834-1985)
	Fêtes Patronal	(1857-1884)
	All Saints Night	(1888-1894)

Virgin

<u>Islands:</u>	Christmas/ New Year	(1834-1965)
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TABLE XIX: Structural Elements in Accounts of Christmas-New Year Celebrations
in the English-speaking West Indies 1724-late 1800s

<u>Country</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Source [and sample No.]⁹</u>
<u>Antigua</u>	Dec.1724	: Costumed marchers	Janet Schaw (1927)
	mid 1800s	: processions of music : with fiddles and drums : performing waits at each household	Mrs Lanigan (1844); [62]
<u>Bahamas</u>	mid 1800s	: processions marching in streets : bands of music : dancing - in dance halls - in the open (fire/ring dance)	L.D. Powels (1888); [1], [63]
<u>Barbados</u>	early 1800s	: feasting : slaves visit master, praise him : role reversals	Trelawny Wentworth (1834) - poss. <u>Virgin Islands</u>
	mid 1800s	: presents : feasting : Joe and Johnny Dance (ring dance, at sun-down, in open air, singing, drum)	William Lloyd (1839); [5]
	mid 1800s	: substitute Joe and Johnny Dance (ring dance, daytime, in house back yard, singing, fiddles, tambourine, drum, shac-shac)	C.W. Day (1852); [6]
	mid 1800s	: Joe and Johnny Dance at New Year (ring dance, evening, in open air, fiddles, tambourine, triangle, drum, shac-shac)	C.W. Day (1852); [7]
	mid 1800s	: grand saturnalia : music (drumming) : dancing	C.W. Day (1852); [10]
<u>Barbuda</u>	mid 1800s		

		: dressing	
<u>Belize</u>	early 1800s	: gathering of different African tribes : performance of individual styles of music, songs, and dances by each group	Capt. G. Henderson (1809)
	early 1800s	: saturnalia : formation of sets by blacks : street perambulation : colours flying : music playing (drumming)	<u>Honduras</u> <u>Almanac</u> (1830)
	1841-1842	: Black (Carib) feast day(s) : dancing : drumming : singing	Thomas Young (1847)
	late 1800s:	: day and night festivity	A. Gibbs (1883)
<u>Bermuda</u>	21 Dec. 1829	: dancing : mirth and revelry : Gombey parties or bands : masking and dressing (bands in uniform) : singing (impromptu songs) : music making	Susette Harriet Lloyd (1835)
	mid 1800s	: songs of ridicule and derision : <u>gombay</u> drum accompaniment : pyrrhic, or warlike dance : fantastic dress of dancer (chateau head piece and hideous mask)	Theodore Godet (1860)
	late 1800s	: <u>Gombay</u> parade on Christmas Eve : house visiting by bands of men and boys (few, if any, women) : singing, dancing, playing musical instruments (triangle, tambourine, penny whistle, concertina) : masks and house (or ship) head pieces worn	H. Carrington Bolton (1890)
<u>Guyana</u>	early 1800s	: period of festivity : slave holiday	George Pinkard

		: African gatherings and dances : dressing etc.	(1806)
	late 1800s	: fiddler playing the <u>Congo Minuet</u> : induces dancing by couple	C.D. Dance (1881)
	late 1800s	: processions marching : bands of music (musicians, many instruments) : singing (<i>vox humana</i>) : drinking : decorations : masquers (buffoons), some on stilts	J. Van Sertima (1899); [64]
<u>Nevis</u>	late 1700s	: gluttony (including drinking) : quarreling : fighting : dancing : carousing : damage to plantation estates	Richard Watson (1817)
	early 1800s	: Christian Christmas (Methodism)	Richard Watson (1817)
<u>St. Christopher</u>	late 1800s	: street parades : masqueraders - men dressed as women on stilts; performers dressed as Indians; others as British sailors (plaiting Maypole); minstrels singing old-time Christy songs : dancing of masquers (moka jumbic dances) : music by tambourine and triangle : masque songs : miracle plays (including David and Goliath)	Alfred M. Williams (1896)
<u>St. Croix</u> (Virgin Islands)	mid 1800s	: slaves visit master (plantation house) : he entertains them : they dance for his	James Smith (1840); [39]

		amusement : women sing to drumming	
		: party of slaves visit writer : led by elected Queen (of African nation) : dance by Queen in centre of circle : dressing	James Smith (1840)
<u>St. Lucia</u>	25 Dec. 1837	: military band paraded the town (Castrics) serena- ding the public : played tune 'composed by the negros' called <i>President Jeremie</i>	Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey (1848)
<u>St. Thomas (Virgin Islands)</u>	mid 1800s	: New Year's Eve celebra- tions : music : dancing : singing : 'coloureds' - in tent of coconut leaves - or own rooms : Blacks dance to Gombee drum : 'well educated' hold Euro- pean style balls	Johan Peter Nissen (1838); [42]
<u>St. Vincent</u>	26 Dec. 1791	: Moco Jumbo (on stilts) and his suit : 'antic terrible' (by Jumbo stiltman) : menacing dance (by swordsmen) : comical musician (playing what appears to be a form of shac-shac)	Sir William Young (1801); [82]
		: evening ball at plantation house : dancing - minuet (to fiddles and tambourine) - African (to balafo)	Sir William Young (1801); [43]
	early 1800s (past)	: rioting : fighting : planters in fear	Mrs A.C. Carmichael (1833)
	early 1800s (present)	: church worship and decorum	Mrs A.C. Carmichael

		: (but) still some dancing	(1833)
<u>Tortola</u> (Virgin Islands)	late 1700s	: rioting : obeah : cruelty : wickedness : settling of old grudges : &c.	Richard Watson (1817)
	early 1800s	: Christian Christmas (Methodism)	Richard Watson (1817)
<u>Trinidad</u>	early 1800s	: slaves visit master in morning : speeches : songs : masking (blacks whiten faces) : dancing : dressing : house visiting by musicians	Mrs A.C. Carmichael (1833)
		: evening ball at house on plantation : dressing : dancing and singing to drums and shac-shacs	Mrs A.C. Carmichael (1833); [52]
		: evening ball at house on plantation : dressing : subscription dance - dancing and singing to drums	Mrs A.C. Carmichael (1833); [53]
	24 Dec 1847	: pandemonium : bands of execrable music parading sheets. : bad fireworks : drunkenness : bacchanalian orgies universal among blacks : fiddles, fifes and harmonicons resounded	C.W. Day (1852)
	25 Dec. 1847	: band of post-Midnight Mass drunken revellers (male & female) : 'screaming', clapping and dancing, to drum, fiddles, triangle, cow horns	C.W. Day (1852); [85]

25 Dec 1894	: parading in 'silly disguises' (<i>negre jardin</i> costumes etc.) : 'untuneful music' (drumming) : dancing	Bridget Brereton (1979)
<u>Virgin Islands</u>	mid 1800s	
	: slaves visit master (Christmas) : dance : sing songs of praise : receive gifts etc.	Thurlow Weed (1866)
	: hierarchical organisa- tions by 'free coloureds' and slaves alike : elected Kings, Queens, Princesses etc. : dressing : dancing and singing of songs of derision (by woman lead singer accompanied by chorus and drum)	Thurlow Weed (1866); [61]
	: slave celebration at New Year (similar to Christmas)	Thurlow Weed (1866); [61]

9 Abrahams and Szwed: Antigua, pp.228-229; p.268; Bahamas, pp.277-278, 319-320; Barbados, p.257; pp.258-259; pp.313-314; pp.314-315; Barbuda, p.315; Belize, Capt. G. Henderson, *An Account of the British Settlement at Honduras...*, London, Baldwin, 1809, pp.76-77, in O. Nigel Bolland, 'African Continuities and Creole Culture in Belize Town in the Nineteenth Century', in Charles V. Carnegie, ed., *Afro Caribbean Villages In Historical Perspective*, a special edition of *African Caribbean Institute of Jamaica Research Review*, No.2, 1987, p.72; Honduras Almanac, Belize, 1830, p.17, in Bolland, op.cit., p.72; Thomas Young, *Narrative of a Residence on the Mosquito Shore...*, 2nd ed., London, Smith, Elder & Co., 1847, p.135; A. Gibbs, *British Honduras: An Historical and Descriptive Account of the Colony from its Settlement, 1670*, London, Sampson Low, 1883, pp.75-76, in Bolland, op.cit., p.17; Bermuda, Susette Harriet Lloyd, *Sketches of Bermuda*, London, James Cochrane, 1835, pp.89-91; Theodore L. Godet, *Bermuda...*, London, Smith Elder & Co., 1860, p.151; H. Carrington Bolton, 'Gombay, A Festal Rite of Bermudian Negroes', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.3, No.10, 1890, pp.222-226; Guyana, George Pinkard, *Notes on the West Indies...*, Vol.III, London, Longman, Hurst, Rees & Orm, 1806, pp.208-209; C.D. Dance, *Chapters From a Guianese Log Book*, Georgetown, Demarara, The Royal Gazette Establishment, 1881, pp.51-52; Abrahams & Szwed pp.278-279, 326-327; Nevis, pp.246-247; St. Christopher, Alfred M. Williams, 'A Miracle-Play In The West Indies', *Journal of American Folklore*, Vol.9, No.33, April-June 1896, pp.117-120; St. Croix, Abrahams and Szwed, pp.312-313; St. Lucia, Joseph Sturge and Thomas Harvey, *The West Indies in 1837*, London, Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1838, pp.118-119; St. Thomas, Johan Peter Nissen, *Reminiscences of a 46 Years' Residence in the Island of St. Thomas...*, Nazareth, Pa., Senseman, 1838, p.165, in Epstein, *Sinful Tunes*, p.88; St. Vincent, Sir William Young, 'A Tour Through Several Islands...' in Bryan Edward, *The History, Civil and Commercial of the British Colonies in the West Indies*, Vol.III, London, John Stockdale, 1801, pp.275-276; Abrahams and Szwed, pp.256-257; *ibid.*; Tortola, pp.246-247; Trinidad, pp.256-257; Mrs A.C. Carmichael, *Domestic Manners and Social Condition of the White, Coloured and Negro Population of the West Indies*, Vol.II, London, Whittaker, Treacher & Co., 1833, pp.288-289; op.cit., pp.293-297; Day, *Five Years*, Vol.I, p.288; op.cit., pp.288-289; from *Public Opinion*, 26 December 1894, in Bridget Brereton, *Race Relations in Colonial Trinidad, 1870-1900*, Cambridge, C.U.P., 1979, p.157; Virgin Islands, Abrahams and Szwed, p.273; pp.273-276; pp.272-273.

TABLE XX: Structural Elements in Accounts of Christmas-New Year Celebrations in Jamaica 1707-1873

<u>Festival</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Activity</u>	<u>Source [and Sample No.]</u> ¹⁰
Feast Days	late 1600s	: dancing (with body adornments, Cows tails, rattles etc.) : Singing (bawdy songs) : music (lutes, etc.)	Sir Hans Sloan (1707)
Christmas	1769	: processions led by <i>John Connus</i> with animal derived masques, organised in African nations (bands) : house-to-house visits - dances	Edward Long (1774)
Christmas	c. 1780s	: music (fiddle) : dancing (minuets) : feasting : dressing : house-to-house visits	Peter Marsden (1788), [20]
Christmas	1780s	: bands in house-to-house visits : <i>set girls</i> (blue and red) : singing : dancing : dressing : drinking	William Beckford (1790)
Christmas	c. 1790s	: processions : drolls (<i>John Canoes</i> , some with janus masques, some with house headpieces) : occupational masques (eg. butchers) : <i>set girls</i> (garnet, golden, velvet) with fiddler, singing, dancing : African nations, with own instruments, singing, dancing : music (string, percussion and wind instruments) : dancing	anon. (1797), [65]
Christmas	25-28 Dec 1801	: processions (of men and women), dancing, with leader, singing and chorus (bands) : <i>Johnny Canoes</i> : actors (mumming) : music (drum)	Maria Nugent (1838), [66]

¹⁰ As with Table XIX, if included in Appendix 1, the sample number is shown in square brackets after source information. Full details of the references are shown in the section for 'Secondary Sources' in the main Bibliography. Where the primary work has been consulted, see also the section for 'Books and Pamphlets'.

		: dancing	
New Year	early 1800s	: <i>set girls</i> (blue and red, each with own elected queen - creoles) : parades : singing (songs mostly 'caught from the whites') : music	James Stewart (1808)
Christmas	1806-1822	: occupational masques (butchers, gardeners, workhouse) - including <i>John Canoe</i> (or ' <i>Jack Pudding</i> '), <i>Device Magnus Apollo</i> (poet and chief musician) drummers etc. [gardeners close to <i>Jack in the Green</i>] : African nations : <i>set girls</i> (dressed uniformly) : music (string, percussion and woodwind instruments) : singing and dancing	Michael Scott (1829-1833), [67]
New Year	1 Jan 1816	: <i>John Canoe</i> (a ' <i>Merry Andrew</i> ') with house headpiece, in procession accompanied by music (fiddles, drums) : <i>set girls</i> (blue and red), with music : individual <i>John Canoes</i> and <i>Johnny Crayfishes</i> , making house-to-house visits (not part of processions) : mumming (texts taken from popular British melodramas) : singing (call and response) and dancing : illumination of town (Black River)	Matthew Gregory Lewis (1834), [68]
Christmas	early 1800s	: feasting and drinking : dancing : <i>set girls</i> , proceeding from estate to estate, accompanied by music, performing dances at each location (houses of both blacks and whites) : <i>John Canoe</i> (equated with British mumming), with drums (etc.)	H.T. De La Beche (1825), [69]
Christmas	early 1800s	: <i>set girls</i> (blue, yellow, etc. led by queen) : music (fiddle, drum, tambourine, fife) : fantastical figure or toy (castle or tower) : <i>Joncanoe-men</i> (capering and playing tricks) : processions (from one plantation house and, or, village to another) : singing (call and response) and dancing for money : feasting	Alexander Barclay (1826) [71]

Christmas	1823	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : dancing (in decline) : <i>Joncanoe/set party</i> at estates : mumming (farce) - excerpt from Shakespeare's <i>Richard III</i> - by two <i>Joncanoe</i> men (disrobed of part of their paraphernalia) 	
Christmas	1823	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : bands of singers and dancers with music at plantation house : feasting : dancing 	Cynric R. Williams (1826), [27], [28]
Boxing Day	1823	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : <i>Jonkanoo</i> (with house headpiece) led by procession of young girls, at plantation house : dancing to drum etc. 	
New Year	1824	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : <i>set girls</i> (blue and red, with respective queens) : processions : dancing (evening ball) : music (string and percussion instruments) 	
Christmas	1820s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : <i>John Canoe</i> and his wife (both males) : fantastical dress : singing : dancing : contributions collected by members of party : <i>gumba</i> [drum] 	anon. (1828) [72]
Christmas/ New Year	1820s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : street processions and dancing (in Montego Bay) : free blacks, well dressed, marching, male and female arm in arm : music (to drum or jawbone) : dancing (male exertion, female decorum) : singing (female lead, chorus by procession) : house-to-house visits for money (from wealthiest) 	Charles Campbell (1828)
Christmas	1829	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : clothing allocated annually [dressing] : food allowance (feasting) : dancing : parading of estates with <i>Johnny Canoe</i> ('a fanciful and gaily painted structure') : crowd (following) singing and beating the <i>gumby</i> (drum) : <i>set girls</i> (blue, red) in towns : parading competitively : singing, with chorus by followers : house-to-house visits 	Rev. Hope Masterton Waddell (1863)
Christmas	1820s-30s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> : celebrations at plantation house : dressing : African nations - dances, singing 	James Kelly (1838), [34] [35]

: Creoles, dancing to fife and drum

Christmas/ New Year	1836/1837	<p>: <i>set girls</i> (blue, red, housekeepers, French etc.), with queen, maam, <i>Jack-in-the-Green</i> and others, marching in hierarchical procession, singing to music (string and percussion instruments)</p> <p>: <i>Jawbone</i> or <i>House John Canoe</i> (a <i>Merry Andrew</i>)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - dressing and house headpiece - parading and dancing to music by drums and jawbone <p>: <i>Koo-koo</i> or <i>Actor Boy</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - combats in speech, dressing and physical prowess - bands to collect money, afford protection - musicians (fifes and drum) <p>: African nations (singing, to drums)</p>	I.M. Belisario (1837-1838) [74-78]
Christmas	1837	<p>: <i>sets</i> (blue and red), called sometimes <i>Johnny Canoeing</i></p> <p>: island differences</p> <p>(a) <i>south side</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - animal masques (bulls etc) <p>(b) <i>north side</i> (Montego Bay, Lucea, Falmouth)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - factions representing great personages of the day (British etc.) - fighting between champions (stopped by police) 	Major Alan Chambre (1858)
Christmas	late 1830s	<p>: <i>John Connu</i> preceeding processions in towns marching to music (string, percussion, and wind instruments)</p> <p>: African nations</p> <p>: dancing</p>	James Mursell Phillipo (1843) [79]
Christmas	c.1800- 1838	<p>: <i>sets</i> of women, marching in procession, led by queen (reds and blues, yellows and blues)</p> <p>: singing and dancing</p> <p>: <i>John Canoe</i> parties also parading</p> <p>: trade, and occupational bands</p> <p>: mumming (Shakespeare's <i>Richard III</i>)</p> <p>: Kingston and Montego Bay, locations for these parades</p>	W.J. Gardner (1873)
Christmas/ New Year	c.1859	<p>: post-Emancipation, observed in country rather than towns</p> <p>: music (string, percussion and wind instruments)</p>	William G. Sewall (1862), [81]

: dancing
: masquerading
: psalm singing

TABLE XXI: Types of Jonkonnu identified by Martha Warren Beckwith (and others) in Jamaica, 1919-1925

		<u>Comments</u>
(i)	<u>Horse-head companies</u> dancing by maskers (two primary characters) singing by women musical accompaniment (fifes, drums, etc.)	(one group, each in two parishes) (both male) (songs collected - Lacovia) (transcriptions - Lacovia, and Brown's Town)
(ii)	<u>John-Canoe companies</u> (house head piece) dancing by masker (one primary character) singing by women musical accompaniment (drums)	(two groups in one parish one group each in two others) (male) (songs collected, two by male leader of troupe - Prospect)
(iii)	<u>Speak-acting companies</u> mummers-type hero-combat plays, one based on Shakespeare all male cast (many characters) other components not identified	(two former groups in one parish) (texts collected from both sources)
(iv)	<u>Masquerade companies</u> dancing by maskers (many characters all expressed in costume and mime) mimed hero-combat dance (King, Queen, Prince) musical accompaniment (fifes, drums) ¹¹	(one group in one parish, reported by Edith Clarke) (all male)

¹¹ Sources:

(i) Horse-head companies

(a) Lacovia, St. Elizabeth Parish

(this company also featured a 'John Canoe' dancer)

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', p.8, 10-11, 18-15, 46; Roberts, 'Some Drums', pp.241-247; 'A Study of Folk Song Variants', p.168, 205, 207, 210-212; Beckwith, Jamaica Folk-Lore, 'Addenda' to 'Christmas Mummings', pp.49-50.

(b) Brown's Town (Orange Valley), St. Ann Parish

(this company also featured a 'masquerade' dancer, that Beckwith classified as a 'John Canoe')

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', pp.8-9; Roberts, 'Some Drums', p.247, 250-51.

(ii) John Canoe companies

(a) St. Elizabeth Parish

Two companies seen, other details not given, unless one is the Lacovia Horse-head troupe (above)

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', p.9

(b) Richmond, St. Mary Parish

(company from Annotta Bay, not seen)

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', p.9; Jamaica Folk-Lore, 'Addenda' to 'Christmas Mummings'

(c) Prospect, Manchester Parish

(by implication, Beckwith classifies this as being a St. Elizabeth parish group?)

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', pp.10-11, 18, 33-45; Roberts, 'Some Drums', p.247; Beckwith, Jamaica Folk-Lore, 'Addenda' to 'Christmas Mummings', pp.51-52.

(iii) Speak-acting Companies

TABLE XXII: Categories of African-Creole Music in Trinidad defined by Andrew Pearse in 1955¹²

		<u>Forms/Occasions</u>	<u>Kinds of Music</u>	<u>Institutions</u>
(i)	Sacred:	: <i>Religion</i>	: Rada : Sankeys & Trumpets : Shango	(cult rites &c) (shouters &c) (cult rites &c)
(ii)	Secular:	: <i>Games</i> : <i>Representations</i>	: Pass Play : Bele [<i>Belair</i>] : Kalenda : Yarraba	(children; adults at wakes) (festal dance) (stickfighting dance) (pleasure dance)
(iii)	Sacred- Secular	: <i>Work</i> : <i>Parades</i> [&c] : <i>Rites de Passage</i> : <i>Storytelling</i>	: Work Songs : Calypso : Road March : Speech Band : Steel Band : Bongo : Congo : Sings	(gayap &c) (Carnival &c) (Carnival) (Carnival) (Carnival &c) (wakes) (christenings &c) (wakes)

(a) Lacovia, St. Elizabeth Parish

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', pp.12-16.

(b) *Harmony Hall* (a plantation house, just below Accompong), St. Elizabeth Parish)

Beckwith, 'Christmas Mummings', pp.16-17.

(iv) Masquerade companies

(a) Savannah La Mar, Westmoreland Parish

E.A. Clarke, op.cit., (New Year 1924); Beckwith, 'Addenda' to 'Christmas Mummings', pp.47-48 [communicated by Edith Clark(e), March 1925; internal evidence suggests this probably describes the new year 1925 performance], p.51.

Beckwith synthesises her information on all types of Jonkonnu performances in her *Black Roadways*, pp.149-156. Photographs of instruments, masks, or performers appear in Roberts, 'Some Drums', p.242, 248 (drums); Beckwith, *Jamaica Folk-Lore*, 'Lacovia Mummings Properties', 'John Canoe Company at Prospect', 'Masquerade Company at Savannah La Mar' (&c); Beckwith, *Black Roadways*, plate XIV 'The John Canoe Dance'.

12 Data compiled from Pearse 'Kinds'; 'Aspects'; 'Ethnography'; and 'Music'. *Fandang*, *Parang*, and *Veiquoix* (sung in Spanish), and *Quesh* (sung in French) are excluded from the Table on the grounds of the languages in which they are performed; they are significant, however, in further reflecting the cosmopolitan basis for black culture in Trinidad.

TABLE XXIII:

**Sample Comparison of Kinds of Music Marketed Commercially
by the Victor Talking Machine Company in Trinidad and
Venezuela in 1922**

TRINIDAD

Double Tone Calipso

67387 J. Resigna

Single Tone Calipso

67362 J. Resigna

Fox Trot

67677 Lionel Belasco

Native Trinidad Kalenda

67377 Jules Sims

Paseo

67032 Belasco Band

Albert's Paseo

67031 Belasco Band [contd]

Panama Paseo

67362 Belasco Band

Trinidad Paseo

63793 Lovey's Mixed Band

67028 Belasco Band

67029 Belasco Band

67377 Belasco Band

67387 Belasco Band

67388 Belasco Band

67397 Belasco Band

67399 Lionel Belasco

67674 Lionel Belasco

Pasillo

63792 Lovey Mixed Band

63793 Lovey Mixed Band

VENEZUELA

Canción

69636 Tomás R. Abreu

Corrido Criollo

69398 Eusebio Lovera

Fox Trot

67677 Lionel Belasco

Joropo

69399 Orquesta Caraqueña

Joropo cantado

69636 Cuerpo de F. López y S. Flores

Paseo

67032 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

Paseo de Alberto

67031 Banda Belasco, Trinidad [contd]

Paseo de Trinidad

63793 Banda Mixta Lovey

67028 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67029 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67397 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

Pasillo

63792 Banda Mixta Lovey

63793 Banda Mixta Lovey

Paso Doble

69397 Banda Marcial de Caracas

Romanza

69398 Eusebio Lovera

Two-Step

67030 Belasco Band

Waltz

67397 Belasco String Quintet

72193 Belasco Orchestra

Spanish Waltz

63792 Lovey Mixed Band

67399 Lionel Belasco

67675 Lionel Belasco

72193 Belasco Orchestra

Venezuelan Waltz

67028 Belasco Band

67029 Belasco Band

67030 Belasco Band

67031 Belasco Band

67032 Belasco Band

67675 Lionel Belasco

67676 Lionel Belasco

67677 Chargo Orchestra

Tango Venezolano

69400 Banda Marcial de Caracas

Two-Step

67030 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

Vals

67397 Quinteto Belasco de

Cuerdas, Trinidad

69397 Orquesta Típica Venezolana

69399 Orquesta Típica Venezolana

69400 Orquesta Típica Venezolana

Vals español

63792 Banda Mixta Lovey

67399 Lionel Belasco

67675 Lionel Belasco

Vals Venezolano

67028 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67029 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67030 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67031 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67032 Banda Belasco, Trinidad

67675 Lionel Belasco

67676 Lionel Belasco

67677 Orquesta Venezolana de Chargo

This is based on equivalent pages in a 1922 Victor Spanish (American) catalogue that lists recordings for sale in these countries (Trinidad, p.127; Venezuela, p.129). Differences and correspondences can be seen by comparing respective English or Spanish descriptions of Kinds of Music in both columns, record issue numbers, and names of performers.

APPENDIX 1

Sample of Nineteenth-Century English-Speaking West Indian Sources that Identify Dances or Procession, with Instrumentation

To provide a continuity, certain pre-nineteenth-century sources are included, but only if they identify names of European dances, or *Jonkunnu* processions.

Abbreviations:

AA Roger D. Abrahams and John F. Szwed, After Africa

bj banjo

dm drum

f fiddle

s-s shac-shac

STS Dena J. Epstein, Sinful Tunes and Spirituals

t triangle

tam tambourine

European dance names are starred *

** indicates location may be Virgin Islands rather than Barbados

DANCES

Country; Occasion	Type(s) if specified	Instrumentation	Date (Date of publication)	Source, pagination
<u>Bahamas</u>				
1 Christmas, open air	fire dance (ring dance)	2dm, chanting, clapping	(1888)	L.D. Powles (<u>AA</u> , pp.277-8)
<u>Barbados</u>				
2 evening, open air	Joan-Johnny (ring dance)	2f, 1dm, s-s singing	(1833)	Capt. J.E. Alexander (<u>AA</u> , p.303)
3 evening, negro hut		3f, 1tam, 1t	1826-9/ (1833)	F.W.N. Bayley (<u>AA</u> , p.305)
4 weekly	Invitation	1f	(1834)	Trelawny Wentworth (<u>AA</u> , pp.310-1)**
5 Christmas, sundown, open air	Joe and Johnny (ring dance)	1dm (gombay), singing	1836/ (1839)	William Lloyd (<u>AA</u> , pp.258-9)
6 Christmas, daytime, house/back yard	Substitute Joe and Johnny (ring dance)	2f, 1tam, 1dm s-s (de shot), singing	(1852)	Charles William Day (<u>AA</u> , pp.313-4)
7 New Year, evening, open air	Joe and Johnny (ring dance)	2f, 1tam, 1t, 1dm, s-s	(1852)	Charles William Day (<u>AA</u> ,

					pp.314-5)
8	Tea Dance (fund raising), dancing rooms (?)		hymn singing	(1869)	Greville John Chester (<u>AA</u> , p.318)
9	Harvest Home (Crop- over), day time, open air		2f, 1tam	(1869) John	Greville Chester (<u>AA</u> , pp.318)e
<u>Barbuda</u>					
10	Christmas		1dm	(1852)	Charles William Day (<u>AA</u> , p.315)
<u>Bequia</u>					
11	jolifi- cation (white creoles and their slaves), interior	stickfighting dance	3dm	(1838)	E.L. Joseph, <u>Warner</u> <u>Arundell</u> (pp.84-6)
<u>English- Speaking West Indies</u>					
12		ring dance	1dm (goombay), 1bj (banjaw), 1 jawpone	(1890)	Anonymous (<u>AA</u> , pp.325-6)
<u>Grenada</u>					
13	Coloured Dances (types also apply to	(i) ladies subscription for white gents	3f, 2tam, 1t	1826-9/ (1833)	F.W.N. Bayley, <u>Four Years</u> , pp.508-9
14	<u>English</u> <u>Speaking</u> <u>West</u> <u>Indies</u> <u>generally)</u>	(ii) ladies party for white gents			
15		(iii) sub- scription			
16	Negro Dances	Belair	1dm, singing	(1893)	Hesketh J. Bell, <u>Obeah</u> pp.32-4

17	Quadrille Party	*waltz *quadrilles	1f, 1tam, 1t	(1893)	Hesketh J. Bell, <u>Obeah</u> pp.34-5
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Guyana

18	Holiday, (i) plant- tation house	*jigs, *country dance	1f, 1tam, 1dm	(1833)	Capt. J.E. Alexander (<u>AA</u> , pp.303-4)
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19	(ii) house grounds	African (dance round drummer)	1dm, rattling seeds, singing		
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Jamaica

20	Christmas	*minuets	1f	(1788)	Peter Marsden (<u>AA</u> , pp.229-30)
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21	Saturday Night (Plays)	ring dance	1dm, rattles or s-s, singing	(1823) (1808)	James Stewart (<u>AA</u> , pp.299-301)
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22	Subscrip- tion Balls	*country dances	1f, 1tam	(1823) (1808)	James Stewart (<u>AA</u> , pp.300-1)
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23	Holiday, evening	(courtship marriage, be- ing brought to bed)	dms (gambys), s-s (shaky- skekies), kitty-katties	6 Jan 1816/ (1834)	Matthew Gregory Lewis (<u>AA</u> , pp.295-6)
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24	Sunday		1dm	(1817)	Richard A. Watson (<u>STS</u> , p.52)
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25	Christmas, (i) morn- ing, plan- tation house		1f, singing	1823/(1826)	Cynric R. Williams (<u>AA</u> , pp.249-50)
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26	(ii) even- ing	*bolero (describing ring dance) pyrric	dm (gombays) s-s, bj (banjaw) Ebo dm		
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27	Christmas (St. Stephen's	Jonkunnu	1dm (gombay) 1dm (cotta) s-s	1823/ (1826)	Cynric R. Williams (<u>AA</u> ,
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	(Boxing Day)) morning, plantation house				pp. 250-1)
28	New Year's Day, Set Girls Ball, evening, house of free mulatto	*country dances *quadrilles	3f, 1t, 1dm (tabor) with pipe	1823/ (1826)	Cynric R. Williams (AA, p.252)
29	Subscription		2f	(1825)	H.T. De La Beche (AA, p.301)
30	Saturday or Sunday (Plays), plantation, (i) Old school African	African	dm (gumbays)	(1825)	H.T. De La Beche (AA, p.302)
31	(ii) New school creole	*reels	2f		
32	Cropover, (i) (20 years ago) plantation	African	1dm (gumbay) singing	(1828)	Alexander Barclay (STS, p.86; AA, p.83)
33	(ii) (to-day) plantation house	*Scotch reels, *country dances	1f, 1tam		Alexander Barclay (STS, p.86) F.N.W. Bayley, <u>Four Years</u> p.436 (AA, p.83)
34	Christmas, plantation house	(i) African Nations	dm (<u>implied</u>), singing	c.1831/ (1838)	James Kelly (AA, pp.257-8)
35		(ii) Creole	1dm, fife		
36	Nightly (Plays)	African	dm, instruments of African,	(1843)	James Mursell Phillipo

		manufacture singing		(STS, pp.88-9)	
<u>Leeward Islands</u>					
37	Cropover (also- implied- Christmas, Easter, Whitsun, Carnival), plantation house lawn	1dm (keg), 1dm, (kettle), 1tam, 1 pipe, 1 gumbay or bonja (banjo) sundry other instruments, singing	1826-9/ (1833)	F.W.N. Bayley, <u>Four Years</u> , p.437, 439 (AA, pp.305-6)	
<u>St. Christopher</u>					
38	Negro Ball, plantation	1f, 2tam, 1t, 3dm (African)	(1838)	E.L. Joseph Warner <u>Arundell</u> , p.230	
<u>St. Croix</u>					
39	Christmas, planter's house	2dm, singing	(1840)	James Smith (AA, p.312)	
<u>St. Lucia</u>					
40	Fêtes Patronales etc. (Rose and Margu-rite Socs.)	(i) Balls (inside)	2 or 3tam, 5dm (tamtams), 1 castinet (?), singing of <u>belairs</u>	(1844)	Henry H. Breen (AA, pp.265-6)
41		(ii) Bamboulas (outside)			
<u>St. Thomas</u>					
42	New Year's Eve	1dm (gumbee)	(1838)	Johan Peter Nissen (STS, p.88)	
<u>St. Vincent</u>					
43	Christmas (St. Stephen's, (Boxing Day)) evening ball, plantation house	*(i) minuet	2f, 1tam	26 Dec 1791/ (1801)	William Young, in Bryan Edwards, <u>Civil</u> p.276
44		(ii) African	balafo		

45	Amusements	(i) African	dm	(1833)	Mrs Carmichael (AA, p.307)
46	evening:	(ii) Creole	dm, singing		
47	grand party (Creole)	* quadrilles * waltzes	2f, 2tam, 2t	(1833)	Mrs Carmichael, <u>Domestic</u> Vol.1, p.292
48	Cropover, plantation house		1f	(1833)	Mrs Carmichael, <u>Domestic</u> Vol.1, pp.292-3
49	Invitation, subscription, bi-weekly	* quadrilles	2f, 1tam, 1t	(1852)	Charles William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> Vol.2, p.120
50	Coffee Treats, weekly		1dm or bj	(1852)	Charles William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> Vol.2, pp.120-1
<u>Tobago</u>					
51	Saturday night		1t, 1dm, s-s, singing	(1833)	Capt. J.E. Alexander (AA, p.304)
<u>Trinidad</u>					
52	Christmas, evening ball, plantation house		1dm, 3s-s, singing	(1833)	Mrs Carmichael, <u>Domestic</u> , Vol.2, pp.288-9
53	Christmas, evening ball, subscription, plantation house	*French quadrille, *pas de deux	2dm, singing	(1833)	Mrs Carmichael, <u>Domestic</u> , Vol.2, pp.293-7
54	Everyday		1dm	(1833)	Mrs Carmichael, <u>Domestic</u> , Vol.2, pp.284-5
55	Ladies	(i)	5dm, singing	(1852)	Charles

	Ball, spacious palm thatched shed				William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> Vol.1, pp.294-6
56	similar location	(ii)	2dm, s-s	(1852)	Charles William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> Vol.1, p.296
57	Evening, (dance by women), private yard		2dm, singing	(1852)	Charles William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> Vol.1, p.296
58	Night Dances, large shed, Dry River settlement of Africans	African	1dm or bj	(1862)	Edward Bean Underhill <u>West Indies</u> pp.24-5
59	Evening, negro garden (mainly women)		1dm, s-s	(1869/ 1877)	Charles Kingsley, <u>At Last</u> p.370
60	Emanci- pation Day, Carenage, bamboo hut		dm	1 Aug 1882/ (1893)	R.P.M. Bertrand, Cothonay, O.P. in Hill, <u>Trinidad</u> <u>Carnival</u> p.32. Brereton, 'Birthday' p.76

Virgin Islands

61	Christmas and New Year plantation		1dm, singing	(1866)	Thurlow Weed (<u>AA</u> , pp.272-3)
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PROCESSIONS

Antigua

62	Christmas, streets	<u>waits</u>	2f, 2dm	(1844)	Mrs Lanigan (<u>AA</u> , p.268)
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Bahamas

63	Christmas, streets	marching	(bands of music)	(1888)	L.D. Powles (<u>AA</u> , pp.277- 8, 319-20)
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Guyana

64	Christmas, streets	bands (marching)	tam, t (steel), dm (inc. tom-tom), s-s, flute, cor- net, clarinet, guitar, and other stringed instru- ments, singing	(1899)	J. Van Sertima (<u>AA</u> , pp.278- 9, 326-7)
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Jamaica

65	Christmas, streets	Jonkunnu	2f, dm (militia/ negro: tabor) jawbones, other percussion, pipe, postmens horns, negro flutes, gombas (?), singing	(1797)	Anonymous (<u>AA</u> , pp.233-5)
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66	Christmas, streets	Jonkunnu	1dm (made of bark leaves) singing	25-28 Dec 1801/(1839)	Maria Nugent (<u>AA</u> , p.235)
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67	Christmas, Kingston streets	Jonkunnu	1f, 1dm, pipe, 2 flutes, 3 bullocks horns, singing	c. 1806-22/ (1829-33)	Michael Scott (<u>AA</u> , pp.235-7)
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68	New Year. Black River, streets	Jonkunnu (Blue Set)	2f, 2dm	1Jan 1816/ (1834)	Matthew Gregory Lewis (<u>AA</u> , pp.241-3)
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69	Christmas, planta- tions	Set Girls (Jonkunnu)	dm and other music	(1825)	H.T. De La Beche (<u>AA</u> , p.248)
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70	Easter, planta- tions	Jack-in-the- Green (mum- ming etc.)	dm	(1825)	H.T. De La Beche (<u>AA</u> , pp.248-9)
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71	Christmas, planta- tions	Set Girls (Jonkunnu)	1f, 1tam, 1dm, fifes, singing	(1826)	Alexander Barclay (<u>AA</u> , pp.253-4)
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72	Christmas, street(?)	Jonkunnu	1dm (gumba?), singing	(1828)	Anonymous (<u>AA</u> , pp.252-3)
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73	Christmas/ New Year, Montego Bay, streets	bands (marching or dancing)	1dm, jawbone, singing	(1828)	Charles Campbell (<u>AA</u> , pp.255-6)
74	Christmas, streets	(Blue and Red) Set Girls, Jack- in-the Green	1f, 1tam, 1t, 2dm, singing	(1837)	I.M. Beli- sario, <u>Sketches</u> , No.1, 1837
75		Jonkunnu (Jaw-Bone or House John- Canoe)	1dm (gumbay), 1dm (bass), jawbone, singing	(1837)	I.M. Beli- sario, <u>Sketches</u> , No.1, 1837
76		African Tribes (Jonkunnu)	1dm (gumbay), singing	(1837)	I.M. Beli- sario, <u>Sketches</u> , No.1, 1837
77		Koo-koo or Actor Boy (Jonkunnu)	1dm, fifes	1836/(1838)	I.M. Beli- sario, <u>Sketches</u> , No.2, 1838 (<u>AA</u> , pp.259- 61)
78		French Set Girls	2dm, s-s (two types), singing	(1838)	I.M. Beli- sario, <u>Sketches</u> , No.2, 1838 (<u>AA</u> , pp.261-3)
79	Christmas, town, streets	Jonkunnu	dm(tom-toms), s-s, banjas (bj), cow horns, jawbones	(1843)	James Mursell Phillipo (<u>STS</u> , pp.88-9)
80	Tatoo (sic)	Jonkunnu	1dm, cymbals, fife	(1860)	Anonymous (<u>AA</u> , pp.317-8)
81	Christmas, (country)	masquerading dancing	2f, 2dm, trum- pets, kettles, bells, singing (of psalms)	(1862)	William G. Sewell (<u>AA</u> , p.271)

St. Vincent

82	Christmas (St. Ste- phen's (Boxing Day)),	Moco Jumbo and his suite (band) (performed on stilts)	2 (baskets with little bells within - s-s ?)	26 Dec 1791/ (1801)	William Young in Bryan Edwards, <u>History</u>
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	plan- tation house				<u>Civil</u> pp.275-6
83	evening	Jumbie Dance or Willy (performed on stilts)	2dm (tom toms) singing, hand clapping	(1852)	Charles William Day (<u>AA</u> , pp.315-6)
<u>Trinidad</u>					
84	Carnival, streets	bands (marching)	(bands of excreable music)	7 March 1847/(1852)	Charles William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> Vol. 1, pp.313-6, (<u>AA</u> , pp.268- 70)
85	Christmas morning, post mid- night mass, streets	bands (marching) horns, singing	2f, 1t, 1dm (enormous tambour), cow (screaming), clapping	25 Dec 1847/ (1852) Vol. 1,	Charles William Day, <u>Five Years'</u> , pp.288-9

APPENDIX 2

Select list of nineteenth-century European social dances extant in eleven English- and, or, French-speaking Caribbean islands during the twentieth century

The selections have been made on the ready availability of information in books, periodicals, and unpublished papers.

<u>Dance</u>	<u>Island</u>	<u>Source</u>	<u>Notes</u>
circassian circle (Richardson: England, pre- nineteenth- century social dance)	Carriacou	David (1985)	'Cacian': a figure in a 'quadrille'
<u>cotillion</u> (Richardson: England, pre- nineteenth- century social dance)	Dominica	Honychurch (1982, 1988)	(in the past)
<u>Contredanse</u> Richardson: England, pre- nineteenth- Century social dance)	Dominica	Honychurch (1982, 1988)	(in the past)
<u>country dance</u> (Richardson: England, pre- nineteenth- century social dance)	Montserrat	Messenger (1973)	Irish steps
<u>jig</u>	Jamaica	Jekyll (1907) Ryman (1980)	'Quadrille'
	Tobago	Pearse papers (1950s) Elder (1950s)	English jig (NSA: 7,9)
	Trinidad	Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) Pearse papers (1950s) Elder (1950s)	(1939) (NSA: 4)
<u>d'Albarts</u> (Richardson: England, nineteenth- century social dance)	Carriacou	David (1985)	'Albert' (one of three types of quadrille)
<u>lancers</u>	Carriacou	Smith (1962)	

(Richardson:
England,
nineteenth-
century social
dance)

Dominica	Hill (1977) David (1985) Honychurch (1975, 1984) Caudeiron (1982, 1988) Honychurch (1982, 1988) Gamble (1986)
Guadeloupe	Bertrand (1968)
Jamaica	De Lisser (1910) Roberts (1924) Roberts (1925) Storm Roberts (1973)
Martinique	Bertrand (1968)
St. Lucia	Crowley (1955) Crowley (1957) Simmons (1963)

mazurka

(Richardson:
England,
nineteenth-
century social
dance)

Dominica	Honychurch (1975, 1984) Caudeiron (1982, 1988) Honychurch (1982, 1988) Gamble (1986)	<u>Mazook</u> <u>Mazook</u>
Guadeloupe	Bertrand (1968)	
Haiti	Courlander (1960)	
Jamaica	Jekyll (1907) Ryman (1980)	'Quadrille'
Martinique	Bertrand (1968)	
St. Lucia	Simmons (1963) Guilbault (1985)	<u>Kwadril</u>

minuet

(Richardson:
England, pre-
nineteenth
century social
dance)

Haiti	Courlander (1960)	mènwat, etc.
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polka

(Richardson:
England,
nineteenth-
century social
dance)

Carriacou	David (1985)	a figure in a 'quadrille'
Dominica	Honychurch (1982, 1988) Gamble (1986)	(in the past) heel and toe
Guadeloupe	Bertrand (1968)	little two steps; three step
Haiti	Courlander (1960)	
Jamaica	Jekyll (1907) Beckwith (1929) Leaf (1948) Storm Roberts (1973) Ryman (1980)	'Quadrille'
Martinique	Bertrand (1968)	little two steps; three step
Montserrat	Dobbin (1986)	at 'Jombie Dance'
St. Lucia	Simmons (1963) Guilbault (1985)	<u>Kwadril</u>
Tobago	Elder (1950s)	(NSA: 7, 9)

quadrille
(Richardson:
England,
nineteenth-
century social
dance)

Carriacou	Pearse (1955) Smith (1962) Hill (1977) David (1982) David (1985)	Reel Engage
		Lancers <u>three types</u> : Albert (d'Alberts); English; Lancers <u>four types</u> French Irish Sharp Slow
Dominica	Honychurch (1975, 1984)	
	Caudeiron (1982, 1988) Honychurch (1982, 1988)	five figure (in past) <u>four types</u> French Irish Sharp Slow
Guadeloupe	Gamble (1986) Bertrand (1968)	French quadrille (without calls); quadrille (with calls)
Haiti Jamaica	Courlander (1960) Jekyll (1907) De Lisser (1910) Beckwith (1929) Leaf (1948) Storm Roberts (1973) Ryman (1980) Carty (1988)	a set of dances Ballroom (a set) Camp (a set) French quadrille (without calls); Haute-Taille (with calls) at 'Jombie Dance'
Martinique	Bertrand (1968)	
Montserrat St. Croix St. Lucia	Dobbin (1985) Cuney-Hare (1933) Crowley (1955) Crowley (1957) Simmons (1963) Guilbault (1985)	
Tobago	Pearse papers (1950s) Elder (1950s)	a set of dances (NSA: 7, 9)
Trinidad	Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) Pearse papers (1950s) Elder (1950s)	(1939) (NSA: 4)

reel

Carriacou	Pearse (1955) Smith (1962)	Reel Engage including 'reel engage' reels
Jamaica	Roberts (1924)	

	Tobago	Pearse (1955) Pearse papers (1950s) quadrille Elder (1950s)	Reel Dance English reel or 3 figure (NSA: 7, 9)
	Trinidad	Herskovits and Herskovits (1947) Pearse papers (1950s) Elder (1950s)	(1939) (NSA: 4)
<u>schottische</u> (Richardson: England, nineteenth- century social dance)	Dominica	Honychurch (1982, 1988)	(in the past)
	Jamaica	Jekyll (1907) Ryman (1980)	'Quadrille'
	Montserrat	Dobbin (1986)	
	St. Lucia	Simmons (1963)	
	Tobago	Elder (1950s)	(NSA: 9)
<u>Scotch reel</u> (Richardson: England, nineteenth- century social dance)	Carriacou	Smith (1962)	as 'Scotch'
	Jamaica	Roberts (1925)	
	Tobago	Elder (1950s)	(NSA: 7, 9)
<u>valse or waltz</u> (Richardson: England, nineteenth- century social dance)	Dominica	Caudeiron (1982, 1988)	
	Guadeloupe	Bertrand (1968)	
	Haiti	Courlander (1960)	
	Jamaica	Jekyll (1907) De Lisser (1910) Beckwith (1929) Leaf (1948) Ryman (1980)	'Quadrille'
	Martinique	Bertrand (1968)	
	Montserrat	Dobbin (1986)	at 'Jombie Dance'

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APPENDIX 3

The Big Drum Dance of Carriacou

1. Classified Checklist of Dances: Alphabetically by Type

<u>NATION</u>	<u>Source of Name for Dance</u>	<u>Reported as a source for African slaves</u>	
		<u>(i) Curtin</u>	<u>(ii) Higman</u>
1. Arada (Allada)	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith 1962; Hill, 1977; David, 1985	p.186 (Gold Coast)	p.47
2. Awouhsa (Hausa)	Hill, 1977; David, 1985		p.47 (Bight of Benin)
3. Ayeraba (Yoruba)	Smith, 1962; Hill, 1977	p.189 (Bight of Benin)	p.47
4. Banda	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962; Hill, 1977; David, 1985		p.47 (Bight of Biafra)
5. Chamaray	Hill, 1977		
6. Chamba	Pearse, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982; David, 1985	p.187 (Bight of Benin)	p.47
7. Congo	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982 David, 1985	p.187 (Central Africa)	p.48
8. Coromanti (predominantly Ashanti)	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977;	p.186 (Gold Coast)	p.47

		David, 1982; David, 1985		
9.	Ibo	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982; David, 1985	p.188 (Bight of Biafra)	p.47
10.	Jig Ibo	Pearse, 1956; Hill, 1977		
11.	Lasa (Kwese/Quesa)	Hill, 1977		p.48 (Central Africa)
12.	Manding	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982; David, 1985	pp.184-5 (Senegambia)	p.46
13.	Moko Bangé	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962;* Kay, 1971;* Hill, 1977;* David, 1982;* David, 1985*	p.188 (Bight of Biafra)*	
14.	Moko Yégéyége	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962;* Kay, 1971;* Hill, 1977;* David, 1982;* David, 1985*	p.188 (Bight of Biafra)*	
Rada:	<u>see</u> Arada			
15.	Scotch Chamba	Pearse, 1956		
16.	Scotch Ibo	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Hill, 1977		

17.	Temné	Pearse, 1955, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982; David, 1985	p.185 (Sierra Leone)	p.46
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f Classified by Smith as secular and not a Nation dance.

* Moko only

OLD CREOLE

Comments

1.	Bélè Kawé	Pearse, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; David, 1982; David, 1985	See also Dama. Bélè or Belair, a name for a drum dance in the French- and certain English-speaking Caribbean islands
	Churde (cud)	Hill, 1977	alternate spelling of Hallecord
2.	Dama	Pearse, 1956	seems to be the same dance as Bélè Kawé. Although Crowley (1958) suggests the name 'Dama' may be of Euro-West Indian origin Wood shows it was also used to describe 'an eastern Nigritic tribe in the Cameroons' (p.39).
3.	Gwâ Bélè	Pearse, 1956; Smith, 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982; David, 1985	Bélè or Belair, a name for a drum dance in the French- and certain English-speaking Caribbean islands
4.	Hallecord	Pearse, 1956; Hill, 1977; Kay, 1971; David, 1982; David, 1985	see also Churde
5.	Juba	Pearse, 1956; Smith 1962; Kay, 1971; Hill, 1977; David, 1982;* David, 1985*	a name used in black music in the Caribbean and U.S.A. Called 'Bele Juba', or 'Bele Tuba'.*

Man Kalenda: see Old Kalenda

- | | | | |
|----|-----------|---|--|
| 6. | Old Bongo | Pearse, 1956;
Kay, 1971;
Hill, 1977;
David, 1982;
David, 1985 | Hill calls this Man Bongo which contradicts Pearse who uses the term for a New Creole dance brought to Carriacou from Trinidad. David, 1982, 1985 has only one 'Bongo' category, which has been placed here. |
|----|-----------|---|--|

- | | | | |
|----|-------------|---|--|
| 7. | Old Kalenda | Pearse, 1956;
Smith, 1962;
Kay, 1971;
Hill, 1977;
David, 1982;
David, 1985 | see Table XV for an historical summary of this dance in the Caribbean. Calenda in Smith. David, 1982 reports a 'woman Kalinda' which appears to be this dance. |
|----|-------------|---|--|

NEW CREOLE (more recent accretions)

Bongosee Man Bongo

- | | | | |
|----|----------|---|--|
| 1. | Cariso | Pearse, 1955,*
1956;
Hill, 1977 | brought to Carriacou from Trinidad* |
| 2. | Chattam | Pearse, 1956;
Hill, 1977 | |
| 3. | Chiffone | Pearse, 1956;
Hill, 1977;
David, 1982;
David, 1985 | Hill describes this as a dance within the Chirrup cycle (1977). Crowley (1957) notes chiffonette style dancing by Boum-Boum or Bwa Bwa Christmas/New Year masquerade bands in St. Lucia. |
| 4. | Chirrup | Pearse, 1956;
Hill, 1977;
David, 1985 | this is probably related to the 'Cheer-up songs that go with a Grenada dance "near to calenda"' recorded by Herskovits in Toco, Trinidad in 1939 and noted by him in 1947. Elder (1974) reports 'Cheer-up music from the Grenadines' as a drum dance performed in Charlotteville, Tobago. See also Chiffone. |
| 5. | Fiola | Hill, 1977 | Hill provides no details but on the basis of the name this dance probably comes from the Spanish |

Main			
6.	Ladderis	Pearse, 1955	brought to Carriacou from Union Island
7.	Lora	Pearse, 1955,* 1956	brought to Carriacou from Union Island*
8.	Man Bongo	Pearse, 1955,* 1956; Hill, 1977	brought to Carriacou from Trinidad.* Hill (1977) uses this term for an Old Creole dance: Old Bongo
9.	Pike	Pearse, 1955,* 1956; Hill, 1977; David, 1985	brought to Carriacou from Grenada.* Crowley (1955-57) notes Pika as a secular village dance for Carnival in St. Lucia, with topical allusive songs
10.	Quelbé	Pearse, 1955;* Smith, 1962	brought to Carriacou from Union Island.* Elder (1974) reports Quelbe drum-dance songs once performed in Charlotteville, Tobago. He ascribes the music to a Congo origin.
11.	Trinidad Kalenda	Pearse, 1955,* 1956; Hill, 1977; David, 1982	Stick-Fighting Kalenda, brought to Carriacou from Trinidad.* Pearce (1956) uses the song <u>Io Talmana</u> as a recorded example of a Trinidad Stick-Fighting Kalenda adopted for the Big Drum Dance in Carriacou. The lyrics to this song are associated with early 1880s Port-of-Spain Carnival-Canboulay confrontations between stick bands and the Police under the well-remembered 'Captain' Baker. Hill (1977) shows that in addition to adaptation for the Big Drum Dance, the sport of Stick-Fighting Kalenda, and a Shrove Sunday evening family feast called Canboulay, are part of Carnival in Carriacou. Called 'Man Kalinda' by David.

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APPENDIX 4

This has been published as:

John Cowley, 'Carnival and other Seasonal Festivals in the West Indies, U.S.A. and Britain: a selected bibliographical index', Bibliographies in Ethnic Relations, No.10, Coventry Centre For Ethnic Relations, 1991.

All the references in the selected bibliographical index have been incorporated in the main bibliography of the thesis.

APPENDIX 5

Survey of British Colonial Legislation in Trinidad relating to Carnival, Dancing, Drumming, and other similar cultural activities 1797-1950¹

1. Survey

<u>Year</u>	<u>Legislation</u>	<u>Offence(s) etc (in abstract)</u>
1797	(Spanish garrison surrender to British invasion force: 17 February)	
	(<u>Police Regulations</u> (?)) 11 April, or 30 May (?)	(Permit required by 'Coloured People desirous of Assembling and giving Dances or Entertainments or keeping Wakes after' 8.00pm)
		(Permit required by Slaves 'to Dance till the firing of the Evening Gun' - 8.00pm; prohibited otherwise) ²
		<u>note</u> it is evident similar regulations also required the white hierarchy to obtain permission for holding entertainments (theatrical etc.) and to appear masked ³
1801	<u>Prohibition of Negro dances in Town</u> Order of Government, 4 January	
	(<u>Police</u> : 1st Vol. p.139), p.15	
1807	<u>Permission to people of colour to hold Balls and Assemblies, subject to a donation for paupers of 16 Dollars</u> Minutes of Council, 15 August	
	(<u>Free Coloured People</u> : 1st Vol. p.564), p.9.	
1808	<u>Police Regulations of the 30th May, 1797</u> republished, 25 November	(see 1797)
	(<u>Police</u> : 1st Vol. p.624), p.15	
	<u>General Regulations for the Police of Port of Spain</u> 25 November	(?)
	(<u>Police</u> : 1st Vol. p.630), p.15	

1810	<p><u>Negroes are forbidden to carry bludgeons or other weapons, on pain of a month's imprisonment and being worked in the chain gang</u> Order (by the Cabildo), 12 September</p> <p>(Police: 1st Vol. p.829), p.15</p>	<p><u>note</u> for further background on this legislation see <u>Publications of the Trinidad and Tobago Historical Society</u>. Nos.653 and 654; it implies that some form of stick-fighting was a recognized activity among black slaves at this time⁴</p>
1831	<p>(setting up of Executive Council and nominated Legislative Council)</p>	
1832	<p><u>For defining Offences committed by Slaves; and for punishing the same</u> 12 May</p> <p>(Ordinance No.1 of 1832)</p>	<p><u>Slave offences</u></p> <p>4. Holiday Meetings or dances without permission (etc)</p> <p>6. Crowding on the Public Places (etc)</p> <p>7. Travelling the Public Roads with cutlasses or other offensive weapons (etc)</p> <p>8. Possessing offensive weapons (etc)</p> <p>10. Firing guns, ringing bells, blowing horns or shells (etc)</p> <p>30. Creating a riot (etc)</p> <p>31. Practicing obeah or pretending to be obeah or myal men or women (etc)</p>
1834	<p>(Abolition of Slavery in British Empire: Apprenticeship begins 1 August)</p>	
1835	<p><u>For establishing an effective system of Police within the Town of Port of Spain</u> (63 clauses)</p>	<p>8. Masking in street without permission (etc)</p> <p>25. 'at any time on any day earlier than the hour of five 7 September and later than the hour of eight in the afternoon' the (Ordinance No.4 of 1835) beating and playing of 'any drum, gong, tambour, bangee, or chac-chac in any house, outhouse, building or yard' (etc)</p>
1837	<p><u>For improving the Police in and near the Town of Port of Spain</u> (37 clauses)</p> <p>30 December</p>	<p>14. masking in street without permission (etc)</p> <p>23. in various locations: 'playing or dancing to any drum, gong, tambour, banjee (sic), or</p>

	(Ordinance No.11 of 1837)	chac-chac, at any hour on any day earlier than the hour of eight in the afternoon' (etc)
1838	(Ending of Apprenticeship: 1 August (Emancipation Day))	
1841	<u>To consolidate and amend the laws relative to Police in this colony</u> (80 clauses) 1 June (Ordinance No.2 of 1841)	38. in various locations: 'playing or dancing to any drum, gong, tambour, bangee, or chac-chac, at any hour on any day before the hour of five and after the hour of eight in the afternoon (etc) in 'Port of Spain or the Suburbs thereof or the Towns of St. Joseph or San Fernando' (etc) <u>note</u> this consolidates the laws concerning Town and Rural Police. The latter were set up by Ordinance No.3 of (13 August) 1838, which does not provide for the restriction of either masking or drumming.
1849	<u>To consolidate and amend the laws relative to the Police</u> (71 clauses) 3 July (Ordinance No.6 of 1849)	30. in various locations (town or countryside): 'play and dance to any music... at any hour of the Sunday, or to assemble and dance to any drum, gong, tambour, bangee or chac-chac, at any hour of any day not being Sunday, after the hour of ten in the afternoon' (etc) 42. 'sings any profane or obscene song or ballad' (etc) 49. in towns 'appearing masked except at such times as shall be allowed for masking by public notice' (etc) ⁵
1868	<u>For rendering certain offences punishable on Summary Conviction</u> (82 clauses) 7 April (Ordinance No.6 of 1868)	5. assaults by maskers (etc) 30. practicing obeah (etc) 32. possession of articles used in obeah and witchcraft (etc) 53. in various locations (town or countryside): 'play or dance...to any drum, gong, tambour, bangee, chac-chac or other similar instrument of music at any time between the hour of ten o'clock in the evening of one day, and the hour of six o'clock in the morning of the next day' (etc) 60. drunkenness and riotous behaviour in streets (etc) 61. provoking breach of peace by violent or obscene language (etc) 62. <u>Offences in Streets and other Public Places</u> Every person/who/who shall 13. 'sings any profane or obscene song or ballad' (etc)

15. 'wantonly extinguishes the light of or destroys or damages any street lamp' (etc)
22. 'appearing masked or otherwise disguised except at such times and in conformity with such regulations as may from time to time be allowed by public notice' (etc)
25. 'blow any horn or use any other noisy instrument for the purpose of calling persons together, or of announcing any show or entertainment' (etc)
63. 'carries any lighted torch' (etc)

note

clauses 60 and 61 are identified here as they become a feature of annual Proclamations of the law at the time of each Carnival⁶. Similar provisions occur in earlier Ordinances.

- 1882 For regulating the Festivals of Immigrants (5 clauses)
1 July
(Ordinance No.9 of 1882)
- 1883 Summary Convictions amendment) (7 clauses)
10 July
(Ordinance No.11 of 1883)
- 1884 Peace Preservation (5 clauses)
25 January

(Ordinance No.1 of 1884)
- Summary Convictions amendment) (10 clauses)
1 February
(Ordinance No.2 of 1884)

note

legislation to regulate the anniversary of the Moharram known also as the Hosé, Temiterna or Madrassee Festival by East Indian immigrants, whose celebration it is in Trinidad. The Ordinance was based on an earlier law passed in Guyana for similar purpose (Ordinance No.16 of 1869, in The Laws of British Guiana). Background is in Correspondence respecting the recent Coolie Disturbances in Trinidad at the Mohurrum Festival, with the Report thereon by Sir H.W. Norman K.C.B., C.I.E., C.4366 (March 1885)⁷

4. 'Every Owner or Occupier of any house, building, yard or other place who shall knowingly permit or suffer any Convicted Felons, Persons Convicted of Riot or Affray, Common Prostitutes, Rogues or Vagabonds, or Incorrigible Rogues to meet together and remain therein, and to play or sing or dance therein to any drum, gong, tambour, bangee, chac-chac or other instruments' (etc)

1. 'The Governor may from time to time by Proclamation prohibit during periods specified respectively in the proclamation all or any of the following things in any street, highway or public places:-
 1. The carrying of the lighted torch.
 2. The beating of any drums, the blowing of any horn or the use of any other noisy instrument.
 3. Any dance or procession and
 4. Any assemblage or collection of persons armed with sticks or other weapons of offence and numbering ten or more.
 Such proclamations may extend to the whole island or to some specified parts or part thereof and may at any time be revoked' (etc)

extension of the provisions of Ordinance No.11 of 1883. Clause 4 (above) is to include gaming; Clause 5 enlarged penalises the participants; Clause 7 specifies persons 'any weapon, instrument, stick, bottle, stone or other thing intended for the purpose of committing any felony or misdemeanour shall be deemed a rogue or vagabond' (etc)

1891	<p><u>For the supression of certain practices during Carnival</u> (4 clauses) 2 February (Ordinance No.2 of 1891)</p>	<p>2. 'If any person shall at any time during the Carnival throw or cause to be thrown upon, or any person or passenger or resident in any Street, any lime, flour, or other substance, matter or thing whatsoever, whether solid or fluid' (etc)</p>
1902	<p><u>Summary Conviction (Offences)</u> (105 clauses) Ordinance No.5, in volume 1 of <u>Laws of Trinidad & Tobago, 1902</u></p>	<p>consolidation of relevant clauses regarding Carnival etc in Ordinances published between 1868 and 1891</p>
1917	<p><u>Shouters Prohibition Ordinance</u> (8 clauses) 16 November (28 November) (Ordinance No.27 of 1917)</p>	<p>proscription of 'Shouters' or Spiritual Baptists, a black religious sect. For further background on this see the description in Appendix II of Melville J. Herskovits and Frances S. Herskovits, <u>Trinidad Village</u>, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947, pp.340-345.</p>
1921	<p><u>Summary Conviction (Offences)</u> (125 clauses) 6 May (19 May) (Ordinance No.31 of 1921)</p>	<p>includes consolidated provisions of Ordinance 5 of 1902. In addition (clause 91) proscribes the 'bungo' or <u>bongo</u> wake dance; and (clause 95) penalises the throwing of stones or other missiles in the streets.</p>
1924	<p><u>Summary Conviction (Offences)</u> (Amendment) (8 clauses) 11 April (25 April) (Ordinance No.7 of 1924)</p>	<p>4. rewords clause 89 of Ordinance 31 of 1921: 1. The Governor may from time to time by proclamation define the period known as the Carnival, during which subject to the regulations made under sub-section (2) of this section, persons may appear masked or otherwise disguised. 2. The Inspector-General of Constabulary may from time to time make regulations for the Carnival (a) prescribing and limiting the conditions under which persons may appear masked or otherwise disguised (b) prescribing what substances may be thrown by or at persons (c) for the proper conduct of persons and the preservation of the peace. All such regulations shall be published in the <u>Royal Gazette</u> and shall be judicially noticed' (etc)</p>
1925	<p><u>Summary Conviction Offences</u>(115 clauses) <u>Cap 25 of Laws of Trinidad & Tobago, 1925</u></p>	<p>consolidation of relevant clauses regarding Carnival etc published since 1902</p>
1934	<p><u>Theatres and Dance Halls Ordinance</u></p>	<p>licence required for 'any building, tent or other erec-</p>

	<p>(7 clauses)</p> <p>7 December (17 December)</p> <p>(Ordinance No.39 of 1934)</p>	<p>tion open to the public, gratuitously or otherwise, where a stage play is performed presented or held and includes a Dance Hall.' The latter is defined similarly except as 'where public dancing or singing takes place' (etc)</p>
1936	<p><u>Summary Conviction Offences</u> (Amendment) (15 clauses)</p> <p>13 November (24 December)</p> <p>(Ordinance No.23 of 1934)</p>	<p>amends various clauses in Cap 25 of 1925, the most relevant being clause 10 that adds a 'sub section (3) to Section 81 of the Principal Ordinance:-</p> <p>(3) Every person shall be guilty of an offence and liable to a penalty...who, during the presentation or performance of any stage play or concert or other dramatic or musical entertainment, or the holding of any dance, in any building or place to which the public has access -</p> <p>(a) is indecently attired;</p> <p>(b) performs any lewd or suggestive dancing or actions;</p> <p>(c) in any play, song, ballad or speech uses language which is profane, indecent or obscene, or which is insulting to any individual or section of the community whether referred to by name or otherwise;</p> <p>(d) acts in a manner calculated to hold up to public ridicule or contempt any individual or section of the community'(etc)</p>
1940	<p><u>Summary Offences Ordinance</u> (115 clauses)</p> <p>Chapter 4, No.17 in <u>Laws of Trinidad & Tobago</u>, 1940</p>	<p>consolidation of relevant clauses regarding Carnival etc published since 1925</p>
1945	<p><u>Summary Offences</u> (Amendment) (2 clauses)</p> <p>7 December (22 December)</p>	<p>adds two sections to Chapter 4, No.17:</p> <p>(70A) 'No person shall, except during the Carnival without licence under (Ordinance No.40 of 1945) the hand of a police officer not below the rank of a non commissioned officer in charge of a police station beat any drum or play any noisy instrument in any street or public place' (etc)</p> <p>(70B) 'The Governor in Council may, by proclamation suspend the operation of the preceeding section during any period specified in such proclamation'</p>
1950	<p><u>Summary Offences Ordinance</u> (115 clauses)</p> <p>Chapter 4, No.17 in <u>Laws of Trinidad & Tobago</u>, 1950</p>	<p>consolidation of relevant clauses regarding Carnival etc published since 1940</p>

2. Notes

1. From its conquest by the British in 1797, until 1831, successive British Governors had full executive and legislative powers, assisted by a nominated Advisory Council. This was replaced in 1831 by an Executive Council and a nominated Legislative Council. The latter became partly elective in 1924. Tobago was not united with Trinidad until 1889. In the initial period (1797-1831) the earlier system of Spanish law was modified gradually. Laws specified here should be seen in the light of this historical background. Further information can be found in Bridget Brereton's A History of Modern Trinidad 1783-1962, 1981. For the Spanish laws operating in this period, and some of the British modifications, see Lewis F. C. Johnston's translation of the Institutes of the Civil Law of Spain, 1825, which is dedicated to Sir Ralph Wordford, then Governor of Trinidad.
Although every effort has been made to locate relevant laws and clauses, limitations of time and access to Trinidad legal material, mean this survey should not be considered as exhaustive. A full examination of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Proclamations, published annually at the time of Shrovetide Carnival in the Trinidad government Royal Gazette from 1833, should provide further and more detailed evidence. It is believed all dates specified represent the day each law was decided upon in the legislature. The implementation of each law has not been investigated, nor has its approval by the then British Colonial Office. In general, most Ordinances were subsumed by later legislation.
2. Details of these regulations are taken from an 'Abstract of Proclamations, Orders of Government and Police Regulations of the Island', under sub-heading 12. 'Entertainments' in The Trinidad Almanac for the year 1824, pp.103-104. This gives an initial date for these laws of 11 April 1797. A General Index (to the Laws of Trinidad, 1797-1850 (*sic*) (1830)) in the Library and Records Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, however, has an initial date of 30 May 1797 against the entry for republication of 'Police Regulations' on 25 November 1808 (p.15). Whether or not these two sources refer to the same document has not been ascertained. Unfortunately the two early volumes of Trinidad laws, to which reference is made in the General Index, have not been traced. All other laws specified between 1801 and 1831 are copied verbatim from the General Index, with their heading and volume reference shown in brackets. The page for the entry in the General Index is outside the brackets.
3. Although specific British regulations have not been found, there is positive evidence to support this statement. An advertisement for a Port of Spain theatrical presentation in the Trinidad Guardian for 16 February 1827 (p.1) states 'by permission of His Excellency the Governor and the Illustrious Board of Cabildo'; and a 'Notice' in the following issue (20 February 1827, p.1) announces 'The public is hereby notified that during the Mourning for his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Masking and all other Public Entertainments are prohibited; signed James Meany, Chief of Police.' This repeats a 'Notice' published in the Port of Spain Gazette on 14 February 1827 (in English, p.2, in French, p.3).
Frederick, Duke of York had died in Britain on 5 January 1827. There is no entry covering his death under the heading 'Royal Mourning' in the General Index (op.cit., p.21). On this occasion, therefore, it seems regulations other than Orders, or Notices of Government defining 'Royal Mourning' were used to enforce restrictions on masking and other entertainments. 'The Last Carnival' by Philopolis, in the Trinidad Sentinel for 4 March 1858, notes that Sir Ralph Woodford, Governor at that time, 'allowed the people, after Lent was over, three days for indulging their wonted festival' (typescript, Pearse Papers). This

delayed celebration of Carnival (on 16-17 April) is confirmed by Police Office announcements in the Port of Spain Gazette (4 April 1827, p.2), and Trinidad Guardian (10 April 1827, p.1), that state: 'The Public having been deprived of their usual entertainment at the Carnival in consequence of the late General Mourning, Masking will be permitted on Easter Monday and Easter Tuesday under the usual regulations.' The notices are also signed by James Meany, Chief of Police. There is a report of this upper-class event in the Trinidad Guardian for 17 April (p.2) and it is likely the Carnival description contained in a letter from 'Major W-' to F.W.N. Bayley, dated 'Trinidad, 4th May 1827', refers to this particular festival: Bayley 'Four Years' Residence In The West Indies, p.210, 214. In discussing the origin of Carnival in Trinidad, J.N. Brierly, a member of the Trinidad Police in the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth century, prints a 'Notice' stating 'MASKS are strictly prohibited in the streets until the 18th of February next...' signed by James Meany, Chief of Police. This, he indicates, was published soon after Trinidad became a British colony: Trinidad: Then And Now, pp.318-19. A 'Notice' with this exact wording was published in the Port of Spain Gazette for 25 January 1833, p.1. It follows a confrontation with police earlier in the week by premature maskers from 'the lower order of society' (Port of Spain Gazette 22 January 1833, p.2). The report of this confrontation also notes that in Spanish colonies, masking at Shrovetide Carnival was allowed for three days only, although under British rule in Trinidad the period had been extended by custom. It quotes severe penalties for unauthorised masking as defined in Lewis F. C. Johnston's translation of the Institutes of the Civil Laws of Spain, p.278 (L.7 tit. 15. Lib. 8. Rec.)

4. It should not be assumed, however, that the term kalenda was used to describe stickfighting in Trinidad at this time. This meaning of the word in that island appears to date from the last quarter of the nineteenth century.
5. Possibly because of a statement to the effect that this clause was used to restrict masking and limit Carnival to two days in the report on disturbances during the 1881 Carnival by Mr. R.G. Hamilton (PRO CO 884/4/40, p.5), it is sometimes assumed that such restrictions date from this time. Evidence presented here, however, implies that masking was always restricted in Trinidad, from the time of Spanish conquest, and that these restrictions were adopted by the British on their taking of the island. A survey of Carnival notices in the Trinidad Royal Gazette, which commenced publication after Carnival had been held in 1833, shows that in 1834 two days' masking was allowed, in 1835 six days', in 1836 four days', in 1837 four days', in 1838 four days', and in 1839 only two days'. No further notices were traced in this period except in 1844, when masking was allowed for two days, and 1846, when masking was banned from the streets. A description of the 1838 Carnival, in the Port of Spain Gazette, notes the 'desecration of the Sabbath... "by authority"' (2 March 1838, p.3). Bridget Brereton, in her study of the evolution of Emancipation Day celebrations in Trinidad, states 1841 as the year Carnival activities were prohibited on Sundays (1983, p.74). Andrew Pearse, however, in his analysis of 'Carnival in Nineteenth Century Trinidad' gives a date of 1843 for limiting Carnival to two days (p.184). He, Errol Hill, and Donald Wood, all report Governor Macleod's ban on street masking in 1846 (as a response to New Year incendiarism). Hill notes that the ban had to be enforced by soldiers; Pearse and Wood indicate a peaceful Carnival (Pearse, p.185; Hill, p.20; Wood, pp.244-45). Although anti the event, newspaper reports for this Carnival show that the soldiers' presence, and the ban on masking, was to curb the spate of incendiarism: Port of Spain Gazette, 17 February 1846, p.3; 20 February 1846, p.3; Trinidad Spectator, 25 February 1846, p.2. These occasions show that the Governor's powers to control Carnival were maintained in this period, presumably because the

obsolete Ordinance No.11 of 1837 had not yet been removed from the Statute Book: Laws of Trinidad 1831 to 1848, London, James Bain, 1852, p.15.

6. See, for example, Proclamation No.2 of 1915, p.2, in the first volume of Trinidad and Tobago Proclamations held in the Library and Records Department of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office.
7. In her history of Trinidad and Tobago, Gertrude Carmichael states that permission for 'Hosien' to be held in Trinidad was granted by Queen Victoria in 1863 (p.274). Donald Wood believes its celebration there began in the 1850s (pp.152-53). The first newspaper report identified by Kelvin Singh is from the Trinidad Sentinel in August 1857. It implies earlier ceremonies (p.42). According to Crowley the time for the festival falls between September and November annually. it can be classified as a form of Carnavalesque, with both sacred and secular significance. Further information is in Daniel J. Crowley's 'East Indian Festivals in Trinidad Life', p.204, 208.

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(sic) (1830);

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APPENDIX 6

Consolidated Checklist of English-Language West Indian Folk Songs Known to have been Collected in the Panama Canal Zone by Myron B. Schaeffer and Louise Cramer 1943-44

1. CHECKLIST

<u>Title</u>	<u>Classification</u>	<u>Performer(s) and date</u>	<u>Archive of Folk Cul- ture Disc No.</u>	<u>Pagination in Cramer</u>
<u>Aunty Matty</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 20 November 1943	7684 B2	
<u>Break Rock Stone</u>	GAME SONG	young people in La Boca; Charles Barton (poss. <u>Stone Breaking Song</u>)		p.254
<u>Bumpin' In A Rail Road</u>		Willesley McKnight 1943	7686 B2	6 November
<u>Come Down Of Matty Belly</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight 20 November 1943	7682 B2	
<u>Come From Colon</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Charles Barton)	7720 A3	p.257
<u>Come Out A Merican Cut</u>	WORK SONG	(unidentified)	7720 A2	p.253
<u>Commissary Gals Calypso</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Charles Smart)	7715 A2	p.271
<u>The Donkey Want Water</u>		Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	7686 B1	(pp.251-2)
<u>Down Emmanuel Road</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 13 November 1943	7688 A2	
<u>Fowl An' All Drink Soup</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight		

		13 November 1943	7683 B1	
<u>Glanderry High Wall</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Viola Brathwaite		p.262
<u>Gone A Colon</u>	WORK SONG	Clemente Ara		p.252
<u>Gone A Colon</u>	WORK SONG	Charles Barton		p.252
<u>Gone To Long Pond</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Sarah Humphrey		p.261
<u>Hard Times</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(unidentified)	7713 A2	p.260
<u>Herse Gone Long</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Viola Braithwaite		p.264
<u>Hold Him Joe</u>	WORK SONG	(Charles Barton)	7720 A1	p.252
<u>Hold Him Joe</u>	WORK SONG	Wellesley McKnight (6 November 1943)	(7686 B1)	pp.251-52
<u>I Don't Want No Woman</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Clayton S. Clarke)	7716 B2	p.257
<u>Jack Johnson Went And Married When The Was (sic) Broke Out</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	7681 A1	
<u>John Crow</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Mrs. Sarah Humphrey)	7713 A1	p.258
<u>John Goss Lettie Road</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight 20 November 1943	7682 A1	
<u>Let De Ice House Bun</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Viola Brathwaite		pp.262-3
<u>The Locks</u>	SOCIAL SONG	unidentified		p.270
<u>María Change Your Way</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(unidentified)	7716 A1	p.269
<u>Me Box One Gal</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 20 November 1943	7684 B1	
<u>Mi Finger Perani</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley		

		McKnight 20 November 1943	7682 A2	
<u>Murder In De Market</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Viola Brathwaite		pp.265-6
<u>Nana Bool</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight 13 November 1943	7683 A2	
<u>Numba Leben</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Sarah Humphrey (?)		p.259
<u>O John Tom</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 20 November 1943	7684 A1; 7684 A3; (?)	
<u>O Lady You Sal De Bun</u>		Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	7685 B2	
<u>O Mammy We Wana Man</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 20 November 1943	7684 A2	
<u>Orange A Blossom</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Charles Barton)	7720 A4	p.258
<u>Red Tank Gal</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(unidentified)	7710 B; 7718 B	p.271
<u>Sally Brown</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight 13 November 1943	7683 A1	
<u>Sammy Barnett O</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 13 November 1943	7687 A1; 7687 B1	p.254
<u>Since Jamaicans Gone Away</u>	SOCIAL SONG	unidentified		p.268
<u>Sometimes De Gal Dem A Bodder Me</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Willesley McKnight, Clinton	7687 A2;	

		Tomlinson	7687 B2	p.256
<u>Stone Breaking Song</u>	BANTA SONG	Wellesley McKnight, Clinton Tomlinson 13 November 1943	7688 A1	(p.254?)
<u>Taping Song</u>		Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	7686 A1	
<u>Tina Wa Da Baby Da Baul</u>		Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	7685 B1	
<u>Trinidad Is A Very Fine Place</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Viola Brathwaite		p.263
<u>Uncle Joe Brown</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(unidentified)	7714 A1	p.261
<u>Want One Woman</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Mrs. Sarah Humphrey)	7714 A2	p.255
<u>War And Rebellion</u>	SOCIAL SONG	(Clayton S. Clarke)	7716 B1	pp.267-8
<u>What A Young Gal Want</u>	BANTA SONG	Willesley McKnight 20 November 1943	7682 B1	
<u>When I Was Young</u>		SOCIAL SONG (Clayton S. Clarke)	(Clayton S. 7716 A2	7698 B2; p.272
<u>William Powell</u>	BANTA SONG	(Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	(7681 A1)	pp.253-4
<u>Woman A Heavy Load When Saturday Morning Come</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Willesley McKnight 6 November 1943	7685 A1	p.256
<u>Work For Your Living</u>	SOCIAL SONG	Mrs. Viola Brathwaite		pp.264-5

2. PERFORMERS

Clemente Ara: Of La Boca

Charles Barton:	Born in Jamaica. Had lived in the Panama Canal Zone for more than twenty years. Was assistant principal of La Boca school.
Mrs. Viola Braithwaite:	Born in Barbados in 1896. Had come to the Panama Canal Zone in 1909.
Clayton S. Clarke:	Aged twenty-one. Born in the Panama Canal Zone of West Indian parentage - his mother was from Jamaica.
Mrs. Sarah Humphrey:	Aged fifty. Born in Jamaica. Had come to the Panama Canal Zone in 1910.
Wellesley Mc Knight:	Aged about twenty. Born in Jamaica, he had come to the Panama Canal Zone in late October 1943.
Charles Smart:	Aged sixteen. Born in the Panama Canal Zone of West Indian parentage - his father and mother were from Trinidad.
Clinton Tomlinson:	From Jamaica; not mentioned by Cramer.

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